RICHARD III.

VOL. I.

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RICHARD III.

AS

Duke of Gloucester

AND

KING OF ENGLAND.

BY

CAROLINE A. HALSTED,

AUTHOR OF

THE "LIFE OF MARGARET BEAUFORT," AND "OBLIGATIONS OF LITERATURE TO THE MOTHERS OF ENGLAND."

"For men are accustomed to receive from each other the reports of events which have happened before their time, without accurate investigation, even although they relate to their own country." THUCYDIDES, *Hist.* book i. ch. 20.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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THIS WORK,

BEGUN UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LATE

HENRY LORD VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH,

EXCITED IN HIM A WARM FEELING OF INTEREST

DURING ITS PROGRESS,

AND, BY HIS KIND PERMISSION, WAS INTENDED TO BE DEDICATED

TO HIMSELF.

IT IS NOW, ALAS! INSCRIBED

To his Memory.

HIS INNUMERABLE GENEROUS DEEDS,

AND THE CONDESCENDING KINDNESS WHICH ADDED SO GREATLY TO

THEIR VALUE,

WILL CAUSE HIM TO BE LONG REMEMBERED

BY MANY WHO NOW MOURN THE LOSS OF THEIR FRIEND AND

BENEFACTOR,

BUT BY NO ONE MORE GRATEFULLY

THAN BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

It has long been acknowledged, that the æra of King Richard the Third comprehends the darkest, the most complex, and the worst authenticated portion of the English annals. The general historian, whose course through the middle ages is guided by a long series of trustworthy chroniclers, finds himself when near the close of that important period forsaken by the great body of his authorities, and those who remain are swayed by the violent prejudices and strong antipathies which are natural amongst a people who have long been a prey to civil discord. Shrinking from such corrupt and uncertain authority, history becomes silent; she resigns the doubtful and the mysterious to the poet, whose imagination weaves out of such materials the dark and terrible tragedies by which he seeks to awe and to instruct. Thus it has been with the period of Richard the Third. The historian relates comparatively little, the poet is full to overflowing. The former being reduced to chronicle doubts and suspicions, and being compelled to write his meagre narrative from the imperfect statements of timid friends or the slander of triumphant enemies, his work, thus constructed, becomes tame and uninviting; it excites no sympathy, takes no hold upon the public mind, is read

and is speedily forgotten. The defeat of the historian is the triumph of the poet. He occupies the vacant field, turns to account the dark hint, the half-breathed suspicion, and, unshackled by chronology, unfettered by any consideration of the credibility of the evidence upon which he relies, he pours into the unoccupied and "too credulous ear" his thrilling and attractive tale. Such must always be the case when history leaves her work to be done by the poet, and such is the precise state of things in the period under present consideration. The genius of Shakspeare seized upon the history of Richard the Third as a vacant possession, and peopled it with beings who have, indeed, historic names, but whose attributed descriptions and actions are, for the most part, the mere imaginings of the bard.

The truth of this representation has long been partially felt by all persons who have investigated the history of those troubled times. Particular facts, nay, considerable portions of the popular belief, have been from time to time subjected to examination, and found to be altogether devoid of foundation; and much acute reasoning and profound argument have been bestowed in criticism upon the contradictory and incredible statements of the few authorities that were accessible to the earlier historians of Richard's reign. Doubts have been openly expressed, and controversy energetically maintained; but disputation is an avenue through which truth, and especially historical truth, is but

seldom arrived at: consequently, after many and lengthened discussions from writers of acknowledged ability, the boundaries of the historical and the poetical in the received popular version of the history of Richard the Third remains as indefinite as ever. If the author of the present work had imagined that the course pursued by the zealous inquirers to whom she has alluded was that by which the truth might be discovered, she would have deemed her interference to be in the highest degree presumptuous. If the questions in dispute were to be determined, or could possibly be determined, by acute reasoning or profound philosophical inquiry, she would have shrunk from attempting to exhibit powers to the possession of which she is well aware she cannot pretend; but, it appearing to her that mere argument and discussion were unsatisfactory modes of attempting to determine a doubtful question in history, and that the humble seeker after authorities might in a case like this do better service than the most brilliant or philosophical of speculators, she resolved on collecting from every available source all existing authentic notices, however trivial, of the defamed prince and monarch. Many of them were found in MSS., many were gathered from recent publications bearing on the events of this period, especially the important works edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, G. C. M. G., and those of the Camden Society, which has done and is doing so much for historical literature, and many were so widely scattered, or were deposited in places

so unlikely to afford materials for such a purpose, that it is by no means astonishing that they have occasionally escaped the notice of general historians.

When brought together, and placed in opposition to the statements which have so long and so lamentably passed for history, the results were so convincing that the author felt encouraged to submit them to the public. She was well aware that in so doing she should oppose herself to opinions long and deeply rooted — to a part of our national historical belief, which it is something like heresy to dispute. But, strong in the power of the evidences she has analysed, and in the belief that no prejudice can withstand the truth when fairly and simply displayed, she indulges the hope that, her unwearied research having fortified her with facts, and her own views being supported by those who rank high in literary fame, she may be shielded from the charge either of defective judgment or of presumption in her bold undertaking.

The favourable opinion of many literary friends possessed of taste and judgment, and the assistance kindly afforded to the author in various ways, have rendered her task less formidable than might have been anticipated from the importance of the subject. To the Right Honourable Lord Stafford of Cossey, the author has to return her most sincere thanks, for the use of the portrait which forms a frontispiece to the present volume. At the request of her valued friend, the Honourable and very Reverend the Dean of Norwich, his

Lordship liberally permitted the author to use the original contemporary painting on panel for the purposes of her publication. To John Bruce, Esq., her obligations are very great, not only for the aid afforded by his acquaintance with the historical literature of the period, but likewise from the kindness with which it has been imparted. To Sir Henry Ellis, K. H.; to Sir Charles George Young, Garter; to the late lamented Right Honourable Thomas P. Courtenay; to Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq., keeper of Records in the Tower; and to John Bowyer Nichols, Esq.; she is greatly indebted; — to some of them for important facts, to others for their ready help afforded to her when seeking for information. Nor can she omit expressing her thanks to Sir William Heygate, Bart., Thomas Pares, Esq., and those other kind and zealous friends who facilitated the accomplishment of her wish to examine personally the present state of the several places connected with the closing scenes of King Richard's career, especially Bosworth Field, Nottingham Castle, and the localities in Leicester and its vicinity, — localities on which history, poetry, and the drama have combined to cast an imperishable interest. The author cannot, however, but feel timidity in presenting to the public a work which, although the result of great toil and labour to herself, must of necessity war with so many prejudices that the first effort to shake them can scarcely hope to be received with favour. Still, unless it be considered advisable

that, because errors and mis-statements have been promulgated in less enlightened times, and been received in succeeding ages as historical facts, they should continue to be perpetuated in spite of all the evidence which modern research has rendered available for their refutation, — unless this be thought advisable, she hopes to receive a patient and candid hearing. If the task had fallen into abler hands, it might have led to results which she cannot anticipate as likely to arise from her own weak efforts. A mind more profound might have applied her materials in a variety of ways which have probably escaped her notice; but she trusts that the importance of her theme will procure her work an indulgent reception, from the reading portion of the community, and qualify with the more learned the defects of its execution. Attention being drawn to the subject, a sense of justice may gradually pervade the public at large; and, by the aid of other and abler pens, King Richard's character be ultimately rescued from imputations which rest upon grounds as shallow and untenable as that of his personal deformity. In this way the fabulous tales which have been long associated with his memory will be weeded from the pages of history, and his character as a prince be rescued from those unjust charges which alone derogate from the acknowledged superiority of his regal career.

Newlan House, Lymington,
May 1. 1844.

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RICHARD THE THIRD,

AS DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, AND KING OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Prejudices entertained against Richard III.—Origin of the marvellous tales associated with his memory, based on tradition, not on history.—Peculiar position of Richard.—Dearth of historical writers in his reign.—State of society at the Plantagenet dynasty.—The battles of Hastings and Bosworth compared.—General coincidence of results arising from Harold's and Richard's defeat and death.—Favourable circumstances attending the accession of William I. and Henry VII.—Contrary effect on their deceased rivals.—Richard the victim of party spirit and political malevolence.

Few of the founders of new dynasties have been more unsparingly reviled, few men more bitterly calumniated, than Richard the Third.

Length of years has not softened the asperity with which a hostile faction delighted to magnify his evil deeds, and which did not allow any one redeeming quality to appear in their extenuation; neither have more enlightened times brought to this monarch's aid a continuous biographical narrative to rescue his memory from at least a portion of the aggravated crimes with which the romance of early

days, and the ever prevalent love of the marvellous, has delighted to invest his brief career.

From our very childhood his name is pronounced with terror; supernatural appearances, both at his birth[1] and his death[2], have been freely circulated to increase the odium which attaches to the remembrance of one, who from his cradle seemed marked as a monster, hideous alike to contemplate or describe.[3] Nursery tales[4] have united with history[5] and tradition[6], in rendering him a by-word and reproach to posterity; and by the aid of the drama[7], the perverted representations of malignant adversaries[8] have been impressed, in language the most powerful, and through a form the most attractive, on the minds of successive generations.[9]

[1] "King Richard III., whose monstrous birth foreshowed his monstrous proceedings, for he was born with all his teeth, and hair to his shoulders."—*Camden's Remains*, p. 353.

[2] "The fame went that he had the same night (the eve of his death) a dreadful and a terrible dream, for it seemed to him, being asleep, that he saw divers images, like terrible devils, which pulled and hauled him, not suffering him to take any quiet or rest."—*Grafton's Chronicle*, p. 219.

[3] Rous, Hist. Reg. Ang. p. 215. Polydore Virgil, p. 562.

[4] The familiar legend of "The Children in the Wood," has been considered to be, and apparently with reason, an obscure and disguised relation of the suspected murder of his nephews by King Richard III. (*Sharon Turner's Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 407.); and whoever peruses this tale, under that impression, and compares the "doleful story" of the two babes in the ballad, with Sir Thomas More's historical narrative of the "dolourous end of those babes" (*More's Rycharde III.*, p. 127.), cannot fail of being struck with the general resemblance it bears to leading facts connected with the tradition of the death of the young princes. See Appendix A.

[5] Sir Thomas More's Hist. of Kynge Rycharde III., p. 8. Lord Bacon's Hist of King Henry VII., p. 2.

[6] Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle of the Kings of England, p. 235.

[7] Shakspeare's Tragedy of Richard III.

[8] Hall and Holinshed's Chronicles.

[9] Walpole's Historic Doubts, p. 114.

It is time that at least some justice was done to Richard III. as a monarch, however opinions may vary as regards the measure of his guilt as a man.

This can only be effected by taking the unerring voice of truth as a guide, by banishing from remembrance all merely traditional legends, and by striving to form an impartial decision from well-attested and indisputable facts, gleaned not from the annalists of after times, or from the party statements of over-zealous friends on the one hand, and virulent enemies on the other, but derived from contemporary authority, and the unbiassed testimony of eye-witnesses.

The period has long since passed when prejudice could prevail to warp the judgment in historical narration; and few in this age will be disposed to reject the evidence of disinterested contemporaries, because it overthrows the more marvellous relations of political animosity. It may justly be asked why Richard III. of all the sovereigns of England was so peculiarly the prey of rancour and malevolence? But the reason is obvious. Richard alone of all his predecessors was a vanquished and defeated monarch, at a period when personal prowess and heroism formed the standard of respect and admiration. He was the last of his dynasty, the object of especial indignation both to the family of his predecessor, and of hatred and jealousy to his rival. He lived also at a time when national literature was at its lowest ebb[1], from the stagnation which the fury of civil warfare had brought upon

[1] Hume, vol. iv. p. 217.

letters and the fine arts generally; so that little difficulty presents itself in assigning abundant cause for the scanty intelligence and paucity of materials which contribute to add mystery to the horrors of this dark and savage period. Alternately occupied in fighting for one party, or in defending the cause of the adverse faction, the highest nobles in the land thought only of inciting their infant progeny to deeds of arms, or steeling their young minds against the subtilty and want of faith which so unhappily disgraced the age. The art of printing was as yet scarcely known, so that all accounts, whether historical or traditional, were written in manuscript with great cost and labour: family archives and private memoirs, therefore, must necessarily have been rare at that period; and it cannot be doubted, that the few public documents of the times were influenced by party spirit and prejudiced views.

Of the scanty references that did exist, many of the original MSS. were either wholly destroyed, or the copies so mutilated and injured, not only from the warfare and desolation that pervaded the land arising from civil discord[1], but also from the destruction of the religious houses which so speedily

[1] Some idea may be formed of the fatal consequences which resulted to literature from the ravages of an infuriated mob, even at a much later period than that now under consideration, by referring to Stow's description of the conduct of Wyatt's followers in their attack on the magnificent palace of the Bishop of Winchester, at Bankside (1554), in the ancient and valuable library attached to which the books were so numerous, that the historian, in speaking of the numbers which were cut up and wholly destroyed, says, "that men might have gone up to their knees in the leaves so torn out and scattered about."—*Stow's Survey.*

followed, that in many important points, doubts can no longer be removed, difficulties solved, or the contradictory statements of contemporaries be reconciled or explained.

No historian of eminence flourished at the close of the Plantagenet dynasty. No learned biographer or philosophical statesman lived during King Richard's short and turbulent reign, to narrate minutely the combination of circumstances which led to his aspiring to the crown[1]; and to describe the munificent acts and wise regulations, which are still preserved in the national archives, and corroborated by rare and valuable manuscripts[2], bear evidence indisputable of this monarch's powerful mind, and of his comprehensive and vigorous views. These, however, have only recently been made partially known, from attention being directed to the subject,

[1] The chronicler of Croyland, and Rous, the Warwick antiquary, are almost the only contemporary annalists of King Richard's reign. The first is valuable authority; for the author was "a doctor of canon law, and one of King Edward the Fourth's councillors" (*Contt. Croy. in Gale*, vol. i. p. 557.); but his narrative is brief, being a mere epitome of events, which is the more to be lamented as his facts are authenticated by parliamentary documents. Rous, on the contrary, by dedicating his work, "Historia Regum Anglicæ," to Richard's rival, cannot be considered an impartial authority, even had he not rendered himself unworthy of credit by his contradictory account of this monarch, written previous to the above-named historical work, which was compiled for King Henry VII.—*Supplement to Walpole's Historic Doubts.*

[2] The Harl. MS. Number 433. contains a register of the grants, &c. which passed the privy seal or sign manual during the reigns of King Edward V. and King Richard III., consisting of no less than two thousand three hundred and seventy-eight articles. In addition to the above No. 18. contains manuscripts and collectanies, out of the Parl. Rolls of Richard III., and No. 22. a short abstract, taken out of the Parl. Rolls, of the private acts during the reign of Richard III.—See *Preface to the Catalogue of the Harl. MSS.*, p. 16.

owing to the publication of provincial histories[1], the examination of municipal records, and the correspondence or private diaries of reputable and disinterested contemporaries.[2]

On the other hand, biographers and annalists of known ability, encouraged by the patronage bestowed on letters by Henry VII., Richard's successor, used their talents during his long and tranquil reign to laud the victorious sovereign; to perpetuate the wisdom, foresight, and piety of him who had brought peace to the desolated land; and to seek or hope for favour and advancement, by eulogising the reigning prince, and vilifying the fallen monarch.[3] Had Richard III. survived the battle of Bosworth, and lived to perfect in a series of years the wise laws, the profound views, and judicious measures framed in the course of a few short months, posterity would in all probability have heard but little imputation against the Duke of

[1] See Drake's Hist. of York; Surtees's Hist. of Durham; Whittaker's Hist. of Richmondshire, and other eminent northern historians.

[2] See also several of the works recently published by the Camden Society, together with that valuable collection of original letters, entitled "The Paston Correspondence."

[3] Bernard Andreas, the biographer of Henry VII., was poet laureate to that monarch, and tutor to Prince Arthur, his eldest son. His work, which is full of curious matter, has never been published, but the manuscript may be found in the Cott. MSS. Dom. A. xviii. It was written in the year 1500. Polydore Virgil, Dean of Wells, historiographer to Henry VII., completed his history, which was begun in the year 1505, under the immediate patronage of that monarch's second son and successor, King Henry VIII. Fabian, the city chronicler, was a zealous Lancastrian, and compiled his work during the reign of Henry VII. Lord Bacon's well-known Life of this sovereign, though not written until after the accession of James I., was a transcript from the Tudor historians, from whose chronicles he obtained the leading facts, which he perpetuated in his own more finished style of composition. — See *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 153.

Gloucester; whilst his ambition and alleged usurpation would have been overlooked, like that of Henry IV. and other of his predecessors, in the benefits which resulted to the realm at large from his powerful rule, and the brilliancy which marked his kingly career.

But it was otherwise decreed. Richard was a fallen and a vanquished foe, the victim of that all-absorbing ambition, on which his enemies have grounded their accusations, and which was more than a counterpoise to his legislative zeal and ability. Those faithful and firm friends who could best have testified to his good deeds, or have defended his memory from unjust aspersions, were numbered with himself amongst the slain at Bosworth Field. Those who had dealt treacherously with their patron and benefactor felt their consciences soothed, and themselves relieved from odium, by the obloquy that increased tenfold after his death. While the kingdom at large, rejoicing in the union of the Red and White Roses, the contests between which had so long desolated the land with all the misery attending domestic warfare, cared but little that the crimes of King Edward IV., out of courtesy to his daughter the reigning queen, were laid wholly to the charge of the much-execrated Gloucester, or that the accession of his peacefully disposed successor was left undisputed, and rendered more acceptable to the populace by the unworthy actions and criminal deeds unsparingly ascribed, whether justly or unjustly, to the last monarch of the House of Plantagenet. The superstitious belief in omens,

warnings, and predictions, which peculiarly characterised the period that closed the brief career of King Richard, were industriously promulgated to invest with the terror of supernatural appearances the simplest and most natural events; while the ferocious deeds, which so sullied the brilliant rule of the House of York, withdrawn by common consent from the shoulders of the elder brothers, to burden exclusively the memory of the fallen Gloucester, were believed firmly to have been proved, as by a judgment from on high, in the accumulation of untoward events, which so early sealed the fate of one of the bravest soldiers and most potent monarchs of the age in which he flourished.

Except by those well versed in our national history, during the disastrous times that terminated the Plantagenet dynasty, it is scarcely possible to be conceived the state into which England had degenerated; the struggle for pre-eminence between the rival factions, having led its inhabitants to despise every acquirement that had a tendency to soften the minds of individuals, or to interfere with the progress of vengeance and ambition. Caxton, who was the chief agent in dispelling the grievous darkness that so filled the land, gives, in his Picture of London[1], a feeling portraiture of the existing state of things; but though the magic of his wonderful art gradually swept away the mists that had long enveloped all that was good and great, yet the advantages arising from its powerful influence were experienced less

[1] See Appendix B.

in his own particular time, than in after years. Richard III., to whom he dedicated one of the rarest of his works[1], and to whose chivalrous feelings and princely demeanour he bears such conclusive testimony, by his eloquent appeal in the preface, lived not long enough to benefit from an invention which, by enumerating the generous and noble qualities of his youth, and perpetuating the wisdom of his legal acts, might have made a powerful contrast in after years with the Tudor chronicles, which detailed only his crimes, whether real or imputed.

But no such favourable circumstance befriended this monarch. His early childhood, from the causes just named, was wrapt in mystery. His maturer years were stigmatised by accusations equally opposed to reason and unsupported by proof; while his entire conduct and actions, from his birth to his death, are rendered so obscure by the contradictory statements and marvellous circumstances which mingle with some few well-attested facts, that they have hitherto distracted the biographer, and defied the general historian to unravel them. Richard III. was destined to terminate with his brief reign the darkest period, morally speaking, of our national annals; for with his reign terminated that unceasing period of feudal oppression and civil warfare, which, commencing at the Norman conquest and ending with the defeat at Bosworth, is usually designated "the middle ages."

[1] The Booke of the Order of Chivalry or Knighthoode: Caxton, 1484.

With the Tudor line, as with the Norman race, a new and brighter order of things dawned upon the land. The decisive battles of Hastings and of Bosworth, the most important in a political point of view, perhaps, of any of our domestic contests, were parallel in their subversion of the ancient order of things, and also in the effect which they produced of establishing a distinct chronological era in English history; for with the subjugation of the Saxon monarchs and the accession of William I. commenced that chivalric though despotic period which reached its climax during the brilliant reigns of the Plantagenets, and terminated in the ruin and downfal of that divided house, in the person of its last representative, Richard III. On the other hand, Henry VII., from whom all subsequent monarchs of this realm have descended, may justly be considered the founder of those liberties, and the father of that civil and political freedom, which so distinguishes the last three centuries from the state of tyrannical oppression that immediately preceded it; rendering the one the age of proud nobility and servile vassalage; the other, that of an enlightened aristocracy, with a generous and free-born people.

The coincidence, indeed, of circumstances and results, arising from the defeat respectively of Richard and Harold, were most remarkable, as relates to their important effect on the kingdom at large. Henry of Richmond, like William the Conqueror, ascended the throne with all the fame attendant on victory; and profited no less by the odium that must ever attach to the violent and unjust

deposition of a youthful sovereign.[1] Their claims, too, were alike aided by the religious enthusiasm already kindled in their favour, from their connection with the pious kings Edward the Confessor and Henry VI.; the former canonized as Saint Edward, the other only denied a corresponding exaltation in consequence of the enormous fees which were demanded by Pope Julius for the apotheosis of "Saint Henry of Lancaster."[2] The reign of the latter, also, like that of the former monarch, encouraged by its weakness the preponderating influence of an overbearing aristocracy, and they tended in like manner to facilitate the revolution by which that powerful body was in its turn subdued. Again, the circumstance of Edward the Confessor being the son of a Norman princess[3] gave early encouragement to the expectations of his kinsman, and furnished the duke at his decease with a pretence for asserting his right to the crown; so also it is well known that Henry VI. early prognosticated the succession of Henry of Richmond, and that his words, considered prophetic in that superstitious age, greatly aided the claims,—

[1] Harold I. was appointed Regent of England, and Richard III. was nominated Lord Protector of the realm during the minority of the lawful heirs of the throne; and both these princes deposed their sovereigns, who were minors, and took upon them the royal prerogative. — *Sandford*, book i. p. 4.; book v. p. 407.

[2] "The general opinion was, that Pope Julius was too deare, and that the king would not come to his rates." — *Bacon's Henry VII.*, p. 227.

[3] William I. of England, and seventh Duke of Normandy, was cousin to Edward the Confessor; his mother Emma, the wife of King Etheldred, being the daughter of Richard fifth Duke of Normandy, who was uncle to William, surnamed the Conqueror. — *Sandford*, book i. p. 1.

that of being the son of a Lancastrian princess[1], — on which Richmond based his pretensions to the crown. The imbecility of the lawful heirs to the crown, the unfortunate Edward of Warwick[2] and "the gentle" Edgar Atheling, who is described as wholly unfit to govern, both in mind and body[3], by destroying the hopes of the advocates for legitimate succession, and precluding opposition to the invaders, left the crown open respectively to the founders of the Norman and Tudor lines; who, though cementing eventually the old and new dynasties, by marriage with the female representative of the former, were nevertheless more palpably usurpers than the monarchs whom they so unsparingly branded as such; in consequence of legitimate male issue being alive[4], when they

[1] Henry VII. of England, and second Earl of Richmond of that descent, was nephew to Henry VI., being the son of that monarch's half-brother, Edmund Tudor, espoused to the Lady Margaret Beaufort, only child of John Duke of Somerset, the grandson of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. — *Life of Margaret Beaufort*, p. 43.

[2] Edward Earl of Warwick was about 10 years of age (*Dugdale* vol. ii. p. 162.) when Henry VII. contested the crown with Richard III. at Bosworth; but in consequence of the severities and close imprisonment which this hapless prince had endured from his early childhood, his mind had become so enfeebled that he was altogether incapacitated from being the leader of his party or assuming the reins of government. Nevertheless, as the only surviving son of George Duke of Clarence, King Richard's elder brother, he was the lawful inheritor of the English throne upon his uncle's decease, and after the disappearance of the young princes his cousins; for although the daughters of Edward IV. were alive and at liberty, yet up to this period of English history females had not exercised the regal authority in Britain.

[3] Milton, Hist. Brit., book vi. p. 82.

[4] On the demise of Edward the Confessor, there were three surviving children of his nephew Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, who, had not that prince died before his uncle, would by heirship have succeeded to the throne. These consisted of a son, Edgar

seized the throne by violence, and established themselves on it by right of conquest. Finally, the discontent of the opposing parties speedily manifesting itself in insurrection, conspiracy, and revolt, the policy of William, as also of Henry VII., aimed at subduing the power of the nobility, weakening the authority of the clergy, and augmenting the liberties of the people. In both cases the accession of these monarchs formed epochs of mental cultivation in their subjects, which could not fail to reflect brilliancy on their reigns: the Norman princes, by their love of minstrelsy and poetry, their patronage of letters and of learned men, laying the foundation of that thirst for knowledge which reached its climax under the Tudor monarchs

Atheling, constitutionally weak, but the undoubted heir of the crown, and his young sisters Margaret and Christina. Prince Edgar was acknowledged king upon the decease of his great uncle, but was speedily dethroned by his kinsman Harold, who had been appointed regent during the young king's minority. Edgar lived under Harold's government until that prince was slain by the Norman Conqueror; upon whose usurpation a pension for life was settled upon the dethroned monarch. Of the two daughters, Margaret, the elder, married Malcolm III., King of Scotland, and Christina took the veil. By the subsequent union of Matilda, Margaret's daughter, with the youngest son of King William, eventually Henry I., the Saxon and Norman lines were united.—*Milton's History of Britain*, book vi.; *Sandford*, book i. On the accession of Henry VII. seven legitimate heirs to the crown were living, viz. the five daughters of Edward IV., and the son and daughter of George Duke of Clarence, who had been put to death in the Tower. Of these, the unhappy Edward of Clarence, a state prisoner from his infancy, was even more rigidly guarded than before by the Tudor monarch; failure of issue in the deceased king, Richard III., having rendered Prince Edward the last male survivor of his ill-fated race. He was finally beheaded by Henry on frivolous accusations, but really from political jealousy, at the early age of twenty-four, in the year 1499; and by the marriage of this monarch with Elizabeth, the eldest of King Edward the Fourth's daughters, the long divided houses of York and Lancaster became united. — *Excerpta Historica*, p. 123.

from the adventitious aid of printing, and the encouragement bestowed by Henry VII. and his family on the earliest typographical efforts. It is therefore apparent that the founder of the Tudor dynasty must have possessed, as was before stated, the full benefit of contemporary biographers and able historians to enumerate his virtues and extenuate his errors; while Richard III. was selected by these self-same writers as the victim to exalt the fame and magnify the judicious policy pursued by his more cautious and successful rival.

As the image of the deceased king faded from remembrance, deformity of body, without sufficient co-existing proof[1], was gradually associated with alleged deformity of mind; thus strengthening the contrast, bodily as well as mental, between the new monarch and his fallen predecessor — the distorted appearance of the one seeming in unison with his dark and crooked policy[2]; while the moral

[1] Stow, in his valuable work, "The Survey of London," declared, "that he could find no such note of deformity in King Richard III. as historians commonly relate;" and he acknowledged, *viva voce*, that he had spoken with some ancient men, who, from their own sight and knowledge, affirmed that he was of bodily shape, comely enough, only of low stature. Now, as "honest John Stowe" was born in 1525, only forty years after Richard's decease, he must have had many facilities for speaking with those who had both known and seen the king; he was also remarkable for his circumstantial detail of the persons of princes, and "very inquisitive," too, in the description of their persons and features. — *Life of Stow*, prefixed to his *Survey of London*, p. xviii., ed. 1720.)

[2] "There never was in any man a greater uniformity of body and mind than was in him, both of them equally deformed. Of body he was but low, crook'd-backed, hook-shouldered, splay-footed, and goggle-eyed; his face little and round, his complexion swarthy, his left arm from his birth dry and withered; born a monster in nature,

and religious habits of the other, being annexed to superiority of form and feature[1], speedily secured golden opinions for the second Alfred, — "the Solomon of England,[2]" — and increased to positive frenzy the odium and abhorrence which to this day attaches to "Crook-backed Richard," the demon incarnate of prejudice, of superstition, and of political malevolence.[3] Let it not, however, be supposed, that in entering on the arena of controversy respecting the alleged acts of Richard III., any desire is entertained of exalting him into a hero of romance: The crimes laid to his charge, whether real or imaginary, (for this is not the place in which to discuss their validity,) were many and grievous; and his elevation to the crown was marked by transactions which, to speak in the mildest terms, were open to severe condemnation, unmitigable censure. But the same unerring guide, Truth, will equally aid the historian in collecting well-attested facts, whether adduced in corroboration of good or evil deeds; and in the absence of all proof — nay, of even substantial foundation for imputed crimes greater and more heinous than were ever perhaps heaped on the memory of any individual, — surely the charitable and truly English feeling claimed for the vilest of malefactors, until he has

with all his teeth, with hair on his head, and nails on his fingers and toes. And just such were the qualities of his mind." — *Baker's Chronicler*, p. 234.

[1] See Appendix C.

[2] Bacon's Henry VII., p. 231.

[3] "Since the heavens have shap'd my body so,
Let hell make crook'd my mind to answer it."
Richard III., Act I. Scene I.

been tried by credible witnesses and pronounced guilty by upright and disinterested judges, will not be denied to one of the illustrious line of the Plantagenets, when seeking from his countrymen, at the expiration of three centuries, that justice which the fury of party spirit prevented his obtaining at the time he lived.

CHAP. II.

Offspring of Edward III.—Richard II. deposed by Henry of Lancaster, who usurps the throne.—Superior title of the Earl of March.—The Earl of Cambridge conspires to dethrone Henry V.—He is seized, and executed for high treason.—Rivalry of the Houses of York and Lancaster.—The honours of the race of Clarence and of York centre in Richard Plantagenet, heir of the attainted Cambridge.—His childhood, wardship, character, and high reputation.—Unpopularity of Henry VI.—His loss of reason.—Duke of York is made Protector.—Birth of Edward Prince of Wales.—Hostility of Queen Margaret towards the Duke of York.—He asserts his title to the throne.—His claims admitted by Parliament.—Indignation of Margaret.—Battle of Wakefield.—The Duke of York is slain.—Edward, his eldest son, proclaimed king.

BEFORE entering on the more particular and personal history of Richard Duke of Gloucester, in order that the nature of his political position may be clearly understood, it will be necessary briefly to review the state of public affairs up to the birth of that prince; so far, at least, as is requisite to show what was the situation of his parents, both as regards their connection with the throne, and likewise with that faction of which they were the acknowledged head. The offspring of Edward III. and Philippa of Hainault, who commenced their reign in the year 1327, consisted of seven sons and five daughters.[1] Of these the eldest, Edward the Black Prince, died of consumption shortly before his father, so that the crown, in 1377, devolved on a minor, Richard II., his only surviving child.

That prince, weak, irascible, and self-willed, though endowed with amiable and affectionate qua-

[1] See Appendix D.

lities, was deposed in 1399 by his cousin Henry of Bolingbroke, heir to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward III. Parliament, however, had previously nominated as successor to Richard II., who had early been united to Ann of Bohemia, but without issue, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March[1], the grandson of Lionel Duke of Clarence, elder brother to John of Gaunt, and the legitimate heir to the throne; Prince William, King Edward's second son, having died young.[2]

The House of Lancaster being powerful, wealthy, and highly popular, this branch of King Edward's family retained possession of the usurped sceptre, and transferred it to their lineal successors for three consecutive reigns; viz. that of Henry IV., who forcibly seized it, his son Henry V., and Henry VI. his grandson; the three sovereigns who compose that branch of the Plantagenet dynasty, which in our regnal annals is denominated the Lancastrian.

But their sway, though uninterrupted for upwards of half a century, was neither peaceful nor altogether uncontested. Notwithstanding the alleged abdication of Richard II., and the fact that Parliament ratified[3] the usurpation of Henry IV.[4], the claims of the descendants of Lionel Duke of Clarence were considered, at Richard's decease, indisputable by the laws of inheritance. This Prince Lionel left an only child, Philippa, married to Edward Mortimer, Earl of March, in whose son

[1] Rot. Parl., vol. v. p. 484.

[2] In the Cott. MSS. there is preserved a very interesting contemporaneous account of the funeral of this young prince, who was born at Hatfield in 1336, and dying 3d March, was buried at York, 9 Edw. III. — *Cott. MSS.*, Nero C. viii. fol. 213.

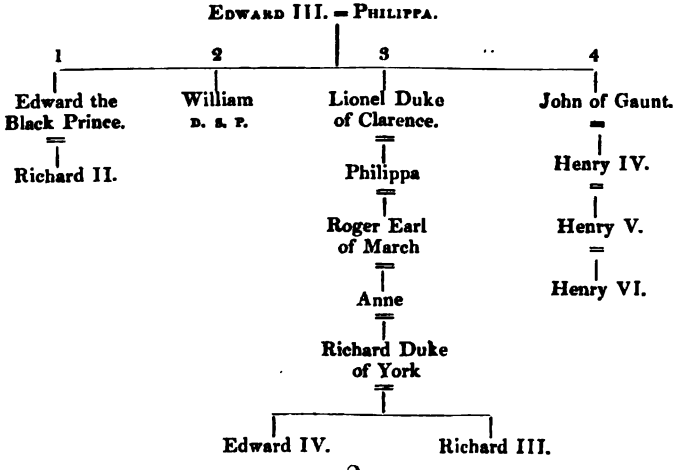
[3] Rot. Parl., vol. iii. p. 416.

[4] Ibid., p. 424.

Roger centred the above-named claims.[1] This son, however, dying before the deposed monarch, his heir, a child seven years of age, with an infant brother, were imprisoned for many years at Windsor Castle[2], and their wardship bestowed on the Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V., that their rich possessions and rival claims to the crown might ensure from the heir apparent continued and safe custody. Unusual as is such a result in such cases of conflicting interests, a chivalric and romantic friendship sprang up between the prince and his imprisoned cousins; so that, upon his accession to the throne, Henry V. experienced no opposition from Edmund Mortimer[3], but numbered him amongst his most devoted followers.

Thus stood matters during the usurping reign of Henry IV. as regards the four eldest branches of Kind Edward's race.[4] The fifth son of that monarch

[1] Sandford, book iii. ch. xii. [2] Hume, vol. iv. p. 62.
[3] Kennet, vol. i. p. 315.
[4] The annexed pedigree will exemplify more clearly this portion of the narrative.



was Edmund Langley, Duke of York, who married Isabel, daughter and co-heiress of Peter King of Castile and Leon.[1] John of Gaunt having espoused her sister, a double connection by birth and by marriage united for a brief period the houses of York and Lancaster; but this alliance produced a mere temporary submission to the usurpation of the latter; for the Duke of York's second son[2], the Earl of Cambridge, espousing the Lady Ann Mortimer, sister to the above-named Earl of March, and grand-daughter of Philippa of Clarence, that branch speedily and with great energy advocated the rights of primogeniture, which had been tacitly abandoned by Edward Mortimer, the rightful heir. This nobleman was childless[3], so that no personal ambition stimulated opposition to his early friend and former guardian; and the other male branches of the house of March having gradually fallen victims to zeal for their race, or dying without issue, the lineal rights of their ancestor, Lionel of Clarence, became vested, after Edmund Mortimer's decease, in Richard Plantagenet, the only son of the Lady Ann Mortimer and the Earl of Cambridge.[4] Now this latter prince was not of a temperament quietly to abandon his child's just claims; consequently, in the third year of King Henry's reign, upon the eve of that monarch's departure on an expedition into France, he joined in a conspiracy with some leading

[1] Testamenta Vetusta, vol. i. p. 134.

[2] Richard of York, surnamed of Coningsburgh, from the place of his birth, and created Earl of Cambridge by Henry V. shortly after his accession to the throne. — *Parl. Ann.* 11 *Hen. V.*

[3] Sir Francis Biondi's Hist. of the Civill Warres, vol. i. p. 114.

[4] Testamenta Vetusta, vol. ii. p. 110.

nobles, the Lord Treasurer Scroop, and Sir Thomas Grey, who were favourable to his cause, to depose Henry V.[1], and restore the lawful heir to the throne in the person of the above-named Edmund Mortimer, Philippa's grandson, and his own brother by marriage. Being, however, betrayed by the Earl of March, to whom he had disclosed this conspiracy, the ostensible design of which was to place him on the throne of his ancestors, but doubtless with the ultimate view of his son's succession, he was seized, tried, and condemned on his own confession[2], and beheaded with the other conspirators at Southampton[3] in the year 1415, and third of Henry V.

The untimely death of this prince, who was much and deservedly beloved, induced in his race a particular and personal cause of hatred against

[1] Some of the early chronicles ascribe this conspiracy to Charles VI. of France, stating that he offered a million of gold for the betrayal or murder of King Henry; but the high esteem with which Richard of Coningsburgh was regarded by his royal kinsman, who had created him in the year previous Earl of Cambridge, a title which had before been borne by his father and brother, renders it highly improbable that any less powerful inducement than that of preserving the right of his posterity to the crown, would have induced in the earl so desperate and ungrateful a scheme.—*Sandford*, books v. p. 366.

[2] The indictment of the Earl of Cambridge may be found on the Rolls of Parliament, vol. iv. p. 64.; and the substance, in English, in the Lansdown MSS. No. 1. art. 27. The letter of confession from the earl to King Henry V. is preserved in the Cottonian MSS. Vesp. C. xiv. fol. 39.; and his memorable letter, suing for mercy after his condemnation, is also contained in the same collection, Vesp. F. iii. fol. 7. These letters, as autographs of so remarkable a person, are most curious and interesting; but as the whole have been published by Sir Henry Ellis in his valuable collection of "Original Letters," vol. i. 2d series, it is not considered necessary here to give more than correct reference to the genuine documents, which so minutely detail the unhappy end of the grandsire of Richard III.

[3] Cott. MSS. Vesp. C. xiv. fol. 39.

the line of Lancaster; and the two branches of Clarence and York being united by marriage, and influenced by mutual feelings of indignation from injuries inflicted by the reigning family, they henceforth became leagued in one common cause of enmity against them; whence the unceasing and exterminating warfare that characterised the period in which their several claims were so fiercely contested under the well-known appellation of the Wars of the Roses.[1] By the demise of Edward[2], eldest son of Edmund Langley, Duke of York, who was slain at the battle of Agincourt, and left no issue, the infant heir of the recently executed Earl of Cambridge became the head of this family, and

[1] The precise period at which the Red and White Roses were adopted as hostile emblems in the divided house of Plantagenet, has never been satisfactorily ascertained; but an ancient contemporaneous MS. (see Appendix E), discovered by Sir Henry Ellis in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, proves that the White Rose was an hereditary cognisance of the house of York, and borne as such by the duke when he inherited the title. Camden states, that the Lancastrians derived the badge of the Red Rose from their ancestor Edmund, first Earl of Lancaster, "on whose person," says Sandford, "was originally founded the great contention betwixt the two royal houses of Lancaster and York." And in a curious article, entitled "Impresses," Camden in his Remains, p. 451., asserts, that "Edmund Crouch-backe, second son of Henry III., used a Red Rose, wherewith his tomb at Westminster is adorned." Also, that "John of Gaunt, fifth Duke of Lancaster, took a Red Rose to his device, as it were by right of his first wife, the heiress of Lancaster, grandchild to the above-named Edmund Crouch-backe;" and that "Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, his younger brother, adopted as his emblem the White Rose."

[2] Edward Plantagenet was created Earl of Rutland during his father's lifetime, 13 Richard II.; but on his decease, in 1402, succeeded him in his titles and estates as Duke of York and Earl of Cambridge. This latter dignity, as stated in a former note, was granted to his younger brother, Richard of Coningsburgh, in the second year of King Henry V., who held it at the time when he was executed at Southampton for conspiracy against the king. — *Sandford*, book v. p. 363.

the inheritor of his uncle's fortune and honours[1]; but in consequence of his father's rebellion and subsequent attainder, these latter were withheld from him.

At the death of the Duke of York in 1415, a few months after the execution of the Earl of Cambridge, Richard Plantagenet was only three years of age; nevertheless the suspicions induced by the earl's conspiracy, and the jealousy resulting from the justness of his son's maternal claims on the crown, led to his being immediately apprehended and committed to the Tower, under the custody and vigilant care of Robert Waterton[2], brother to King Henry's favourite attendant: there he continued closely imprisoned for a considerable time, associated with the celebrated Duke of Orleans and other noble prisoners who had been captured at the battle of Agincourt, in which his uncle had so recently fallen.

So long as Henry V. survived, and for some time after the accession of his son Henry VI., the young Plantagenet experienced all the evil effects of his father's unfortunate rebellion and attainder. His mother dying during his infancy was spared a participation in the misery that afterwards befell her husband and her child.[3] On the decease, how-

[1] Nichol's Royal Wills, p. 222.

[2] A petition from Waterton, praying for payment of the 150*l.* per annum, awarded to him for the board and safe keeping of the infant prince, is published in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ix. p. 317. See Appendix F.

[3] The Lady Anne Mortimer died young, and left two children by the Earl of Cambridge; a son, the above-named Richard Plantagenet, and a daughter, Isabel. From the tender years of her brother at his father's death, and from the circumstance of the Earl of Cambridge

ever, of her only surviving brother, the before-named Earl of March, without issue, her orphan son, already heir to the vast possessions of the house of York, succeeded also to the immense wealth and hereditary honours of this his maternal uncle[1], including the earldoms of March and Ulster, and the lordships of Wigmore, Clare, Trim, and Connaught: he consequently united thus in his own person the representation of King Edward's third and fifth sons, and by virtue of direct heirship from the former became the lineal inheritor of the sovereignty of England.[2]

It was not, however, until the fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. that the young Richard Plantagenet, then about thirteen years of age[3], after

having married again some time before his execution, the lady Isabel was in all probability the eldest. She was afterwards united to Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex and Viscount Bourchier, by whom she had a numerous family. The second wife of Richard Earl of Cambridge was Maud, the daughter of Thomas Lord Clifford, by whom he had no issue. She subsequently espoused John Lord Latimer, and died about the 25th of Hen. VI. — *Sandford*, book v. p. 367.

[1] On the accession of Henry VI., the Earl of March was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and died in that country, 3d Henry VI., 1424. — *Sloane MSS.*, 17. 6. Of this ill-fated nobleman we find the following notice in Biondi, book iv. p. 25.: — "At this time (Hen. VI. 1424), Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, formerly deprived of his liberty, died at Trimmes in Ireland, whereupon his just and lawful pretences fell upon Richard Plantagenet, sonne of that Richard Earl of Cambridge who by the commandment of Henry V. was beheaded at Southampton in 1415." — See also *Sandford*, book iii. p. 225.

[2] Sandford, book v. p. 369.

[3] Richard Plantagenet being three years of age when the Duke of York was slain at Agincourt, 25th October, 1415, he must have been in his twelfth year when he succeeded to the honours of the house of March on the demise of his uncle (3d of Hen. VI. 1424), and aged about thirteen when fully restored to his dignity as Duke

being knighted with his youthful monarch, was fully restored to his twofold rank[1], as Duke of York and Earl of Cambridge and Rutland on the paternal side, and Earl of March and Ulster in right of his mother. The reigning family appeared at this time too firmly seated on the throne to dread a revival of those claims which had now remained in abeyance for three generations, and in the meantime had been confirmed to themselves by repeated acts of the legislature. Great care was also taken that from his earliest childhood the heir of the house of York should be intimately associated with, and carefully guarded by, leaders of the Lancastrian party, his wardship[2] having been assigned to Ralph Earl of Westmoreland, who had married the Princess Joane Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, and sister to Henry of Bolingbroke, the founder of the Lancastrian dynasty. The evil fortunes which so early overwhelmed the family of the Earl of Cambridge appear to have been productive of singular benefit to his infant son and successor in tempering his character and conduct; for all the writers of that period agree in admitting that he was a prince of considerable ability, and one of the most upright and excellent characters that adorned the age.

Courageous and intrepid, humane and beneficent, he was remarkable for his heroism in the field of battle and for his temperate and conciliating con-

of York in the Parliament assembled at Leicester in the fourth year of that monarch's reign. — *Sandford*, book v. p. 365.

[1] Vincent on Brooke, p. 621.

[2] Fœdera, vol. x. p. 358.

duct in political affairs[1]; and this too under circumstances of strong excitement and peculiar temptation.[2] These estimable qualities, and the factious spirit which early agitated the court of Henry VI. (arising from the struggle for power between Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort), accelerated the advancement of this promising young prince, and laid the foundation for that popularity which eventually restored the diadem to the House of York in the person of his eldest son, King Edward IV. Upon the departure of Henry VI. into France, to be crowned monarch of that realm, he nominated the Duke of York to be constable of England[3]; and after the demise of the king's uncle, the Duke of Bedford, in 1435, Richard was appointed, at the early age of seventeen[4], to the regency of France.[5] Recalled from this arduous station by the machinations of the opposite party, the Duke of York became so distinguished for his

[1] Hume, vol. iv. p. 168. [2] Sharon Turner, vol. iii. p. 174.

[3] Rot. Parl. Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 7.

[4] It was in allusion to this high appointment, that his great political antagonist, Edmund Duke of Somerset, exclaimed, at a subsequent period, "that if York had not learned to play the king by his regency in France, he had never forgot to obey as a subject in England." — *Echard*, vol. i. p. 214.

[5] This most important command bestowed on one so young, affords a remarkable proof at how very early an age after Richard's restoration to his rank and title his dormant claims on the crown were tacitly admitted. "Bedford, the king's uncle, being dead," says Biondi, "a new choice was made of who should succeed him as regent of France. Of two that pretended thereunto, the Duke of York bore away the bell; whereat the Duke of Somerset was scandalised, who, being the king's cousin, thought to have been preferred before him, but the council was of another opinion: York's true pretence unto the crown, though at that time not spoken of, was perhaps the cause why they would not discontent him." — *Biondi*, vol. ii. p. 96.

military prowess and daring achievements, that in 1440 he was again appointed "lieutenant-general and governor-general" of that kingdom[1]; but being superseded at the expiration of five years, really through the ambition of John Duke of Somerset, but under pretence of suppressing a formidable insurrection in Ireland[2], he displayed on that occasion such strong judgment and such eminent self-command, that it revived in full force the recollection of those regal claims which were possessed by so noble a character[3], and considerably strengthened his title to that throne which was ere long to be openly contested.

The Duke of York himself gave no encouragement for many years to cabals or conspiracies in his favour. The unhappy fate of his parent had been an awful and a severe lesson to him in childhood. The earlier years of his life had been devoted to warlike exploits in other lands, and as a natural result he was but little connected with political schemes at home. He was loyal to the reigning monarch, and submissive to the laws of the realm. He ruled justly and wisely as the vicegerent of that sovereign, and cheerfully obeyed his man-

[1] Minutes of Priv. Coun. 19 Hen. VI. 1440.

[2] Stow asserts that "in 1449 there began a new rebellion in Ireland; but Richard Duke of York, being sent thither to appease the same, so assuaged the fury of the wild and savage people there, that he won such favour among them as could never be separated from him." It has been also observed by Sir Henry Ellis, that "in justice to the Duke of York it must be stated, that the acts which were passed in the Parliament of Ireland under his administration reflect the greatest credit on his memory." — *Ellis, Original Letters*, vol. i. p. 107.

[3] Sandford, book v. p. 371.

date when officially recalled from the honourable appointments[1] before mentioned; but a combination of events in after years (which it is unnecessary here to do more than very briefly advert to) forced him eventually to take a decisive part in the domestic struggles that agitated his country, and finally in self-defence to enforce those pretensions to the crown which he clearly inherited from Edward III. through the royal descent of his illustrious mother.

From the time that Henry VI. ascended the throne as an infant but eight months old, this country was little less than one continued scene of disorder and contention. Naturally weak and timid, possessed of every mild and endearing virtue that could attach the affections in private life, but deficient in vigour of mind, in judgment, and those nobler qualities which dignify the character, and are indeed essential in the ruler of a great and powerful nation, this amiable sovereign became from his earliest childhood the victim of ambitious guardians[2], and continued through life the tool of

[1] Sir Harris Nicolas, in his preface to "Minutes of the Privy Council," 15 Hen. VI. 1437 (p. xi.), states that "on the 7th of April the council ordered letters to be written to the Duke of York, whose command as lieutenant of France had expired, and who was unwilling to retain that office thanking him for his services, and requesting him to continue in France until his successor arrived." The same learned writer also adds (p. xiv.), "there seems to have been considerable difficulty in finding a successor for the Duke of York, &c. &c. After much consideration, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, accepted it, on condition that he had the same powers granted as his predecessor." (pp. xi. xiv.) A most convincing proof of the trust reposed in him, and of the confidence entertained in his loyalty and high principles.

[2] Cont. Croyland Chron., p. 52.

designing and selfish ministers. The measure of his misfortunes was completed by his marriage with Margaret of Anjou[1], a princess of singular beauty and accomplishments, but of so masculine a spirit and so unyielding a disposition, that she increased the disaffection which was felt towards her royal consort, and by her violent temper and inordinate ambition fed the discontent that arose from the misgovernment of those evil counsellors who influenced the simple-minded king in his unpopular measures. The illness of Henry VI. in the thirtieth year of his reign[2] (about thirteen years after his union with Queen Margaret) ending in imbecility of the most distressing kind[3], openly rekindled the long smothered contentions between the rival branches of the house of Plantagenet; and the Duke of York, by the death of different members of the

[1] This princess was the daughter of Reyner Duke of Anjou, titular king of Jerusalem, Sicily, Arago, Valence, &c., and Isabel his wife, third daughter of Charles Duke of Lorraine. She was united to Henry VI. at Southwick in Hants, on the 22d of April, 1445, and on the 30th of May following was crowned at Westminster.—*Sandford*, book iv. p. 290.

[2] W. Wyr., p. 477.

[3] The melancholy state of the unfortunate monarch is most affectingly described in the parliamentary record which perpetuates the event. Certain nobles, accompanied by the Bishop of Chester, were deputed by the House of Lords to ascertain by a personal interview the exact condition of the afflicted king, and to endeavour to learn his pleasure on public matters of importance, "to the which matters nor to any of them they could get no answer nor sign; for no prayer nor desire, lamentable cheer nor expectation, nor any thing that they or any of them could do or say, to their great sorrow and discomfort. After dinner they came to the king's highness in the same place where they were before, and there they moved and stirred him by all the ways and means that they could think to have answer of the said matter . . . but they could have no answer, word, nor sign, and therefore with sorrowful hearts came their way."—*Rot. Parl.*, vol. v. p. 241.

reigning family without issue, having become first prince of the blood, and consequently next in order of succession to the throne, apart from his dormant maternal claims, was unanimously elected by parliament[1] "protector and defender of the realm," and in April, 1454, invested with all the state and importance attached to heir presumptive of the crown.

The birth of an heir apparent, Edward Prince of Wales, at this critical juncture, and under circumstances of painful suspicion as regards his legitimacy, increased rather than diminished the strength of the opposing party.[2] The distraction which had so long desolated the kingdom was attributed, and most justly, to the long minority[3] of the reigning sovereign and the factious spirit of his regency; the prospect therefore of similar evils recurring in the person of his infant son, born so many years after his marriage, and when the king, by reason of his infirmities, was in a manner dead to his subjects, aroused a feeling of discontent in the supporters of the rights of primogeniture, that was daily fostered by the imperious conduct of the queen-mother and the obnoxious measures of her ministers.

A curious and striking proof of the general feeling relative to the claims of the Duke of York, and of the favourable manner with which they were advocated by the people at large, is evinced by some contemporaneous rhythmical lines, quoted by

[1] Rot. Parl., vol. v. p. 242. [2] Fabian Chron., p. 456.
[3] Sharon Turner, vol. iii. p. 192.

Augustine Vincent[1], the learned antiquary, from an ancient roll in his possession[2]; which verses attest the pains that were taken to promulgate the lineage of York at the time he was advanced to the protectorate[3], by means of itinerant minstrels, the popular historians of the day.[4]

The power of the Duke of York[5] thus gaining ground, notwithstanding the birth of an heir apparent, and the jealous indignation of Margaret of Anjou being roused past all control, an open rupture was the result; and for a space of ten years the animosity, the hatred, the spirit of vengeance, which characterised the two parties, can only be estimated by perusing the minute and particular accounts written by contemporary annalists[6] of the principal battles which marked, and may truly be said to

[1] Vincent's Catalogue of the Nobility, p. 622.

[2] See Appendix G.

[3] The composition in question was written by an Augustine friar of the monastery of Clare in Suffolk, the manorial rights of which were the lineal inheritance of the now popular Duke of York. — *Weever's Funeral Monuments*, p. 734.

[4] It was chiefly by means of these metrical traditions that the people of England, before the introduction of printing, became acquainted with the leading events of their national history; and through the medium of wandering musicians, the chroniclers of those early days, who chaunted their rude verses in the several houses of entertainment which they frequented in their rambles, much interesting matter was transmitted from generation to generation, and thus preserved for the benefit of more enlightened times.

[5] "It is not unworthy of observation, that the rebels of this period expected increased popularity from connecting their insurrections with any name appertaining to the House of York." Jack Sharpe, for example, was "of Wigmore's lands in Wales," and Jack Cade was "a Mortimer," cousin to the Duke of York (as he termed himself at least); and this rebel's ejaculation, "Now is Mortimer lord of this city," when on passing the famed London Stone he struck it with his sword, is familiar to all acquainted with the history of this period. — *Ellis's Original Letters*, 2d series, p. 113.

[6] Whethamstede, pp. 353—481.; also W. Wyr., p. 484.

have disgraced, this most sanguinary age.[1] Of these no farther notice is here required than the simple statement, that at the expiration of that period (October 1460) the Duke of York, being irritated to extremity by the political and personal opposition of the queen, and goaded by his incensed party to revenge the insults which had been repeatedly offered to them by the house of Somerset, who considered themselves next to the infant Prince of Wales in heirship to Henry VI.[2], at length

[1] Amongst the Harleian MSS. (see No. 901. art. 5.) has been preserved an original document, containing the names of the kings, princes, and nobles slain during these desperate battles between the houses of York and Lancaster, when they so fiercely contested for the crown. In the brief period of fifty-four years it numbers on the list, 3 kings, 12 dukes, 1 marquis, 17 earls, 1 viscount, and 24 barons.

[2] The connection of the house of Somerset with the reigning family was as follows: — John of Gaunt was thrice married. By his first wife, the Lady Blanch, heiress of the Duke of Lancaster (and in right of whom he assumed that title), he had one only son, Henry of Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV. By his second wife, the Princess Constance, co-heiress of the King of Castile and Leon, he had no male issue. But during her lifetime he had four sons and one daughter by Dame Katherine Swynford, widow of Sir Otes Swynford, formerly a knight in his service, and whom he eventually espoused after the decease of the Princess Constance.

By an act passed in the reign of Richard II. (*Rot. Parl.*, vol. iii. p. 343.) these children, surnamed De Beaufort, were, on the duke's marriage with their mother, legitimised by Parliament, and the eldest son was forthwith created Earl of Somerset; but though thus permitted to share with the lawful offspring of John of Gaunt the enormous wealth and vast possessions of their common parent, yet the deed itself was not at that time considered as entitling them to succession to the crown; but, on the contrary, as excepting them by special reservation (*Excerpt. Hist.*, p. 153.) from all regal immunities that might accrue to the descendants of their illustrious parent. From this important point originated the enmity and personal jealousy that subsisted between the Duke of York and the above-named family of Somerset, the latter acting on all occasions, as indeed they considered themselves to be the representatives of the House of Lancaster on failure of direct male issue; and the former, as heir

publicly appealed to Parliament for a recognition of his title to the throne[1] as the descendant of Lionel Duke of Clarence.

His claims having been presented in legal form to the Lord Chancellor, were by him submitted to the twelve judges, and after being argued at considerable length by the great law officers of the

presumptive, and entitled to the crown by lineal and unimpeachable descent, disdaining the claims of the De Beauforts, springing as they did from a corrupted and illegitimate source.

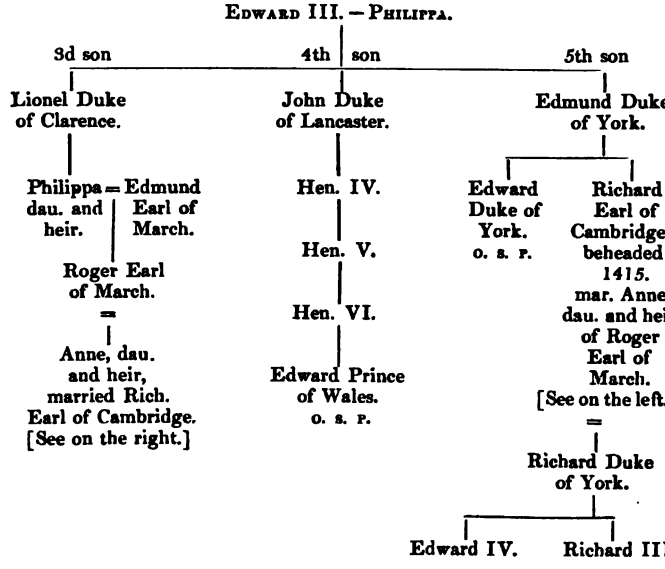
The high position, however, which the Earl of Somerset occupied at the court of Henry VI. is evinced by his being styled, in a letter from the privy council to the inhabitants of Bordeaux when appointed Lieutenant General of France, as "a powerful and distinguished prince of the King's blood and lineage" (*Minutes of Priv. Coun.*, civ.); by his being created Duke of Somerset, and Lord of Kendale, with precedence above the Duke of Norfolk; and by his being allowed to inspect the register of the King's lands, that he might select those which he thought proper. — *Ibid.*, cx.

This nobleman died in 1444 (*Collins's Peerage*, i. 197.), and was succeeded in his titles and station by his brother Edmund, whose haughty and imperious manners rendered him generally unpopular; while the ascendancy which he obtained over King Henry and Queen Margaret caused great indignation amongst the ancient nobles of the land, which increased to open hostility, when, through the influence of his royal mistress, the obnoxious favourite was chosen as chief minister of the crown. To this source may unhesitatingly be ascribed the origin of the Duke of York's rebellious conduct towards his sovereign (*Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 65.), which was first evinced in a petition urging the arrest of Somerset, and calling on the King to institute inquiry into his conduct (*Rot. Parl.*, v. p. 316.), and which was followed by articles of impeachment exhibited against him as chief minister in 1451 (*Cott. MSS.*, Vesp. C. p. 14.) His personal influence over the Queen increased the odium of his maleadministration; and his being publicly arrested "in her chamber" (*Sandford*, book iv. p. 294.) and presence, during the King's appalling illness, and thence committed by the lords to the Tower, did not tend to discourage the reports relative to the illegitimacy of the Prince of Wales; although Somerset's committal is by himself alleged to have been ordered by the privy council solely to secure his personal safety.—*Harl. MS.* 543., p. 163.

[1] The Duke of York's title to the throne will be more clearly shown by the following pedigree: —

crown, they were dispassionately considered, and at last finally recognised by the House of Lords.[1] Reluctant to depose the well-meaning but simple-minded monarch, who had recovered his reason, indeed, but continued weak in health, and yet more infirm of purpose, an act was passed by the more moderate of each party to the effect that Henry VI. should retain the sceptre for the remainder of his life, but that succession to the throne should devolve, on his decease, to the Duke of York and his heirs.[2]

The opposing statutes of Henry of Bolingbroke were repealed, a new act of settlement was passed, to which the royal assent was given by the weak and imbecile monarch[3], and an income of 10,000*l.*



[1] Rot. Parl., p. 317.
[2] Ibid., p. 378, 379.
[3] Ibid., p. 380.

per annum, an enormous sum in those days, was awarded to Richard Duke of York; when this new parliamentary admission of his title was added to the lineal claims of the house of Mortimer, of which he was the representative.

The Queen was sojourning with the young Prince, at the castle of Harlech in North Wales[1], whither she had fled for refuge after the capture of King Henry, and the defeat of the Lancastrians at Northampton[2], when this important decision was communicated to her, accompanied by the royal mandate, enforcing, in no measured terms, their immediate and peaceable return to Court.[3] Spurning with indignation and disdain an enactment which deprived her son of his inheritance, and limited her own and her husband's regal position to the mere sufferance of parliament, Margaret fled instantly to Scotland, and implored, in all the agony of desperation, assistance from its youthful monarch[4], through the medium of the Queen-Regent, Mary of Gueldres, his mother, who ruled during his minority. She assembled, by the co-operation of her northern partisans, the Earl of Northumberland and the Lord Clifford, such a powerful force in so incredibly short a period, that it enabled her immediately to defy the decision of

[1] Warkworth Chron., p. 35. [2] Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 51.
[3] W. Wyr., p. 481.
[4] James I., King of Scotland, married in 1424 Joane, daughter of John I., Earl of Somerset, and grand-daughter of John of Gaunt. It was from their grandson James III., thus closely allied to the house of Lancaster, that Margaret of Anjou at this time entreated assistance; his royal parent, James II., having fallen a victim to zeal for her husband's cause a few months previously at the siege of Roxburgh, August 3d, 1460. — *Granger's Biog. Hist.*, p. 33.

parliament, and to resist the commands of her pusillanimous lord and sovereign.

The Duke of York, unprepared for such prompt measures, hastened to crush at its outset an opposition so formidable to his recently admitted claims to the crown. He foresaw not that he was hastening to his destruction, and that the crown so fatally contested by his ancestors, so recently secured to himself and his heirs, would never grace either his own brow or that of his youthful rival. Accompanied by his second son, Edmund Duke of Rutland, and by his brother-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury, he reached, by forced marches, his patrimonial castle of Sendal, with about 6000 men, on the 21st December, 1460, in which stronghold he held his Christmas, and was to have been speedily joined there by a powerful force from Wales, headed by his eldest son the Earl of March, whom he hastily dispatched to summon his vassals on this important occasion. But the fate of Richard Plantagenet was destined to be irrevocably sealed, and the furious contests between him and Margaret of Anjou brought to a sudden and final close, by the approaching battle of Wakefield. The intrepid Queen had already crossed the Scottish frontiers, and being joined by her favourite Somerset, and the heroic Earls of Devon and Wilts[1], she reached the gates of York before the Duke was in any position to encounter the formidable force which she had assembled. Heedless of the advice of his friends[2], and regarding only the taunts of his

[1] W. Wyr., p. 484. [2] See Appendix H.

enemies, in an unguarded moment, the brave and high-minded Duke of York sallied forth from his castle[1], and was induced, under peculiarly disadvantageous circumstances, increased by the breach of faith and dishonourable conduct of the Lancastrian leaders, to encounter his vindictive foes.

The battle was brief, but the result was most important; for after a desperate conflict, and the display on the part of the Duke of coolness, courage, and valour, worthy of his high repute, the noble warrior, covered with wounds, and maintaining his intrepid courage and his undaunted spirit to the last, was surrounded by foes, and overpowered by superior numbers.[2] Being taken prisoner, with his faithful kinsman the Earl of Salisbury, he was, after a short delay, put to death in a manner so aggravated by the bitter insults that preceded its execution, that it portrays far better than all comment the ferocious spirit which degraded the character of the English nobility during these domestic feuds.

Being dragged in mockery to an ant-hill, and crowned by a diadem of knotted grass[3], he was insultingly placed there as on a throne, before which his enemies deridingly made their submission, exclaiming, in unhallowed perversion of sacred language, "Hail! King without a kingdom. Hail! Prince without a people."[4]

[1] W. Wyr., p. 485.
[2] Whethamstede, p. 489. [3] Ibid.
[4] John Whethamstede, otherwise called Frumentarius, from whose contemporary authority the above revolting details have been taken.

Cruelty having been heaped on scorn, and the worst passions of vengeance and hatred indulged to satiety, he was at length beheaded[1] amidst the most exulting shouts.[2] His head, fixed on a lance, was presented in triumph to the Queen, and speedily placed by her commands over the gates of York[3], surmounted in derision by a paper crown[4]; by its side were also arranged the heads of Salisbury and many of his devoted adherents.[5]

The Earl of Rutland, his second son, a youth of seventeen[6], most prepossessing in appearance and of singular beauty, flying from the fatal spot with his tutor, Robert Aspell, the Duke's chaplain, was overtaken by the Lord Clifford; and the royal stripling, in reply to his prayers for mercy, was stabbed with unrelenting ferocity to the heart.[7]

The inhumanity of this savage deed, and the active part taken by this nobleman in the death and insults offered to the Duke of York, procured for him in after-years the appellation of the "Black Clifford." The murder of the inoffensive Rutland,

was Abbot of St. Alban's during the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. He was an historian of repute, and wrote divers treatises; amongst others, a book of the record of things happening while he was Abbot, which book Holinshed had seen, and in some passages of his time followed.—*Baker's Chronicle*, p. 201.

[1] Hall's Chron., p. 251. [2] Appendix I.

[3] Cont. Croyland, p. 530. [4] W. Wyr., p. 485.

[5] Rot. Parl., p. 466.

[6] Scarcely two historians agree respecting the age of the Earl of Rutland at this period; some representing him as *six*, others as having attained his *tenth* and *twelfth year*. But the coeval testimony of William of Wyrcester leaves no doubt as regards the date of his birth, which he fixes at Rouen in May, 1443; consequently, at the time of his assassination, the young earl must have been seventeen years of age.—See *W. Wyr. Ann. apud Hearne*, p. 461.

[7] Whethamstede, p. 489. Hall, 251.

however, was fully avenged by the heavy retribution which was visited on the offspring of this cold-hearted chieftain after his own speedy decease, which occurred within a few months following that of his innocent victim; and as if in requital for the treachery practised to York by means almost similar[1] to that which had effected the destruction of this prince and his son. The romantic fate of Henry "the Shepherd Lord," Clifford's heir, is too well known, however, to require a more particular detail in these pages.[2]

Sad as was the tragedy which thus prematurely terminated the career of Richard Duke of York, who, like his illustrious parent, was suddenly cut off by a violent and untimely death, it speedily put an end, for a brief interval at least, to the barbarities exercised for so many years by the contending factions. Goaded to desperation by the bitter insults heaped on their idolized leader, the Yorkists speedily rallied their full force round the heir of the unfortunate duke; and fighting with an energy and zeal that nothing could resist, they quickly recovered, under the young Earl of March, the ascendancy that seemed irrevocably lost on the execution of his ill-fated parent.

Victory followed upon victory, and vengeance was summarily taken on the sanguinary leaders of the late disastrous affray. Henry VI., Queen Margaret, and their son, Edward Prince of Wales, after many desperate conflicts, fled into Scotland for refuge; and Edward of March, now Duke of

[1] Habington's Life of Edward IV., p. 16. [2] Appendix J.

York, having proceeded to London[1], whither he was invited both by the nobles and the people, was proclaimed king, under the plea that Henry had violated his solemn pledge to the nation[2], but in reality from that monarch's utter incapacity to rule, and the odium excited in the metropolis, and throughout the country generally, by the excesses[3] of the royalists' party both at Wakefield and St. Alban's. Whatever was the accelerating cause, the transition of the sceptre from the line of Lancaster to that of York was rapid and decisive; the young duke was elected king, and taking possession of the throne of his ancestors, he was crowned at Westminster within three months of his father's untimely death[4]; and by the title of Edward IV. became the acknowledged sovereign of these realms, and founder of the Yorkist dynasty.

Leaving him in the full enjoyment of dominions, which had been secured by so fearful a waste of human life and treasure, and having briefly portrayed the existing state of public affairs from the usurpation of the line of Lancaster, in the person of Henry IV., to the period which chronicles the accession of the House of York in that of King

[1] W. Wyr., p. 489. [2] Rot. Parl., p. 465.

[3] The chronicler of Croyland, in narrating the effect of the battle of Wakefield on the minds of King Henry's supporters, states that, "elated with their victory, they rushed like a whirlwind over England, and plundered without respect of persons or place. They attacked the churches, took away their vessels, books, and clothes; even the sacramental pyxes, shaking out the eucharist, and slew the priests who resisted. So they acted for a breadth of thirty miles, all the way from York nearly up to London."—*Chron. Croy.*, p. 531.

[4] W. Wyr., p. 490.

Edward IV., it is now the fitting time to commence the private and personal history of the Prince who is to form the subject of the present memoir, and whose feelings and impressions, from the earliest dawn of reason, could not fail to be influenced by the violent passions and struggle for power which, in defiance of all principle, moral or religious, marked the period in which Richard of Gloucester was born.

CHAP. III.

Richard born at Fotheringay.—Youngest son of the Duke of York and the Lady Cecily Neville.—The high lineage, accomplishments, and rare beauty of his mother.—The Duke of York, the ward of her father.—Their early marriage.—Numerous offspring.—Lawless period when Richard was born.—Superior education of the young Plantagenets.—Their aspiring views inherited from their mother.—Monstrous tales relative to Richard's birth disproved.—The civil wars at their height during the childhood of Richard.—Attainder of his father and brothers.—His capture with his mother at Ludlow, and concealment.—The Yorkists regain the ascendency.—Henry VI. made prisoner.—Claims of the Duke of York to the crown.—Conceded by the Peers.—Ratified by the King.—Opposition of the Queen and Lancastrian party.—Death of the Duke of York.

RICHARD Plantagenet, usually designated as Richard of Gloucester, was born at Fotheringay the 2d of October, 1452.[1] He was the youngest son and the eleventh child[2] of the illustrious warrior whose busy and turbulent life closed so tragically at the battle of Wakefield, on the 31st December, 1460. Of the consort of the Duke of York, the parent of his numerous offspring, no mention has hitherto been made, because it was desirable that the brief sketch of that Prince's political career should be uninterrupted by domestic details. But the mother of Richard III. was no common character. Although her actions are not absolutely interwoven with the public records of the land as were those of her husband, she was nevertheless fully as remark-

[1] W. Wyr., p. 477.

[2] Vincent on Brooke, p. 621.

able for the varied fortunes that marked her troubled life, and for the vicissitudes to which she was exposed in consequence of her political connection. She is therefore entitled to a distinct and especial notice, not merely as one of the most eminent women of the age in which she flourished, but because Cecily Duchess of York will be found a most important personage, and to have occupied a very prominent position in the eventful life of her youngest son Richard III.

Of high birth, superior attainments, and such rare and exquisite beauty, that she obtained in childhood, throughout the district adjoining her father's abode, the appellation of the "Rose of Raby,"[1] she yet evinced a greatness of mind during periods of unexampled trial, and displayed a zeal and rectitude of purpose in the active performance of conjugal and maternal duties of no ordinary description, that render her even more an object of respect and admiration, than of sympathy for the poignant sorrows which marked her sad and eventful career. This distinguished lady was the youngest of twenty-two children[2] of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, nine of whom were by his first wife, the daughter of Hugh Earl of Stafford, and thirteen the issue of his second marriage with the Princess Joane Beaufort, the illegitimate daughter of John of Gaunt and Dame Katharine Swynford before mentioned. Though by birth a Lancastrian, — her mother being half-sister to the usurper Henry of Boling-

[1] Strickland's Queens of England, vol. iii. p. 317.
[2] Blore's Monumental Remains, part iii.

broke, — yet from very early childhood the Lady Cecily was the companion of the attainted heir of the House of York, who was brought up and educated in her father's house; the wardship[1] of the young Plantagenet, her future husband, having been bestowed by Henry V. upon the Earl of Westmoreland[2], shortly after the execution of Richard's father, the Earl of Cambridge.[3] This it was hoped would afford security to the reigning family against future rebellion from that source; as principles of loyalty would naturally be infused into the youthful mind of Richard Plantagenet by the House of Neville, bound as they were by ties of consanguinity to the ruling House of Lancaster.

Of the place, or the precise period, at which the marriage of the Duke of York with the Lady Cecily was solemnized, no record has been found, but it probably occurred before the expiration of his wardship, and when the parties were mere children; the guardians of rich minors at this early period having the privilege of marrying their wards to whomsoever, and on what terms they pleased[4]: and this arbitrary power was generally used, and, indeed, granted, for the purpose of enriching the family of him on whom the boon was

[1] Fœdera, vol. x. p. 358.

[2] See Appendix K.

[3] The documents printed in the Fœdera, relative to the custody and wardship of Richard Duke of York, enables this Prince's career to be clearly traced from the period of his father's execution and attainder, until he was restored to the family honours, both on the paternal and maternal side. This is not only interesting but very important, as relates to various circumstances connected with his political career, and that of his offspring, Edward IV. and Richard III.

[4] Paston Letters, vol. iii. p. 227.

conferred.[1] The Lady Cecily was about two years younger than her noble consort, having been born on the 3d of May, 1415[2]; and the loyalty of the young couple, and their entire submission to King Henry VI., who was first cousin once removed to Neville's daughter, as also the interest and attachment felt by that monarch for them, is evinced by the fact of his standing godfather[3] to their eldest son, who was thence named Henry, in deference to his royal sponsor and kinsman.

A numerous progeny was the result of their union, although it would appear from a passage in the ancient contemporary roll before mentioned[4], that many years elapsed after their marriage before there was any prospect of perpetuating, in a direct line, the hereditary wealth and honours that had become centred in the young Duke of York.

The illustrious couple were, however, blest eventually with twelve children[5], eight sons and four

[1] Excerpta Historica, p. 3.
[2] W. Wyr., p. 453.
[3] Archælogia, vol. xiii. p. 7.
[4] Vincent, p. 621.
[5] The children of Richard Duke of York, by the Lady Cecily Neville his wife, were as follows: —

Ann of York, Duchess of Exeter, born at Fotheringay, 10th August, 1439; married first to Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, secondly to Sir Thomas St. Leger, Knt.

Henry of York, born at Hatfield, 10th February, 1441.

Edward of York, born at Rouen, 28th April, 1442, afterwards Edward IV.

Edmonde of York, born at Rouen, 17th May, 1443, Earl of Rutland.

Elizabeth of York, born at Rouen, 22d April, 1444, married to John De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.

Margaret of York, born at Fotheringay, 3d May, 1446, married to Charles Duke of Burgundy.

William of York, born at Fotheringay, 7th July, 1447.

daughters. Of these, Henry, the eldest son, above mentioned, as also William, John, and Thomas, their fourth, fifth, and seventh sons, died in boyhood; Edmonde, the youthful earl of Rutland, was slain on the same day with his illustrious parent; and Ursula, their youngest child, died in infancy.[1]

Thus, on the demise of the Duke of York, three sons and three daughters alone survived him. The former were Edward, the second son, Earl of March, his heir and successor, born at Rouen 28th of April, 1442[2], during his father's regency in France, who succeeded to the dignities of his house, and obtained that crown for which the life of his sire and his grandsire had been prematurely sacrificed; George, the sixth son, afterwards Duke of Clarence, born in 1449, at Dublin, during his parents' abode in Ireland; and Richard, the eighth son, the future monarch of England, born in the year 1452[3], at the castle of Fotheringay, the patrimonial seat of his ancestors.[4]

John of York, born at Neyte, near Worcester, 7th November, 1448.

George of York, born in Ireland, 21st October, 1449, afterwards Duke of Clarence.

Thomas of York, deceased in infancy, probably between the years 1450 and 1451.

Richard of York, born at Fotheringay, 2d October, 1452, afterwards Richard III.

Ursula of York, of whom no other mention is made than of her name, and that she died young.

Wm. of Wyrcester, apud Hearne, p. 461.; *Sandford*, book v. p. 374.; *Vincent on Brooke*, p. 621.

[1] Vincent on Brooke, p. 621.

[2] W. Wyr., p. 462. [3] Ibid., p. 477.

[4] Fotheringay Castle was erected by Edmund Langley, first Duke of York, the fifth son of Edward III., and the great grandsire of Richard of Gloucester.—*W. Wyr.*, p. 473.

Greater stress has been laid on the number and succession of the offspring of the Duke of York and the Lady Cecily [1], because inattention to the vast difference of age between Edward Earl of March, their third, and Richard of Gloucester, their eleventh child, has been one leading cause of confusion as to dates, and also of many conflicting statements relative to important events, in which the latter prince is considered to have acted a prominent part, but which it will be hereafter seen was improbable, if not actually impossible, by reason of his extreme youth. From the odium attached to many of these, consequently, this simple but material fact in great measure exonerates him. Happily on a point so conclusive, so essential towards a clear perception of the character of Richard III., there remains no room for doubt, or occasion for conjecture; as the ancient roll [2], which has been already noticed on two occasions in this work,—and which was written evidently by an ecclesiastical partizan of the house of York,—after tracing the pedigree on which was founded the claim of that house to the crown, terminates in such minute particulars of the Duke's immediate family, so distinctly and separately names each child in their order of birth, and narrates the whole domestic history with such a quaint minuteness, that were not many of the facts therein stated

[1] See some pointed remarks on this subject, in the "Excerpta Historica," wherein it is stated, that "a history of the royal family, with a correct account of their births, marriages, and deaths, is still a desideratum in historical literature."—*Adden. et Corrig.*, p. 427.

[2] Vincent on Brooke, p. 622.

corroborated by graver records, the original style and tenor of this obsolete ballad would of itself sufficiently bespeak its genuineness and authenticity.[1]

The birth-place of Richard of Gloucester has been variously stated by different authors, some having fixed it at Berkhampstead Castle, others at Fotheringay, both which domains, however, at the time he was born, were the occasional abode of his illustrious parents; but the authority of William of Wyrcester[2], a contemporary historian of credit, places the scene of his birth beyond dispute, establishing the fact from his own knowledge of its having occurred at Fotheringay on Monday the 2d of October, 1452.[3] This likewise marks the exact age of the young Prince at the period of his father's decease; which event happening on the 31st of December, 1460, it will be seen that he had just attained his eighth year, and was, consequently, about ten years younger than his royal brother at the time that Edward IV., in the eighteenth year of his age, ascended the throne of England.

But the personal history of Richard III. must

[1] Authority so unimpeachable as that of Vincent and Sandford, both members of the College of Arms, and writers of undoubted veracity, united to that of Weever, the indefatigable antiquary and obituary, are sufficient to warrant the genuineness of the rhythmical lines referred to in the text (chap. ii.), and inserted in Appendix G.

[2] William Botoner, called Wyrcester, was born on or about the year 1415, 3d Hen. V., and died in 1490. Many of his letters are preserved in the Paston Collection, vol. i. Dr. Lingard terms him "a contemporary and well-informed writer" (vol. v. p. 190.); and Wyrcester, in his own Annals, says, that on many occasions he "spoke from knowledge and not hearsay."

[3] W. Wyr., p. 477.

be commenced at a period long antecedent either to the death of his illustrious parent, or the elevation of his royal brother to the throne; for few as were the years which he had numbered, and child as he was at that awful crisis, he may more truly be considered then to have entered upon his political, rather than his individual, career.

The fearful events that so unhappily called him into notice, and which have transmitted his name with such ignominy to posterity, together with the vicissitudes that marked his turbulent life, must be traced to causes that were in operation at a far earlier period of his existence than that which placed the crown of England on the brow of King Edward IV.

From the very hour of his birth, this ill-omened prince may be said to have inhaled the noxious vapours of that poisoned atmosphere which afterwards teemed with murder, treachery, and rebellion; and ere reason or mature judgment could be exercised, the germs of that fatal ambition, which proved the bane of his after life, as it had previously led to the destruction of his immediate ancestors, were sown too deeply in his opening mind ever after to be eradicated.

Richard of Gloucester was the victim of circumstances, resulting from the unhappy times in which he lived; and as his character derived its tone from the scenes of violence and bloodshed which deprived him so prematurely of a father's guidance and affection, it will be necessary, in justice to his redeeming qualities, to go back a few years, and examine into the state and domestic habits of the family of

the Duke of York, at the birth of this his youngest surviving child. Out of eight sons it was reserved for him, the last born, to perpetuate the name of his illustrious parent; and it seemed as if this fatal appellation was destined to be an ominous heir-loom to all of his race who bore it [1], and that with the name of Richard was to be transferred a portion of that evil fortune which led to the violent death of Richard II., and entailed such disastrous results on the divided house of Plantagenet.

The offspring of the Duke of York and the Lady Cecily, whatever were the names bestowed upon them, were, at the period under present consideration, both numerous and flourishing. Although Henry the eldest son, like his gentle and amiable godsire, was destined to leave no issue to perpetuate the name; and instead of contesting with his royal sponsor the crown of mortality, as says the old roll,

> "My Lord Herry
> God chosen hath to enherite heaven's bliss," [2]

while others of their progeny were early taken from their parents, and consequently spared the trials which awaited their surviving children; yet, judging from the attainments for which the remaining sons and daughters of the house of York were so pre-eminently conspicuous, they must have been not only highly endowed by nature with an excellent capacity, but also have been more than usually accomplished for the early period at which they flourished.

[1] See Appendix L. [2] Vincent, p. 621.

To the Lady Cecily, in great measure, may be attributed the superior acquirements of her family, who it is evident, from various sources, were most carefully educated by her; for the instruction of the high-born youth in the middle ages was chiefly intrusted to maternal superintendence, owing to the warlike claims which personal or feudal engagements continually imposed upon the nobles of the land. That the Duchess of York was the companion of her husband in all his varied fortunes is evident from the different birth-places of their offspring, which show her to have been with him in France during his regency in that kingdom, in Ireland during his disturbed command in that country, and in all the several districts in England where public or private duty called him. But she selected for the immediate tuition of her progeny a preceptress, so in every way worthy of the important trust, that it exemplifies in a striking manner not merely her maternal solicitude but the superior judgment exercised by the Lady Cecily in all the duties of life. The lady governess to the young princes was the daughter of Sir Edward Cornwall, Baron of Burford, and the widow of Sir Hugh Mortimer, a collateral branch of the house of York[1]; and from whom, in the absence of their natural parents, the young Plantagenets evidently received the most careful instruction, and an education very superior to that which was ordinarily bestowed in the era in which they lived.

[1] Ancient Charters in the British Museum, vol. xiv. p. 3.

Of the uniform manner in which the household of the Duchess of York was probably conducted, of the religious and moral sentiments there inculcated, we have substantial proof in a valuable and highly interesting document which has been preserved to the present day[1]; narrating the order, rules, and regulations observed in her establishment[2], and evincing the sound principles and strict discipline enforced by its noble mistress.

"She useth to arise at seven of the clock, and hath readye her chapleyne to saye with her mattins of the daye, and mattins of our Lady, and when she is fully readye she hath a lowe mass in her chambre; and after masse she taketh something to recreate nature and soe goeth to the chapelle, hearinge the divine service and two lowe masses. From thence to dynner, duringe the tyme whereof she hath a lecture of holy matter, either 'Hilton of Contemplative and Active Life,' or other spiritual and instructive works. After dinner she giveth audyence to all such as hath any matter to shewe unto her by the space of one hower, and then sleepeth one quarter of an hower, and after she hath slepte she contynueth in prayer unto the first peale of evensonge. In the tyme of supper she recyteth the lecture that was had at dinner to those that be in her presence. After supper she disposeth herself to be famyliare with her gentlewomen, to the seeac'on[3] of honest myrthe; and one houre before

[1] In a Collection of Papers now at the Board of Green Cloth, St. James's.

[2] See Appendix M.

[3] Probably, seasoning, or encouraging.

her going to bed she taketh a cuppe of wyne, and after that, goeth to her pryvie closette and taketh her leave of God for all nighte, makinge end of her prayers for that daye, and by eighte of the clocke is in bedde."[1]

Athough the particular record from whence the foregoing is extracted was drawn up at a much later period of her life than that now under consideration, yet the same spirit that influenced her conduct in after years, there can be little doubt, also animated this eminent lady in the regulation of her domestic circle, at a time when maternal solicitude would naturally infuse into her actions an energy and buoyancy of spirit, which had long and sorrowfully ceased, at the time when that well devised and perfect system, which reflects such honour on her memory, was strictly observed in her abode at Berkhampstead.[2]

This conclusion is warranted by similar ordinances having been framed for the regulation of the household of her son George Duke of Clarence,

[1] In the curious document above alluded to, the hours observed for the serving of meals are specified in the rules for the household arrangements: they are interesting, as illustrative of the manners and customs of that early period.

Rules of the House.

Upon eating days. At dinner by eleven of the clocke.
Upon fasting days. At dinner by twelve of the clocke.
At supper upon eating dayes (for the officers), at four of the clocke.
My Lady and the household at five of the clocke at supper.
Livery of fires and candles, from the feast of All-hallows, unto Good Friday — then expireth the time of fire and candle.

Orders and rules of the Princess Cecill. Printed by the Society of Antiquaries.

[2] Archæologia, vol. xiii. p. 7.

long after he was emancipated from maternal influence[1]: and yet more, by corresponding rules having been afterwards drawn up by her eldest son, King Edward IV., for the observance of his own offspring[2]; in which many of the regulations so closely correspond with those pursued by his mother, that it may fairly be inferred he followed the same plans, which had been strictly enforced in the education and conduct of himself and his brothers in their own youth at Ludlow.

The greatest affection towards their noble parents[3] was the result of this judicious treatment; for though constant and severe discipline appears to have been observed, yet evidence is not wanting in proof also of the indulgence with which they were regarded, and the familiarity with which, when absent, they expressed their childish wishes to their father, and communicated to him all their imaginary grievances. This is instanced by an original letter[4] preserved in the Cott. MSS.[5] from the young Earl of March, to his father the Duke of York, written when a mere stripling, petitioning for some "fyne bonetts" for himself and the Earl of Rutland, and complaining of the extreme severity, "the odieux rule and demeaning," of one "Richard Crofte and his brother," apparently their tutors.[6]

[1] Entitled "Ordinances for the Household of George Duke of Clarence, made the 9th of December, 1469." Published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1790.

[2] Sloane MSS., No. 3. p. 479.

[3] Archæol., vol. xiii.

[4] See Appendix N.

[5] Cott. MSS., vol. iii. fol. 9.

[6] This Richard Crofte was the celebrated warrior, whose name so frequently appears in the warlike annals of the reign of Edward IV. He was the grandson of Sir John de Crofte, and of Janet daughter

A document which is the more interesting from its being (as Sir Henry Ellis, who first made it known to the public, observes) one of the earliest specimens extant of domestic and familiar English correspondence.[1] Were any thing wanted to prove still more strongly the great care and pains bestowed on the education of the young Plantagenets, a second letter from the youthful princes, yet more confirmatory on this point, and by no means less pleasing from the dutiful feeling which pervades the whole, has been preserved in the same valuable collection of manuscripts.[2] As original letters most vividly portray the true and natural character of individuals, by depicting their inmost thoughts and feelings, the insertion of one of these letters at full

of the renowned Owen Glendower. He espoused the lady governess of the young Plantagenets; hence it is presumed, from the above-named complaint, that the elder sons were at this time intrusted to the custody of himself and his brother. It is worthy of notice, that notwithstanding the juvenile complaint of "Crofte's odieux rule and demeaning," King Edward's attachment to his tutor in maturer years was evinced by the emoluments which he bestowed upon him after his accession to the crown. Sir Richard Crofte lived to a great age, and was one of the most distinguished soldiers of his time: he survived every member of the family in whose service he had so early been engaged, and had to mourn the premature and violent deaths of the whole of his princely pupils. — *Retrospective Review*, 2d Series, vol. i. p. 472.

[1] Previous to the reign of Henry V. specimens of English correspondence are rare. Letters before that time were usually written in French or Latin, and were the production chiefly of the great and learned. The letters of the learned were mere verbose treatises mostly on express subjects; those of the great, who employed scribes, from their formality resembled legal instruments. We have nothing earlier than the fifteenth century which can be called a familiar letter. The earliest royal signature known in this country is the signature of Richard II. — *Ellis's Original Letters*, 1st Series, p. 9.

[2] Cott. MSS. Vesp. F. xiii. fol. 35.

length will afford evidence more conclusive than could have reasonably been expected at this distant period of the actual state of the Duke of York's family; of the filial affection entertained towards their parents,—a point the more worthy of regard, as this feeling has been disputed from the events which happened in after years, and of the actual mode in which their children were reared at the time of the birth of Richard of Gloucester and during his tenderest infancy.

The second letter, as the one least known, has been selected in illustration of these points: it is dated the 3d of June, and was written, as it would appear, in 1454, when the Earl of March was twelve, and the Earl of Rutland eleven years of age.

"Right high and mighty Prince, our most worshipful and greatly redoubted lord and father,—In as lowly wise as any sons can, or may, we recommend us unto your good lordship; and please it your highness to wit, that we have received your worshipful letters yesterday by your servant William Cleton, bearing date at York the 29th day of May.[1]

"By the which William, and by the relation of

[1] Apparently acquainting them that he had triumphed over the Duke of Suffolk, and been appointed protector and defender of the realm. This conclusion is formed (for the year is not mentioned) from his son styling him "protector and defender of England," to which office he was first appointed in April, 1454, and from there being proof that he was not at York subsequent to any fortunate event in his life after he bore those titles.—*Excerpta Historica*, p. 8.

John Milewater, we conceive your worshipful and victorious speed against your enemies; to their great shame, and to us the most comfortable things that we desired to hear. Whereof we thank Almighty God of his gifts; beseeching him heartily to give you that good and cotidian fortune, hereafter to know your enemies, and to have the victory of them. And if it please your highness to know of our welfare at the making of this letter, we were in good health of body, thanked be God; beseeching your good and gracious fatherhood of your daily blessing. And where ye command us by your said letters to attend specially to our learning in our young age, that should cause us to grow to honour and worship in our old age, please it your highness to wit, that we have attended our learning since we came hither [1], and shall hereafter, by the which we trust to God your gracious lordship and good fatherhood shall be pleased. Also we beseech your good lordship, that it may please you to send us Harry Lovedeyne, groom of your kitchen, whose service is to us right agreeable; and we will send you John Boyes to wait on your good lordship.

"Right high and mighty Prince, our most worshipful and greatly redoubted lord and father, we beseech Almighty God give you as good life and long, as your own princely heart can best desire.

[1] This possibly may refer to the duke's expostulations in reply to their complaints respecting Richard Crofte and his brother, if, as is surmised, the young princes were at this period under their tutelage.

"Written at your castle of Ludlow the 3d day of June.

"Your humble sons,
"E. MARCHE.
"E. RUTLAND.

"To the right high and mighty Prince, our most worshipful and greatly redoubted lord and father the Duke of York, protector and defender of England."[1]

These letters were both dated from Ludlow, at which castle, it appears, from the expression used by the young Earl of March "since we came hither," that the household of the Duke of York had recently taken up their abode. His offspring are said to have been chiefly brought up in the north[2], in the castles of Fotheringay, Middleham, and Sendal; though they may also be occasionally found dwelling with their parents at Wigmore, Berkhampstead, Clare, and other lordships in England, Ireland, and Wales, which accrued to the Duke of York by birth or by marriage, from the princely houses of Mortimer, Clarence, York, and Westmoreland.[3] Baynard's Castle, too, one of the most imposing fabrics in the metropolis, was about this period bestowed upon him[4] by King Henry VI.;

[1] The obsolete spelling has been modernised in the copy here inserted, but the letter is printed literally in the Excerpta Historica, p. 8.

[2] Buck's Richard III., lib. i. p. 7. [3] See Appendix O.

[4] Baynard's Castle has been generally stated to have been given to the Duke of York by King Henry VI., on the decease of his uncle Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, in 1447. This is an error, for Polydore Virgil expressly states, that in 31 Hen. VI., Edmund of Hadham, that monarch's half-brother, on his being created Earl of Richmond, "obtained a grant from the king in fee of that man-

and this ancient fortress is not only chronicled as the dwelling-place of himself and the Lady Cecily, on various important occasions, but it was the scene of some of the most striking political events connected with themselves and their children, especially Richard of Gloucester, with whose after career it is intimately associated.

And well was it for the mother of so numerous a family, born in such troubled times, the victims of hereditary feuds, and destined like their parents to be from infancy to the grave the sport of fortune, and exposed to all the extremes of vicissitude, that places of refuge appertaining to them by inheritance were so widely and numerously distributed; for, as may be gathered from the preceding pages, little security or peace could long be enjoyed by the kindred of so prominent, and to the reigning family and their partisans so obnoxious, a character as was the illustrious Prince, to whom in her youth the Lady Cecily Neville was allied.

Early imbued, however, as we have reason to

sion-house called Baynard's Castle, situated near Paul's Wharf in London." The earl possessed it but four years, as he died November 1. 1456; upon which the fortress again lapsed to the crown. The Duke of York was at that time protector and defender of the realm; and, as this mansion had usually been occupied by princes of the blood-royal, it was most probably taken possession of by the duke, in right of his high office; or it may have been awarded to him by the council, and his occupation of it confirmed to him by King Henry, on his recovery and re-assumption of the regal power; for the earliest mention of the Duke of York in conjunction with this fortress is in January, 1458, when he is stated to have "taken up his abode at his mansion at Baynard's Castle within the city" during the important convocation of the nobles, when summoned by the king with the view of effecting a reconciliation, and arresting the fierce contests of his turbulent subjects. — *Fabian*, p. 463.; *Pennant*, p. 348.; and *Dugdale*, vol. ii. p. 229.

believe their children were with honourable sentiments, severe as regards religion and morality[1], and admirable in the culture and display of the domestic affections[2], it is yet due to them to state, from the crimes which attach to their memories, and the calamities that marked their after-life, that the ambition, the pride, and unbending spirit which characterised alike the sons and the daughters of York[3],

[1] Of this, farther proof can scarcely be desired than the very perfect system drawn up for the service of the young Prince of Wales by King Edward IV. above referred to, which is still preserved in the Sloane MSS. No. 3479., and the admirable rules issued by Richard Duke of Gloucester for the use and regulation of his household before his elevation to the throne. — *Harleian MSS.* 433. fol. 269.

[2] The strong fraternal affection that existed between Margaret of York and George Duke of Clarence has formed the subject of contemporary historical notice (see *Chronicle of Croyland*, p. 561.), and the fidelity and devotion of Richard Plantagenet for his elder brother King Edward IV. under the greatest possible reverses of fortune, as will be hereafter shown, formed a bright and beautiful feature in his character. A reference to Fleetwood's Narrative, p. 9., written by a personal attendant of the house of York, will still farther evince how strongly this feeling influenced every member of the family, and how religiously it was inculcated upon them all by their mother the Lady Cecily.

[3] Sir Thomas More, in his Life of Richard III. (p. 8.), though speaking of the elder sons in terms of high encomium, says, "All three, as they were great states of birth, so were they great and stately of stomach, greedy and ambitious of authority, and impatient of partners."

As regards the daughters, Ann the eldest, who married her first cousin Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, the faithful and firm friend of his ill-fated kinsman and godsire Henry VI., fully exemplified the same characteristics; unable to mould her husband to her own aspiring views and those of her family, she sacrificed him to her ambition; and instead of suing for pardon when the house of York condemned him as an exile and an outlaw, she heartlessly triumphed over the misery and wretchedness induced by his fidelity to his unhappy sovereign, and availing herself of his attainder and proscription, espoused in his lifetime Sir Thomas St. Leger.—See *Phil. de Comines*, lib. iii. p. 73.; also *Stow's Annals*, temp. 12 Ed. IV. The Lady Margaret, her younger sister, though a much more amiable

were inherited from, and in all likelihood infused into their infant minds, from their birth, by their mother, in whose character these feelings formed a leading feature. She was a princess of "spotless character;"[1] and as such was respected by her enemies, and revered by all her contemporaries, whatever might be their political bias[2]; but her natural temper was "so high and ambitious," that her name to this day is perpetuated as a proverb in the counties adjoining her abode, where pride and arrogance in a person are generally expressed by the significant term, "She is a proud Cis."[3] The Duke, her consort, early subdued by misfortune, was mild, temperate, and humane[4], remarkable for his peaceable and submissive disposition, until goaded to anger and desperation by his enemies. Not so the Lady Cecily: the blood of the haughty Nevilles and the imperious Beauforts flowed in her veins; nine of her brothers were, by descent, marriage, or creation, peers of the realm; and her sisters were matched with the most eminent and noble in the land.[5] When, therefore, she, the youngest of such highly allied kindred was placed

character in private life, was equally imbued with the same ambitious spirit, and indulged the same vindictive sentiments towards all who were opposed to the House of York. Her rich possessions in Burgundy she expended in projects tending to ruin the enemies of her race; and she was significantly termed "Juno," with reference to Henry VII., because, says Lord Bacon, "she was to him as Juno was to Æneas, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief." — *Bacon's Hen. VII.*, p. 113.

[1] Historic Doubts, p. 57.
[2] Archæol. xiii.
[3] Nichol's Hist. and Antiq. of Fotheringay.
[4] Hume, vol. iv. p. 168.
[5] Appendix P.

in a yet more elevated position[1], and that even the queenly diadem[2] was her probable destiny, by reason of her union with the legitimate heir of the crown, all her Lancastrian prepossessions were merged in the superior claims of the House of York, and her views henceforth were constantly fixed on those regal honours which she considered due to her husband, and the lawful inheritance of her children. It has indeed been stated by some writers, that the Lady Cecily married the heir of York wholly with the hope of being a queen.[3] Be it so, she was queen-like in all her actions, noble and dignified in her conduct and demeanour, and just even to severity in all her transactions. She was neither unduly elevated in days of prosperity, nor was she weakly subdued by calamity and peril: under all her afflictions she "carried a steady soul,"[4] though she shared in common with her kindred that love of sovereign power, which led to their "making and unmaking kings,"[5] when they had no pretext for usurping the crown themselves. Nor does this lofty ambition, destructive as its seeds afterwards proved when it had ripened and yielded fruit in her offspring, seem at variance with the stern virtues ascribed to the Lady Cecily, if the times in which she lived are taken into consideration. Pride of birth to a degree almost incredible in later times, and disdain for all persons unconnected with

1 —— "the yengest,
And yet grace, hir fortuned to be the hyest."
Vincent, p. 622.

2 Ibid.

3 Nichol's Fotheringay.

4 Anglo. Spec., p. 179.

5 Archæol., vol. xiii.

ancient and noble descent, was the characteristic of the age in which she flourished.[1] The education of the high-born infant was based on these sentiments, and fostered by every external mark of sovereign and absolute power. Feudal despotism had then reached its climax; and although the abuse of that system, which at the period under consideration made the nobles of the land literally its rulers, led in the next century to the total destruction of the baronial ascendency, and opened the path of freedom to the long enslaved land, yet the fact is nevertheless incontrovertible, that during the career of the Plantagenet race, personal courage and haughty independence were distinctive marks of the aristocratic noble; whilst arrogance and exacted homage, with few exceptions at least, characterised as a body the "lordly dame" of the fifteenth century. The De la Poles were the only instance on record of a family rising at this age of proud nobility from "trade to rank and splendour." The heir of its house, John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, was espoused to Elizabeth of York, second daughter of the Lady Cecily; and as if the evil destiny which marked the elder branch of the Plantagenets was ever to attach itself to those with whom they were allied, the De la Poles, as they exceeded the Nevilles, when in prosperity, in dignity and power, so did they also in the hour of adversity exceed them in misfortune and in the depth of calamity which extinguished their race.[3]

[1] Paston Letters, vol. iv. [2] Heylin, p. 368.
[3] Archæol., vol. xiii.

Can it then be wondered at that Neville's proud daughter, sensible that her first-born would be the representative by right of primogeniture of Edward III. and Philippa of Hainault, that her consort was the rightful heir of a throne, wrested from his ancestors by usurpation, and then ruled ostensibly by an imbecile monarch, but virtually by an unworthy minister, allied to him by illegitimate descent, should, without considering the disastrous results to which such tuition, if uncontrolled, might lead daring and turbulent spirits, infuse into the young minds of her offspring that feeling, which, enforced by a mother's example, and strengthened by a mother's precept, constituted their besetting sin through life — which blighted the character of her eldest and most unworthy daughter, Ann, the merciless Duchess of Exeter, and which has left so indelible a stain upon the name and the memory of Richard, her youngest son, the last monarch of the Plantagenet race?

Prevalent as the desire is in the present day of weeding from history those extravagant tales which, based on no authority, and corroborated by no substantial evidence, had their sole origin in the superstitious belief of miracles, industriously propagated by the monkish chroniclers in credulous times, it is presumed that it will be unnecessary here to detail, or discuss, the marvellous absurdities which have been perpetuated relative to the birth of this prince. Many of them are quite revolting, and the greater part suited only to the coarse taste of a semi-barbarous age, in which it was thought necessary to make matters of mere daily occurrence

conformable to the after-career of those individuals who acted a more prominent part than their fellow-men; and even to invest with superhuman or demoniacal powers the innocent child at its birth, who, by the influence of good or evil passions, was fated to perform at a subsequent period a conspicuous part in the great drama of life. How forcibly is this exemplified, as relates to the subject of the present memoir, by the pen of the immortal Shakspeare:—

> "The women cried,
> 'O Jesus, bless us! he is born with teeth!'
> And so I was, which plainly signified
> That I should snarl, and bite, and play the dog."
> *Henry VI.*, 3d Part, Act V. Scene 7.

Unhappy Richard, thus predestined to crime ere yet the smile of helpless infancy had given place to that of dawning reason!

Not the slightest foundation exists for reports so outrageous to common sense, so staggering even to the most ordinary understanding, as those propagated for three centuries and upwards in connection with the birth of Richard of Gloucester; nor can any trace of them be found in contemporary records, with the single exception of John Rous, "the monk of Warwick;" whose narrative[1] has been pronounced by Lord Orford, after careful and critical examination[2], "too despicable and lying even amongst monkish authors," to merit quotation.[3] The chronicler of Croyland, William of

[1] Hist. Reg. Ang, p. 214. [2] Hist. Doubts, p. 106.

[2] Laing, in his valuable "Dissertation on the Crimes imputed to Richard III.," after quoting the statement made by Rous relative to the miraculous birth of this prince, adds, "The historian who de-

Wyrcester, the Abbot of St. Alban's, and all other annalists of credit belonging to that period, make no mention or allusion to them; and even Sir Thomas More, whose history has been the chief source from whence more modern writers have derived their prejudices against Richard of Gloucester, prefaces his marvellous report by the modifying sentence, "it is for truth reported," or "as the fame runneth;"[1] by adding forthwith, "whether men of hatred reporte above the truth," proving however that his statement was founded on no authority, but on report alone; and thus implying his own suspicion of the rancorous feeling from whence the tradition emanated. No authentic record, indeed, is extant respecting the birth of Richard Plantagenet, beyond the date of time and place where it occurred. Mr. Hutton, the indefatigable antiquary, who for the space of eighteen years devoted himself with such unwearied zeal to the traditions connected with this prince, that he is stated to have "surveyed the favoured object of his researches with an attention, an ardour, and a perseverance never before displayed by any English historian,"[2] asserts, that, after keen inquiry among the localities of his childhood, there is but little to record; that "the idle tales" of his birth are "beneath the notice of history;" and that his "infancy was spent in his father's house, where he

duces Richard's crimes from a calculation of his nativity, may attest the popular belief and rumour; but his private information must rest where he has placed it — on the authority of the stars." — Appendix at the close of *Henry's Hist. of England,* vol. xii. p. 424.

[1] More, p. 8. [2] Critical Review, vol. lxvi. p. 217.

cuckt his ball and shoot his taw with the same delight as other lads."[1] His entrance into life, however, occurring but shortly before that of Edward Prince of Wales, and about the time when the distressing malady of King Henry VI. led to the Duke of York's being nominated protector of the realm, there is little doubt that the young Richard was particularly exposed, from his very cradle, to the evil effects of that struggle for a crown, which excited, to an unexampled excess, the vindictive passions to which the above nomination was the prelude. His father, it appears, immediately assumed the regal style, when called upon as heir presumptive to exercise the sovereign authority; for in the Paston Papers there is preserved an original letter from the Duke of York, with his title appended at the top, in kingly form, and sealed with his own signet, bearing the arms of France and England quarterly.[2] His mother, too, gave audience in her throne-room at Fotheringay Castle, with all the pomp and majesty of a queen, which high station she had by this time considered her due, and of the title appertaining to which she was indeed only deprived by the untimely death of her princely consort. Thus it is apparent that her youngest son must have been prematurely placed in a far more elevated and dangerous position than that which marked the more tranquil childhood of his elder, but not less aspiring, brothers; and, accordingly, the contemporary annals of that epoch make frequent mention of the younger children of

[1] Hutton's Bosworth, p. xvii. [2] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 76.

the Lady Cecily as being associated with their parent in most perilous situations. At times, surprised and seized in their retirement by the opposing faction[1]; at others, flying in all haste from the enemy[2], who plundered and ransacked without compunction all that had not escaped from the unbridled fury and fierce vengeance which civil contests excited in the soldiery to so lamentable a degree.[3]

Very early, therefore, must the subject of this memoir have been inured to the sanguinary proceedings, and been an eye-witness of the harrowing scenes, which, so subversive of the best feelings of human nature, marked his youthful days; and very early, too, must the baneful influence of a desire to command and not to obey, of disdain for the constituted authorities, and a resolution to seize the throne, and wrest the sceptre from "the Lord's anointed"[4] by open violence and sacrilegious[5] fraud, have been engrafted on his youthful mind; and this, too, at a time of life when impressions are most durable, and the bias given to the good or evil of maturer years. Richard III. may in truth be

[1] Hearne's Fragment, p. 284. [2] Chron. Croyland, p. 551.
[3] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 184. [4] Chron. Croyland, p. 556.
[5] See the account of Queen Margaret's conspiracy to destroy the Duke of York and his friends the Lords of Warwick and Salisbury by treacherously inviting them in courteous language, and under the royal signet, to attend the king, and thus fall into the trap prepared for their destruction. Also the deception practised by the Duke of York shortly afterwards, in retort for the queen's crafty proceeding, that of causing persons to swear in front of his army that King Henry had suddenly expired, and commanding masses to be publicly sung by the soldiers for the repose of his soul. — *Kennet's Complete Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 414.; also *Turner's Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 219.

said to have been cradled by ambition, nurtured on desperate deeds, and inured by example and tuition, from the first dawn of reason, to consider a crown as the ultimatum of human happiness, and its attainment the sole object and chief business of life.

The Lady Cecily's elder sons were, during his infancy, old enough to be associated with their father in most of the conflicts and turbulent scenes which marked the latter years of his chequered life; having been initiated by him, at a very tender age, into all the martial acquirements, in accordance with the warlike spirit of the times; and innumerable are the instances of filial affection which characterised in early years the offspring of the Duke of York. The infant Richard being, however, in conjunction with his brother George, peculiarly the object of the Lady Cecily's anxious and devoted care on those occasions of fearful peril and vicissitude which separated her from her husband and elder sons, the display of maternal love, so keenly and indelibly felt in early childhood, may well account for, and will fully explain, the respectful deference which Richard III., despite of Lancastrian tales to his prejudice, is proved by undeniable authority to have testified through life for his affectionate, though not altogether faultless, mother.[1]

This young prince was about seven years of age when he was called upon to experience the severe vicissitudes, and personally share in the disastrous consequences, of that proximity to the throne,

[1] Buck's Richard III., lib. i. p. 82.

which for three generations had perilled the lives, and nearly ruined the fortunes, of his illustrious house; and from this tender age he may indeed be said to have commenced not only his public, but, as far as regards historical records, also his political career.[1]

It was in October 1459 that the two factions of the Red and White Roses, having been roused to the highest degree of fury from the want of faith and bitterness of feeling[2] which had been recently displayed by the leaders of these two opposing interests, assembled in order of battle near the town and castle of Ludlow[3]; the Lancastrians following the Yorkists' troops to the confines of Wales, where the latter had been summoned to join their chief in the neighbourhood of his patrimonial fortress. And fierce indeed would the contest probably have been had a battle ensued, for both parties were bent on each other's destruction: but the treachery[4] which so often in these unhappy feuds decided prematurely the fate of the day, gave to the king's party on this occasion so unlooked-for an advantage, that the Yorkists were compelled to disperse in all

[1] Rot. Parl., p. 370.

[2] In reply to the proclamation issued by the peaceably disposed King Henry VI., offering pardon to all who would submit to his clemency, the Duke of York, though earnestly asserting his loyalty to him as his sovereign, added, "that the king's indemnity signified little, so long as the queen's predominant power in all things so overawed him."—*Sandford*, book iv. p. 295.

[3] Stow's Chronicle, pp. 405, 406.

[4] Sir Andrew Trollope suddenly departed secretly in the night, and joined with the chief soldiers from Calais the royal banner. This desertion, the dismay it created, and the uncertainty how many would imitate the treachery, unnerved the courage of the rest.—*Sharon Turner*, vol. iii. p. 219.

haste, ere the morn of the intended conflict had dawned. The duke, taking with him his second son, Edmonde Earl of Rutland, an interesting and noble youth of about sixteen years of age, departed secretly at midnight[1] from his stronghold at Ludlow; and flying in all haste through Wales, sought refuge for himself and his child amongst the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland, where he was received with enthusiasm, and served with fidelity, in consequence of the popularity[2] he had acquired during his former just, but mild, government of that country.[3]

Edward Earl of March, his eldest son, who was just springing into manhood, and had been already distinguished for military prowess beyond his years, was also compelled, for the preservation of his life, to escape into France, with his noble kinsmen the Lords of Salisbury and Warwick, leaving to the mercy of their foes the Duchess of York and her infant sons George and Richard Plantagenet.[4]

[1] Whethamstede, p. 459. [2] Kennet, vol. i. p. 419.

[3] Richard III. when he ascended the throne adverted to the kindness shown to his father at this crisis by "certaine nobles and gentles of his land of Ireland," in "the instructions given by him to his cousin the Bishop of Enachden, to be showed on his behalf to his cousin the Earl of Desmond," in the first year of his reign, viz. "Remembering the manifold and notable service and kindness by the earl's father unto the famous prince, the Duke of York, the king's father, at divers seasons of great necessity in those parts to his great jeopardies and charges doon." In another portion of this curious document, he feelingly alludes to his extreme youth at the time, "the king then being of young age;" thus evincing how early his interest was fixed on the troubles of the period, and also how deep an impression they left upon his mind. — *Harl. MS.* 433. fol. 265.

[4] Whethamstede, p. 474.

In accordance with the devastating system of civil warfare then pursued, the town of Ludlow became the immediate object of plunder and rapine.[1] Every valuable article in the castle was seized and destroyed within a few hours, after it was ascertained that the duke with his elder sons had escaped, and that his dwelling, in some measure, was left unguarded and defenceless; the despoilers finding within its secret apartments the Lady Cecily and her young offspring, they were immediately made prisoners of state, and, by command of King Henry, consigned to the custody of her elder sister, the Duchess of Buckingham[2], who was espoused to one of the firmest supporters of the line of Lancaster.

A Parliament being forthwith summoned to meet at Coventry[3], where the king and his court were then fixed, the Duke of York with the youthful Earls of March and Rutland, were immediately attainted of high treason, together with the chief partisans of their cause, who were proclaimed with themselves "traitors to the king, enemies to their country, and rebels to the crown."[4] The whole of their lands were confiscated[5], and the Lady Cecily with her younger children found herself not merely a prisoner with them, and bereft of

[1] Hearne's Fragment, p. 284.

[2] Anne, the nineteenth child of Ralph, first Earl of Westmoreland (and own sister to Cecily Duchess of York), was married first to Humphrey Duke of Buckingham, and afterwards to Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy.—*Blore's Monumental Remains*, part iii. p. 31.

[3] Rot. Parl., p. 370. [4] W. Wyrcester, p. 478.

[5] The Parliament "as yet abideth upon the great matters of attainder and forfeiture."—*Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 179.

home and "all her goods,"[1] but overwhelmed also by the conviction of its utter and irretrievable ruin, in consequence of the severe measures adopted towards the House of York.[2] Its leaders were all exiles, or outlawed as traitors; every branch of her own family was attainted for the share which they had taken in the rebellion[3], or, like herself, deprived of their rich possessions, and utterly in the power and at the mercy of their foes. But her husband's cause was not so desperate as it at first appeared[4]: it was in effect become too popular, and had been espoused too warmly, to be ruined by the event of a single dispersion of his supporters.

In less than three months from the fatal sacking of Ludlow, the consort of the attainted duke is recorded as having been well received in Kent[5], where a serious insurrection had already been kindled in favour of her illustrious husband, who possibly held lands and retainers in that county by descent from the House of Clare. It is most probable, however, that at the time the insurrection commenced the Lady Cecily was a state prisoner in Kent, in the custody of her sister the Duchess of Buckingham, to whose charge she had been so re-

[1] Cecily, Duchess of York, "was deprived of all her goods; she come yester evening late to Coventry."—*Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 179.

[2] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 179.

[3] Alice Countess of Salisbury was attainted upon the charge of having counselled and abetted all the treason. — *Rot. Parl.*, p. 349.

[4] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 444.

[5] "My lady duchess is still again received in Kent. The Duke of York is at Dublin, strengthened with his earles and hommagers, as ye shall see by a bill. God send the king victory of his enemies, and rest and peace amongst his lords."— *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 184.

cently committed, and that she was dwelling with her at Tunbridge Castle, the hereditary abode of the De Clares, Earls of Gloucester [1], whose patrimonial demesnes passed by marriage to the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham, on the demise of the last earl in the 21st of Edward III., 1317. The pretensions of the Duke of York to the throne being upheld by the powerful influence of his wife's kindred, and aided by their vast wealth, fortune once more began to smile on the exiled chief and his family, so that the young Edward of March was encouraged in the ensuing year to return to England and face his opponents; and in conjunction with the leaders of the Yorkist faction again to unfurl the standard of rebellion [2], and give battle to the Lancastrians at Northampton.

So signal a victory was there achieved over the royal army, that danger now spread even to the warmest supporters of the unfortunate Henry VI., who was himself taken prisoner, and the chief of his adherents scattered or slain. [3] The queen and her young son, Edward Prince of Wales, were com-

[1] Camden says, "This great family of the Clares were resident for the most part at their castle of Tunbridge in Kent, to which they had a liberty called the Loway, reaching three miles every way from the centre, answerable to that which belonged to their seigniory of Bryany in Normandy, which they exchanged for it." And again: "The castle of Tunbridge in Kent was the ancient seigniory of the Clares, Earls of Gloucester."—*Camden's Remains*, p. 279. Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Lord of Tunbridge, erected a church and founded a priory there in the reign of Henry III.; and King Edward I. was nobly feasted at Tunbridge by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, through whose three sisters, his co-heiresses, the vast possessions of the House of Clare descended to Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, Stafford Duke of Buckingham, and Mortimer Earl of March. — *Sandford*, book iii. pp. 140, 141.

[2] W. Wyrcester, p. 481.

[3] Ibid.

pelled to seek safety in flight, which was accomplished under great perils, and with extreme difficulty[1]; and the Duke of York, who was then sojourning in much state at Dublin, was summoned from his exile by his triumphant party[2] to assume a still higher position than that which had led to his attainder in the previous year. The Lady Cecily, emboldened by these brighter prospects, had returned to the metropolis[3]; but whether by formal release from captivity, or through the connivance of her sister at her escape, does not appear; most probably the latter, as she seems to have reached London secretly, and to have continued there in disguise; for instead of openly taking up her abode in Baynard's Castle, her husband's mansion, she privately sought an asylum for herself and young children at the law-chambers of Sir John Paston, a faithful friend and ally of the family, in the Temple. Possibly she shrank from exposing herself and her offspring to the chance of recapture, as at Ludlow; or risking the destruction of property which there ensued, in case another reverse of fortune should render her again a prey to her political enemies; for Baynard's Castle, though garrisoned by a powerful force under the command of her son the Earl of March, was hourly expected to be besieged. Be the cause what it may, the facts are clearly established by a contemporaneous letter[4] of so interesting a nature, that, conveying, as it does one of the few well-authenticated memorials of the child-

[1] Stowe's Chron., p. 409.
[2] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 184.
[3] W. Wyrcester, p. 483.
[4] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 199.

hood of Richard III., that portion of it demands insertion in these pages:—

> "To the Right Worshipful Sir and Master John Paston at Norwich, be this letter delivered in haste.

"Right worshipful Sir and Master, I recommend me unto you; please you, to wit, the Monday after Lady-day[1], there come hither to my master's place my Master Bowser, Sir Harry Ratford, John Clay, and the harbinger of my Lord of March, desiring that my Lady of York might be here until the coming of my Lord of York, and her two sons, my Lord George[2] and my Lord Richard[3], and my Lady Margaret[4] her daughter, which I granted them, in your name, to lie here till Michaelmas. And she had not lain here two nights, but she had tidings of the landing of my Lord at Chester. The Tuesday after my lord sent for her, that she should come to him to Hereford; and thither she is gone, and she hath left here both the sons and the daughter, and the Lord of March cometh every day to see them.

> "Written by a confidential servant of John Paston, one Christopher Hausson, October 12. 1460."

[1] Monday after the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, 15th September, 1460.

[2] Afterwards Duke of Clarence, at this time in his 11th year, being born 21st October, 1449.

[3] Afterwards Duke of Gloucester, aged about 8, being born the 2d October, 1452.

[4] Afterwards Duchess of Burgundy, 14 years of age, being born n May, 1445.—*W. Wyrcester apud Hearne*, p. 461.

Here we see exemplified, in a very striking manner, the strong affection which, although strangely corrupted in after years, was evidently in their youth a spontaneous and inherent feeling in the children of the House of York.

Edward, its heir, the admired and the flattered, "the goodliest gentleman that ever eyes beheld,"[1] commanding his father's garrison with the firmness and vigour of an experienced leader[2] though but a minor in years, and called upon to watch over that father's interest, entailing as it did so important a result as the reversal of his attainder and his own probable succession to the throne, is yet to be found affectionately attending to the comfort and safety of his young brothers and sister, thus unexpectedly thrown upon his watchful care. Notwithstanding his political difficulties, and the importance of his military claims, the Earl of March found leisure each day to visit them, and despite of public engagements, that might well have been supposed all-engrossing to a youth of eighteen, yet privately performing, in his own person, those endearing offices of affection, and taking upon himself those parental duties and anxieties, of which the young princes and the Lady Margaret had been temporarily deprived in the absence of their natural protectors.

Surely this must negative that sweeping charge of cruelty and utter heartlessness so often ascribed to King Edward the Fourth; and as completely must it controvert the impression so long conveyed,

[1] Philip de Comines, lib. iv. cap. 10.
[2] Sharon Turner, vol. iii. p. 226.

though without a shadow of foundation for the report, that Richard of Gloucester was an object of abhorrence from his birth—a precocious monster of wickedness, and, as such, alike detested and dreaded by his kindred and connections.

The castle of Ludlow[1], the scene of their calamitous separation in the preceding year, was the scene also of the re-union of the Duke of York and the Lady Cecily, who hastily quitted the metropolis, leaving her children securely placed at Sir John Paston's chambers in the Temple, to await her lord's arrival at Hereford, when intelligence was received of his departure from Ireland. The conclusion of the letter, a portion of which has just been inserted, while establishing this fact, narrates also the almost regal authority which the duke was empowered to exercise on his progress to London[2]; the unhappy Henry VI. being virtually a prisoner in the hands of the young Edward of March, and his kinsmen the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, who, by ostensibly allowing their monarch his liberty and showing a marked deference to his views, his

[1] W. Wyrcester, p. 483.

[2] "My Lord of York hath divers strange commissions from the king for to sit in divers towns coming homeward; that is to say, in Ludlow, Coventry, &c. &c., to punish them by the faults to the king's law. The king is away at Eltham and at Greenwich to hunt. The queen and the prince abideth in Wales always, and there is with her the Duke of Exeter and others." This Duke of Exeter, the near kinsman and devoted partizan of the House of Lancaster, was espoused to the eldest daughter of the Duke of York. It would appear, however, that their colliding interests soon produced disunion in the husband and wife; the Lady Anne being as firmly devoted to her father's cause and that of the elder branch of the Plantagenet race, as was the duke to that of the hapless Henry and his heroic queen.

wishes, and his pleasures[1], furthered by means of the royal mandate, over which they had uncontrolled power, measures too important to be delegated generally to subjects.

On the 10th October, 1460, the duke and duchess reached London, and at Baynard's Castle the long separated branches of the illustrious family of York were once more happily re-united.[2] The younger children, as above stated, were already domiciled in the metropolis, and the elder sons are also proved to have been there, from their being associated with their princely parent in solemnly swearing, before the assembled peers of the realm, "not to abridge the king's life or endanger his liberty."[3]

The political events consequent on this sudden emancipation of the Duke of York from exile have been already narrated in the chapter which treated of his public career; in which it will be remembered that up to this period he had not actually claimed the crown, but merely urged his right of succession. When, however, this latter point was conceded to him and his heirs, not only by act of Parliament but ratified by the royal assent, from his having now openly asserted his pretensions to their fullest extent, there needed but little else to render his triumph complete. This result speedily followed, for Parliament further enacted[4] that henceforth, "to encompass the Duke of York's death should be considered high treason," and an acknowledgment of the justness of his conceded rights was established

[1] Whethamstede, p. 482.
[2] W. Wyrcester, p. 483.
[3] Rot. Parl., p. 379.
[4] Ibid., p. 380.

by his being created "Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester,"[1] in addition to the lofty title of "Protector of the realm;" and in support of these new dignities, a yearly income awarded to him of 5000 marks[2] for his own estate, 3000 for the Earl of March, and 2000 for the Earl of Rutland.[3]

Thus, after years of storm and tempest, the sun of prosperity seemed at last to shine with renewed lustre upon the House of York; peace and unanimity appeared secure to the duke and his household, as if to compensate for the many reverses of fortune that had in the end terminated so happily for them.

But it was a prosperity too brilliant to be lasting. A few weeks of re-union and domestic happiness was destined to usher in a futurity fraught with degradation and death to the father, with sorrow and calamity to his widow, and ultimate misery to his descendants and their offspring. The Duke of York was hastily summoned to oppose Queen Margaret in the north; and once more taking young Edmund of Rutland as his companion, despatching the Earl of March into Wales to assemble their feudatory adherents in the marches[4], and leaving the Lady Cecily again to watch over the lives and

[1] Kennet, vol. i. p. 424.

[2] A mark was anciently valued at 30*s.*, it is now generally taken for the sum of 13*s.* 4*d.* It is a silver coin, and varies materially in the several countries, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, where it is still current.

[3] Rot. Parl., p. 382.

[4] This term "marches" designated the boundaries between England and Wales. It was similarly used with reference to Scotland; and also in allusion to our provincial limits in France, the Netherlands, and other continental possessions.

interest of the junior branches of their family, the illustrious prince proceeded with a small but trusty band to his fortress at Sendal near Wakefield, there to meet, in conjunction with the youthful Rutland, a speedy and a tragical death, and there, as already narrated, to receive, as if in mockery of human ambition, a paper crown in lieu of that much-coveted diadem for which he had so long fought and bled.

CHAP. IV.

The widowed Duchess of York secretly conveys her younger sons to Utrecht. — Advantages derived from their exile. — Strength of mind displayed by their mother. — Accession and coronation of Edward IV. — He despatches messengers to Burgundy for his brothers. — Invests Prince George with the Duchy of Clarence. — Creates Richard Duke of Gloucester. — Richard's domestic education, martial instruction. — Absence of all foundation for his reputed deformity. — His general appearance deduced from the testimony of contemporary writers and original portraits. — His probable domestication in the family of the Earl of Warwick, and early companionship with the Lady Anne Neville, his future wife. — King Edward's affection for Gloucester. — He is created a Knight of the Garter.

THE widowed Duchess of York, overwhelmed at the disastrous intelligence of her husband's defeat and death, and the murder of the unoffending Rutland, and fearing, from the cruelty exercised towards them, the total overthrow of her house and destruction of her remaining offspring, promptly took measures for secretly conveying out of the kingdom her two young sons, George and Richard Plantagenet.[1]

Her nephew, the famed Earl of Warwick, as admiral of the Channel[2], was at this time master of the

[1] Hearne's Frag., p. 283.

[2] Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, was made captain of Calais in 1455, and subsequently admiral of the Channel; and the Paston letter which notifies these appointments adds, "The Duke of Exeter taketh a great displeasure that my Lord Warwick occupieth his office and taketh the charge of the keeping of the sea upon him." After the battle of Northampton, and when King Henry was in the custody of Warwick, he was reinstated in these high commands, and made governor of the Tower. — *Paston Letters*, vol. i. pp. 103. 201.; *Stow's Annals*; *Fabian*, vol. i. p. 469.

sea; and from his being resident in the metropolis as governor of the Tower[1], when the sad tidings were communicated to the Lady Cecily, she was enabled, without delay, or dread of her children being intercepted, to convey them, by the co-operation of her kinsman, in safety to Holland. There she earnestly besought from Philip Duke of Burgundy an asylum and security for the youthful exiles; and that illustrious prince, having given them a friendly reception, they were forthwith speedily established with suitable governors in the city of Utrecht[2], where, it is asserted, they had princely and liberal education.[3] They continued to abide there until the house of York regained the ascendency, and King Edward IV. was established permanently on the throne.

The Low Countries being at this crisis the seat of chivalry, renowned for its knightly spirit, and distinguished throughout Europe by its patronage of learning and encouragement of the fine arts[4], the young princes benefited materially by an

[1] Whethamstede, p. 496.
[2] Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 162.
[3] Buck, p. 8.
[4] Philip Duke of Burgundy was the most magnificent prince of his age, his court one of the most polished, and his fondness for the expiring customs of chivalry, and efforts for the advancement of literature, were equally great and influential. He instituted the order of the Knights of the Golden Fleece. He died 1467, and was succeeded by his son Charles, between whom and the Lady Margaret, sister to the orphan princes (and their associate in their recent concealment in the Temple), a marriage was afterwards negotiated; and, although interrupted for a time by the sudden demise of Duke Philip, was eventually solemnised, and proved the occasion of a second asylum to Richard of Gloucester, when in after years he was again an exile, and again compelled to flee from his country and his home.—*Life of Caxton*, p. 23.

event which, apparently fraught with such evil to their house, thus proved to themselves individually productive of singular advantage. It gave them opportunity for mental culture, and altogether a more accomplished education than the distracted state of England would have admitted of at that period.

The Duchess of York, who was a woman of great strength of mind and firmness of character, did not fly with them; but remained with her unmarried daughter, the Lady Margaret, in the metropolis[1], calmly awaiting the result of the Earl of March's efforts to avenge his father's death. Though but eighteen years of age, the military talents of this young prince were of a very high order, excelling those even of the deceased duke.[2] The knowledge of this no doubt encouraged his mother with hope as to the final result of his energy and zeal in reviving the fallen state of their cause; but, experienced as she was in the trying scenes of those disastrous times, and gifted herself with a vigorous understanding, she could scarcely fail to be acquainted with the rash and thoughtless indiscretion which formed so marked a feature in the character of her eldest son. This knowledge justifiably determined her to remain at all risks in England, rather than to leave him, the sole prop of their ill-fated house, to his own unaided judgment and guidance at a juncture so critical and so fraught with danger.

Her influence over him, and her wise decision

[1] Excerpt. Hist., p. 223. [2] S. Turner, vol. iii. p. 226.

in this matter, is made apparent from a fact which strongly attests the respectful affection paid to her by the young monarch almost immediately after his accession, and when he may naturally be supposed to have been flushed by his success, and elated by the acquisition of a regal diadem. While London was in a state of the greatest excitement[1] previous to the decisive battle of Towton[2], — the final contest between the rival factions, — which occurred within a month following the proclamation of Edward IV., the populace were calmed, and the minds of the citizens set at rest, by letters from the king to his mother; to whom he first made known the full particulars of an event which effectually secured to him that sovereignty to which he had so recently been elected. It was at her dwelling-place, and under her roof, that the possibility of that election was first made known to him; and there also, in her presence, was it confirmed by the prelates and nobles of the realm.

It was in Baynard's Castle that the youthful representative of the house of York, the founder of that dynasty and first of his race, assumed the

[1] Hearne's Frag., p. 287.

[2] A letter from William Paston to his brother John gives a very curious and authentic account of the battle of Towton (a village about ten miles south-west of York), which was fought on Palm Sunday, the 29th March, 1461; within a month after Edward's possessing himself of the crown, and upon the fate of which his future hopes of retaining it depended. It commences thus: — "Please you to know and to wit of such tidings, as my Lady of York hath by a letter of credence under the sign-manual of our Sovereign Lord King Edward, which letter came unto our said Lady this same day, Easter Eve, and was seen and read by me, William Paston." — *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 217.

title and dignity of king[1]; and it was in that famed metropolitan abode of the late "good Duke[2] Richard," that Cecily his bereaved widow reassembled around her the scattered remnant of her family[3]; and after witnessing the triumphant return of her son, and beholding in due time his accession and coronation, continued at intervals to reside, whenever circumstances obliged her to quit for a brief period the privacy at Berkhampstead, into which she immediately retired upon the death of her husband, and after her son's establishment upon the throne.[4]

By this unconstrained act the Lady Cecily evinced that true nobleness of character for which she was so remarkable. As a counterpoise to the severity of her recent loss, she might, as the surviving parent of the victorious sovereign, have continued to occupy that high position which the spirit of the times rendered so enviable, and which her ambitious temperament must have made it so hard to relinquish; but in her husband's grave the widow of the noble York appears to have buried all her aspiring views. Forthwith retiring from public life, she voluntarily relinquished all pomp and power; and although possessed, too, of considerable personal attractions, she withdrew from the fascinations of the court[5], and devoted herself to the tranquil duties of life in scenes which had so

[1] Baker's Chron., p. 198. [2] Hume, vol. iv. p. 194.
[3] Pennant, p. 348. [4] Archæologia, vol. xiii. p. 7.
[5] In her widowhood, the Duchess of York on all matters of import used the arms of France and England quarterly, thus implying that of right she was queen. — *Sandford*, book v. p. 369.

recently witnessed her prosperous days, and which were now hallowed by the sorrows that had numbered their duration.

Tranquillity at length being somewhat restored to the desolated kingdom, Edward IV. despatched trusty messengers to Burgundy to bring home his young brothers; and on their return to England, he suitably provided for their instruction in the practice of arms[1] preparatory to their being of age, in accordance with the usage of those times, and experience sufficient to receive the honour of knighthood.

In his first Parliament King Edward amply endowed his widowed parent[2], and afterwards strictly enforced the regular payment of the annuities settled upon her.[3] He invested Prince George, his eldest surviving brother, with the Duchy of Clarence; and Prince Richard, the youngest, he created Duke of Gloucester.[4] In the February following he further constituted Clarence lieutenant of Ireland; and, for the better support of his dignity as first prince of the blood royal, awarded him divers lands and manors in various counties, and also residences in the metropolis[5], in the parishes of St. Catherine Colman and St. Anne Aldersgate, both of which had lapsed to the

[1] Buck's Rich. III., p. 8. [2] Rot. Parl., p. 484.

[3] In Rymer's Fœdera will be found a mandate to the sheriff of York, commanding him to pay to Cecily Duchess of York, the king's mother, the arrears of an annuity of 100*l.* which had been granted to her by the king, commencing on the 10th of June preceding. Dated 30th January, 1 Ed. IV., 1462. — Vol. xi. p. 483.

[4] Hearne's Frag., p. 285.

[5] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 162. [6] Ibid.

crown by the attainder of the Duke of Northumberland.

Richard of Gloucester, whom the king had likewise made admiral of the sea[1], was speedily nominated to even greater honours[2]; and the preamble of the patent conveying them to him, viz. "The king, in consideration of the sincere fraternal affection which he entertained towards his right well-beloved brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, and admiral of the sea,"[3] strongly marks, even at this early period, the peculiar interest and attachment entertained for the subject of this memoir by his royal brother.

Up to the present time, the fortunes of the three brothers have been so closely connected, that to consider the career of the younger apart from that of the elder would have been impracticable, or, if possible, would rather have baffled than aided an impartial review of the early days of Richard III. Moreover, viewing him in connection with his family, it is apparent that a prince fondly cherished by his kindred, early endowed with immense wealth, distinguished, too, by marks of singular favour, and testimonies, openly expressed, of strong affection

[1] Pat. 2d Ed. IV., p. 2. [2] See Appendix Q.

[3] "And that he might the better and more honourably maintain the ducal rank, and the costs and charges incumbent thereon," King Edward granted to him "the castle and fee farm of the town of Gloucester, the constableship of Corfe Castle, and the manor of Kingston Lacy, county Dorset, parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster, the castle, earldom, honour and lordship of Richmond, which had previously belonged to Edmund, late Earl of Richmond; also numerous manors, forty-six in number, in the counties of Oxford, Cambridge, Cornwall, Suffolk, Essex, Bedford, Rutland, and Kent, which came to the crown by the attainder of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford. — *Rot. Parl.*, vol. vi. p. 227.

from his sovereign and elder brother, could not have been the monster of depravity which posterity has been taught to believe him, — "malicious, wrathful, envious from his birth,"[1] — or have given indication, during infancy and boyhood, of that fiend-like temperament which hitherto has been generally considered the characteristic of the Duke of Gloucester. The desire of power, and the ambition to possess a crown, were, as has been already stated, the predominant passions of his race; and, as far as the arrogance and insubordination of the great mass of the feudal lords could extenuate the same feelings in the kingly competitors of this era, they might in some measure be pardoned for their ferocious and appalling acts, — acts which, there can exist no doubt, infected with their baneful influence a mind but too early inured to the worst passions of human nature.

But every co-existent record, and all the verified details of his youth, afford substantial cause to warrant the assumption, that the vices imputed in maturer years to Richard of Gloucester were more the result of the evil times on which he fell, than the development of the germs of vice which had remained concealed in his mind from childhood. If, however, the alleged depravity of this young prince is proved to be so erroneous, at least in his youthful days, far more decided is the absence of all foundation for the distorted figure and repulsive lineaments so universally ascribed to him in after

[1] More's Rycharde III., p. 8.

ages. As it was observed in the opening of this memoir, the attestation of eye-witnesses or coeval authorities can alone be deemed conclusive on such points: it cannot, therefore, but be considered a very startling circumstance, that all the writers to whom the Duke of Gloucester could have been personally known, and from whose remarks the only genuine accounts of him can at the present day be obtained, are either silent on the subject,—thus tacitly proving that there was no such deformity to note,—or, otherwise, they disprove the assertion by direct and opposing statements. The chronicler of Croyland, Whethamstede Abbot of St. Alban's, the author of Fleetwood's Chronicle, the correspondents of the Paston family, and many other writers of more or less repute, lived at the same period with Richard Duke of Gloucester; William of Wyrcester for example, who, when detailing the enthusiasm of the populace at the election of Edward IV. in St. John's Fields, says, "I was there, I heard them, and I returned with them into the city;"[1] and the author of the Fragment relating to that monarch published by Hearne[2], proves his intimate acquaintance with the house of York by stating, "My purpose is, and shall be, as touching the life of Edward IV., to write and shew such things as I have heard of his own mouth; and also impart of such things in the which I have been personally present, as well within the royaulme as without, during a certain space, more especial

[1] Ann. W. Wyr., p. 489.
[2] In Sprotti Cronica, apud Hearne, p. 299.

from 1468 to 1482."[1] This period embraces a most important part of Richard of Gloucester's life; a period when he was on all public occasions associated with his royal brother, yet this writer nowhere mentions any deformity. Neither is it noticed, or in any way alluded to, by any one of the other writers above quoted, though each and all must have known the fact had it existed. The Abbot of St. Alban's lived within a few miles of Berkhampstead, at which place much of Richard's childhood was passed, and where his mother mostly resided. Sir John Paston was attached to the household of the Princess Margaret[2], his sister, and travelled as part of her retinue, in company with Gloucester, when in progress to solemnise her marriage.

The Fleetwood chronicler, on his own acknowledgment[3], was a personal attendant on this prince and his royal brother at a later period of their lives; and the continuator of the History of Croyland (to

[1] The writer of the brief narrative published by Hearne, and which contains so much important matter relative to the events of this period, appears to have held a responsible situation in the office of the lord high treasurer of England, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and also to have been high in the confidence of that nobleman; for he frequently appeals to him with earnestness in confirmation of the truth of his statements, which are given with such clearness and precision as fully to establish his assertion that he narrated from personal knowledge.

[2] Sir John Paston was knighted by Edward IV. at his coronation, perhaps in requital of the shelter he afforded to the Duchess of York and her young children, at his apartments in the Temple; this seems probable from his being afterwards so favourably distinguished by the Princess Margaret, who was associated with her brothers in their concealment. — *Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 3.

[3] History of the Arrival of Edward IV. in England, p. 1.

quote the words of a modern writer[1] well versed in these early narratives) "is one of the best of our English historians of the class to which he belongs. He was one of Edward the Fourth's councillors, and being connected with the house of York, but not writing until after the battle of Bosworth, he holds the balance pretty evenly between the rival parties." In these writers we have extant a series of connecting links extending from Gloucester's infancy to his decease; yet nowhere, in any one of them, is there to be found a foundation even for the report of a deformity so remarkable. Were it true, it is opposed to all reason to believe it could have escaped comment or mention by writers who narrated so minutely the passing events of their day. Honest Philip de Comines[2] (as he has been termed), a Flemish historian of undoubted veracity, and uninfluenced by party views—a foreigner, who only noticed the reigning sovereigns of England and their court, either as being contemporaries or as politically connected with the French monarchs whose history he wrote[3], neither asserts nor insinuates anything remarkable in the external appearance of Richard of Gloucester. This historian twice mentions in his work, "that Edward IV. was the most beautiful prince that he had ever seen,

[1] J. Bruce, Esq., editor of several of the publications of the Camden Society.

[2] Philip de Comines, who was formed as a writer more from experience than learning, is esteemed one of the most sagacious historians of his own or any other age. He penetrated deeply into men and things, and knew and exemplified the insignificancy of human grandeur.—*Granger, Biog. Hist. Eng.*, vol. i. p. 73.

[3] Lewis XI. and Charles VIII.

or of his time."[1] He gives very many and most interesting accounts, from personal observation[2], of this king's habits and manners, yet animadverts with equal freedom and honesty on his foibles and indiscretion. He was well known to the three brothers, and frequently saw them all. Can there, then, exist any doubt that the extraordinary beauty of form and feature which distinguished Edward IV. and the Duke of Clarence, and which called forth such encomiums from the historian, would not have also elicited from De Comines some allusion, in the way of comparison, with respect to the deformity of their young brother, had there been the slightest foundation for that revolting aspect with which after writers have invested him?

No record, indeed, has been found, contemporary with Richard III., that affords even a shadow of foundation for the fables so long imposed on posterity, except the single authority of John Rous, the recluse of Warwick, whose history in Latin of the kings of England was dedicated, it will be remembered, to Henry VII. But, though an avowed Lancastrian and a bitter enemy of the line of York, this historian simply alleges, as regards Gloucester's person, that "he was small of stature, having a short face, and uneven shoulders, the left being lower than the right."[3] Moreover, it

[1] Phil. de Comines, pp. 225. 246.

[2] Louis XI. employed Philip de Comines in embassies to almost every court of Europe. He tells us himself, in his memoirs, that he was sent to that of England in the reign of Edward IV.—*Granger*, vol. i. p. 73.

[3] Rous, Hist. Regum Ang. (apud Hearne), p. 215.

is also deserving of notice, that one of the most rancorous passages in this author's narrative effectually controverts, at all events, the distorted features which are also reported to have marked King Richard's face: "At whose birth," says Rous, "Scorpion was in the ascendant[1], which sign is the house of Mars; and as a scorpion, mild in countenance, stinging in the tail, so he shewed himself to all." No positive assertion, from any friend or partizan, of the actual beauty of Richard's features, could better have substantiated the fact, than this indirect acknowledgment from one of the most malignant and bitter enemies of himself and his family, of the insinuating and bland expression which he possessed when his countenance was unruffled.

Polydore Virgil, author of the "Anglica Historica,"[2] an erudite writer of the period immediately succeeding that in which King Richard flourished, describes him as "slight in figure, in face short and compact, like his father."[3]

Sir George Buck[4], the first historian who had

[1] Rous, Hist. Regum Ang. (apud Hearne), p. 215.

[2] "From what source Polydore Virgil derived his account of the events contained in his Anglica Historica," observes the editor of Fleetwood's Chronicle (p. iv.), "is unknown; but he has given an excellent narrative, superior in style, abundant in facts, and copious in description. — It of course strongly favours the house of Lancaster, and may indeed be considered as the account which that party was desirous should be believed. It is also stated in the Introduction to the Plumpton Correspondence (p. xxiii.), "that many of his details are evidently founded upon authentic documents which have not survived the lapse of time, or which he may have wilfully destroyed — a practice imputed to this foreigner."

[3] Polyd. Virg., p. 544.

[4] Sir George Buck was master of the revels, and one of the gentle-

sufficient hardihood to attempt the defence of this prince, and who appears to have had access to documents no longer extant, though quoted by him as then in Sir Robert Cotton's manuscript library, not only warmly defends Richard against the current accusation of moral guilt, but confesses himself unable to find any evidence whatever, warranting the imputation of personal deformity. So likewise Horace Walpole, Lord Orford[1], an elegant scholar and ingenious historian, and who, though as the avowed champion of Richard open to controversy and dispute respecting his own interpretation of facts adduced, has never been accused or even suspected of inventing the facts which he advances,—yet he, who bestowed the most unwearied pains in searching for the source of the extraordinary reports connected with Gloucester's alleged mis-shapen appearance, and tested the value of the original authority by disproving or substantiating their authenticity, could find no corroboration of rumours so long believed: on the contrary, in his "Historic Doubts," this able writer produces coexistent statements, not merely to prove the beauty of Richard's features, but also

men of the privy chamber, to King James I. Lord Orford says, "Buck agrees with Philip de Comines and with the Rolls of Parliament;" also that "Buck gains new credit the deeper the dark scene is fathomed."—*Historic Doubts*, p. 20.

[1] Granger, in enumerating the different portraits of this monarch, says, "Mr. Walpole, who is well known to have struck new light into some of the darkest passages of English history, has brought various presumptive proofs, unknown to Buck, that Richard was neither that deformed person, nor that monster of cruelty and impiety, which he has been represented by our historians."—*Granger's Biog. Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 24.

to establish the fact of his generally prepossessing appearance.[1]

The purport of this memoir, however, is not unduly to exalt Richard of Gloucester, either in mind or person, still less to invest him with qualifications and personalities more fitted to embellish a romance than to find a place in the plain, unvarnished statements of historical research: its design is simply to rescue his memory from unfounded aspersions, and to vindicate him, whenever undeniable proof exists, from positive mis-statement. The question of his personal deformity, however wide-spread the belief, may, to the philosophical reader, seem unimportant, when placed in comparison with his moral character; but in tracing the life of this prince, it is expedient that minor details should be considered, as well as matter of more importance; for it is the summing up the whole that constitutes the monstrous picture of this monarch that has been so long presented to our view.

After the most attentive examination of contemporary evidence, whether gleaned from native

[1] In Walpole's "Historic Doubts" it is narrated that the old Countess of Desmond, who had danced with Richard, declared he was the handsomest man in the room except his brother Edward, and was very well made."— *Historic Doubts*, p. 102. This anecdote has been doubtingly received, and never fairly treated, on account of the prejudices that had prevailed before Lord Walpole narrated it, relative to the Duke of Gloucester's deformity. Yet, even admitting that the description was over-wrought and highly coloured, it can scarcely be supposed that any contemporary would have ventured to pronounce as positively handsome, a prince reputed to be as repulsive in feature as he was distorted in figure. This statement was in all probability much nearer the truth than those hideous and revolting descriptions to which it has been opposed.

chroniclers or foreign writers, the evidence in reference to the personal appearance of Richard Duke of Gloucester will be found to amount to this: that he was "slight in figure[1], and short of stature;"[2] that his features were "compact[3] and handsome[4], though his face was always thin;"[5] that the expression of his countenance was "mild"[6] and pleasing[7]; but when excited, it at times assumed a character of fierce impetuosity[8] peculiarly its own. He does not seem to have been deficient in activity; rather, indeed, does the contrary appear to have been the case[9], both in his youthful exercises and manly appointments; but

[1] "In figure slight."—*Polydore Virgil*, p. 544.

[2] "Small of stature."—*Rous*, p. 215. "Of low stature."—*John Stow*, p. xiii.

[3] "Like his father's, short and compact."—*Polydore Virgil*, p. 544.

[4] "His face was handsome."—*Turner's Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 476. "Thy face worthy of the highest empire and command."—*Oration of the Scotch Ambassador, in Buck*, lib. v. p. 140.

[5] "His face always thin."—*Cont. Croy.*, p. 574.

[6] "Mild in countenance."—*John Rous*, p. 215.

[7] "Lowlye of countenance."—*More*.

[8] "Such as is in states (persons of high birth), called *warlye*, in other menne otherwise."—*More, Ibid.* (This word Grafton renders warlike, which was its literal signification as shown by a corresponding expression in letters patent coeval with that period: "aid of archers and other warrelye men."—*Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 173. Various definitions have been given by the early chroniclers to this expressive look which left so strong an impression on the beholder, but they all imply resolution and firm determination of purpose. That Sir Thomas More intended the phrase to convey the idea of a haughty, majestic, or martial air, is beyond dispute, by the distinction he draws in the application of the word, between persons of high and low estate.)

[9] "The judgment and courage of his sword actions rendered him of a full honour and experience, which fortune gratified with many victories."—*Buck*, lib. v. p. 148.

he was fragile and slightly built, and his whole frame indicated from childhood a constitutional weakness[1], and afforded undeniable evidence of great delicacy of health.[2] That the singular and very extraordinary beauty of his elder brothers[3], their unusual height and finely proportioned limbs, rendered Richard's appearance, in itself, by no means sufficiently remarkable to induce comment or observation, yet homely-looking and insignificant by comparison, when opposed to the princely demeanour and robust aspect of Edward the Fourth and the noble George of Clarence. There appears little doubt that illness and bodily suffering enfeebled the childhood of the young prince, because, independent of this fact being positively vouched[4] for by a living historian, of whom it has been justly said that his[5] "endeavours to discover manuscript historical authorities cannot be too highly praised," the metrical narrative[6] written during his boyhood, after detailing the death of two brothers who preceded, and of a younger sister who succeeded him in the order of birth, says, —

"Richard liveth yet;" —

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1 "Small in body, and weak in strength." — *John Rous*, p. 217.

2 "Weak in body, afflicted by sickness, but powerful in mind." — *Sharon Turner*, vol. iv. p. 92.

3 Sir Thomas More, in describing Edward IV., says, "he was very princely to behold, of visage lovely, of bodye myghtie, strong and clean made;" and in eulogising the personal appearance of George Duke of Clarence, he states, that "he was a goodly noble prince, and at all pointes fortunate." — *Hist. Rychd. III.*, pp. 3. 7.

4 Sharon Turner, vol. iii. p. 477.

5 Introd. Fleet. Chron., p. xiv.

6 Vincent on Brooke, p. 622.

thus implying that his survival was considered as doubtful as those of his infantine relatives who had so prematurely passed to the tomb.

Constitutional debility of any kind would induce a pallid and puny appearance; this is brought daily within the most ordinary observation; but it by no means imposes, as a natural consequence, deformity of the most distressing kind, still less features revolting to all with whom the unhappy individual may be associated. That this description was not applicable to Richard Duke of Gloucester is yet further evinced by testimony scarcely less conclusive than that of contemporary writers, whose positive or tacit disavowal of this calumny is amply confirmed by every original portrait and painting of this prince. Of these, many more are extant than is usually believed; several, wholly unknown to the public generally, having descended to ancient and noble families in this kingdom, where they may yet be found preserved among their valuable private collections.[1]

[1] Through the kindness of Sir Henry Ellis, who has compiled a list of royal English portraits, the author has been furnished with the following list of those of King Richard: —

1. In the royal collection at Windsor, formerly at Kensington Palace, with three rings on the right hand, one of which he is putting on the little finger with his left hand.

2. At Costessy Park, on panel; in the act of placing a ring on the little finger of the left hand, the thumb and third finger of which are also ornamented with rings.

3. At Hatfield House. A head.

4. At Charlecote House, Warwickshire.

5. At Thornedon House, Essex.

6. In the possession (1822) of George Hornby, Esq., of Brasennose College, Oxford.

7, 8. Two portraits in the Society of Antiquaries' apartments,

The assertion of Rous, the antiquary of Warwick, that Richard's left shoulder was lower than the right, was, nevertheless, very probably a fact,

Somerset House. In one of these, the right hand is engaged in placing a ring upon the third finger of the left hand; in the other, which is a very ancient picture, half-length, the king is represented with a dagger or short sword in his right hand.

In addition to these paintings, there is extant an illuminated MS. roll, now in the College of Arms, containing full-length portraits of King Richard, Queen Anne, and their son, the Earl of Salisbury, "laboured and finished by Master John Rous of Warwick," the contemporary historian and antiquary. Engravings from this roll will be found in the *Paston Letters*, vol. v., likewise in *Lord Orford's Works*, vol. ii. p. 215., who has also given, in his "Historic Doubts," two full-length portraits of King Richard and Queen Anne, believed to have been taken from a window in a priory at Little Malvern that was destroyed by a storm. See *Supplement to Historic Doubts.* Half-length portraits of Richard, his queen, and his son are preserved in the *Cottonian MSS.* Julius E. IV. fol. 223., appended to a series of excellent delineations, illustrative of the life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. This very curious MS. was also written and illuminated by John Rous, the antiquary of Warwick, and the portraits in it were published by Strutt in his *Regal and Eccles. Antiq.*, No. xlviii.

The royal portrait at Kensington, No. 1. in the above list, was engraved by Vertue, and is the authority for most of the ordinary engraved portraits of this monarch. The very fine original portrait at Costessy Park, No. 2., is that prefixed to vol. i. of this work, which, by the favour of Lord Stafford, the author has been enabled to present to the public now engraved for the first time. The subject selected for the frontispiece of the 2d vol., are the full-length figures of King Richard, Queen Anne, and Edward Prince of Wales, taken from the originals drawn by the hand of their contemporary "John Rous the historian," in the illuminated roll yet preserved, as above stated, in the College of Arms. It may be satisfactory to state, on the authority of the late Mr. Seguir, keeper of the Royal paintings and of the National Gallery, that these illuminated drawings, having attained their highest perfection during the 15th century, are considered superior even to oil paintings, as faithful illustrations, in consequence of the latter art being at that era yet in its infancy. The portrait in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 7. in the above list, was lithographed for the 5th vol. of the "Paston Letters." It was presented to the Society by the Rev. Thomas Kerrich. — *Archæologia*, vol. xxii. p. 448.

though wholly unconnected with any inherent deformity. It would, indeed, be a natural result to one who, from his infancy, had been inured to warlike exercises, but was not endowed by nature with a frame of sufficient strength to support, without injury, the severe discipline consequent on the martial education of that period.[1] The love of dress, nay, the absolute mania for it, which prevailed in the middle ages, is well known, though its extravagance would almost surpass belief but for the acts of Parliament[2] which were passed for the purpose of repressing its excess and absurdity.[3] To individuals trained in military pursuits, the highly-wrought armour of those times would become the chief object of attraction; and at no period of our national history was this defensive accoutrement more attentively studied, both with reference to personal safety and costliness of material, than towards the close of the fifteenth century. Even that of the most heavy construction was finished with an attention to ornament, elegance, and taste, that dazzled the youthful aspirant fully as much as it charmed the older and more experienced warrior. "No higher degree of perfection was ever attained in armour," observes Dr. Meyrick, in his valuable Treatise upon Ancient Armour, "than during the times of Richard III."[4]

[1] See Appendix R.

[2] Rot. Parl. vol. v. p. 504.; also Stow, p. 459.

[3] In addition to the statutes passed in the 3d and 22d years of Edward IV., Stow states in his *Chronicle* (p. 419.) that "cursing by the clergy," and heavy fines to the laity, were the consequence of exceeding the prescribed rules and ordinances. — *Stow*, p. 429.

[4] Richard, in a letter from York, at a later period of his history,

Nothing, indeed, can exceed its beauty and the elaborate nature of the workmanship, as displayed in the monumental effigies of that period; though its ponderous weight, encasing as it did the entire person with plates of metal[1], could only have been endured by early habit or very constant practice. The great mart for this species of workmanship, the emporium, indeed, where its manufacture was most cultivated, and where the newest fashion met with the most ready sale, was the Low Countries, in which Richard Plantagenet, just springing into youth, was first trained to the practice of arms, and taught the rudiments of the noble arts connected with chivalry and knighthood. A dauntless spirit and a proud ambition were inherent in him; he was associated in his exercises with the robust and muscular Clarence; the same knightly harness appropriated to one brother would be bestowed on the other; and to the early adoption of the ponderous armour then in use, especially the heavy casquetal, or steel cap, with its large oval ear-pieces, the hausse-col or gorget of steel, together with the huge fan-shaped elbow pieces and the immense pauldrons or shoulder plates, rising perpendicularly to defend the neck, will sufficiently account, apart from all other cause, for the inequality in Richard's shoulders[2], without his being

orders "three coats of arms beaten with gold, for our own person." — *Hist. of British Costume*, vol. ii. p. 215.

[1] Archæologia, vol. xxi.

[2] This probable cause for Richard's alleged ungraceful form is borne out by an historical fact, that has strong reference to an almost parallel circumstance. Edmund Earl of Lancaster, the favourite son of Henry III., and from whom the monarchs of that line derive their

"crook-backed" by nature, or otherwise of a figure which would altogether negative the gallant bearing so universally ascribed to him on the field of battle[1] by writers of both parties. It must also be remembered that Rous, the only contemporary who names this inequality, spoke of it, not as characterising Gloucester in his youth and manhood, but as an inelegance attached to his form much later in life, when the effect of a very active martial career would most probably be indicated by some such contortion, on a form naturally fragile; but as the same writer has also plainly and explicitly stated the exact nature and extent of Richard's alleged deformity, and this, not from report only, or mere hearsay, but from actual personal observation[2], it not only satisfactorily accounts for the silence of other writers on a defect which was not apparent at the early period in which they wrote; but it also fully justifies the

descent, one of the most distinguished warriors of the age, whose exploits have immortalised his name, and whose gallant bearing has been a fertile theme for contemporary annalists (*Walsingham*, p. 483.), was surnamed "Crouch-back," since corrupted to "Crook-back," (*Biondi*, p. 45.), it is stated, from "the bowing of his back;" but no historian of his time ascribes deformity to this prince, neither was he so depicted on his monument in Westminster Abbey, though he is there represented on horseback, and in his coat of mail. — *Sandford*, book iii. p. 103. Another writer, indeed, has remarked, that so little authority is there for his being crook-backed, that it even appears doubtful whether the appellation was bestowed from his rounded shoulders, or from his wearing a "crouch" or cross on his back, as customary with those who vowed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. — *Baker's Chronicle*, p. 90.

[1] "Sundrye victories hadd hee, and sometime overthrows, but never in defaulte as for his owne parsone, either of hardinesse or polytike order." — *More*, p. 8.

[2] Rous saw Richard at Warwick, after his accession to the throne. — *Walpole's Historic Doubts*, pp. 104— 109.

statement of Mr. Sharon Turner, who has devoted great attention towards investigating this long disputed point, that "for the hump-back and crooked form there is no adequate authority."[1]

But it may naturally be asked, whence then arose an idea, so firmly believed, that it has stood the test of ages, and been transferred for three centuries from the graver pages of history to the simplest elementary tales connected with our national biography? That it was unsupported by the testimony of writers immediately succeeding the period in which those that have been quoted flourished, is apparent; not merely from Polydore Virgil and the authorities above named, but also from Stow, whose writings have always been esteemed for their honest, clear, and correct details[2]; and whose strong evidence against the misshapen appearance, just beginning in his time to be imputed to King Richard, was cited in the introductory chapter of this memoir. It will there be seen that he asserts, "he had spoken by word of mouth with some ancient men, who, from their own sight and knowledge, affirmed that he was of

[1] Turner, Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 477.

[2] John Stow, the celebrated antiquary, was born in Cornhill, somewhere about the year 1525. He early began to study the antiquities of his country, and whatever was illustrative of its history was the object of his researches. "To the merits of an able historian and indefatigable antiquary, Stow united all the virtues of a private life. He wrote for the public, he adhered to truth, and recorded nothing either through fear, or envy, or favour;" and it is to be regretted that a man to whom the world of letters is so much indebted was reduced to such poverty, that, in addition to the infirmities of old age, he died suffering all the horrors of indigence. —*Stow's Life by Strype;* also *Pantologia,* vol. xi.

bodily shape comely enough, only of low stature," and likewise, "that in all his enquiries" (and it must be remembered that he was born within forty years of Richard's death,) "he could find no such note of deformity as historians commonly relate." This note of deformity, and other rumours equally unfair to King Richard, and at first only suggested, but afterwards speedily asserted as fact by succeeding chroniclers, to flatter the reigning sovereign of the new dynasty, emanated exclusively, there can be little doubt, from the writings of Sir Thomas More. He flourished during Stow's childhood, at a period when historical research was little considered, and when biographical memoirs were rare, and indifferently cared for; so that the beauty of his composition, his estimable character, and his profound erudition, obtained for his work at the time it appeared a credence on all points, which an impartial review of it in the present day will prove that it by no means deserved; both on account of its inaccurate detail of many well-known facts, and also from the glaring errors and inconsistencies into which the author was betrayed, by the most inveterate and deep-rooted prejudices. Yet even Sir Thomas More, violent as he was against Richard of Gloucester, by no means vouches for the truth of the startling assertions which he was the means of promulgating. "Richard was deformed," he says, "as the fame ranne of those that hated him."[1] What stronger language can be adduced than this? What contradiction more efficient, than his own

Buck's Richard III., lib. ii. p. 80.

few quaint words, "as menne of hatred reporte?"[1] It at once proves that the work which was productive of such mischievous results was founded only upon tradition, and its authority not derived from actual observation[2]: it at once shows whence may be traced rumours that receive no corroboration from any contemporary source, but evidently proceeded from the hatred, prejudice, and malignity of those who judged of Richard from his imputed crimes and from the report of his enemies, and not from any real and personal knowledge, either of his true character or his external appearance. Nevertheless, the life of this prince, written by Sir Thomas More[3], is the acknowledged origin of the preposterous tales alluded to by Stow, and so speedily refuted by that historian, though afterwards revived and exaggerated by the Tudor chroniclers, and through them indelibly perpetuated by the master hand of their copyist, the immortal Shakspeare: for it will be found, that in many of the great dramatist's most striking passages con-

[1] More's Rycharde III., p. 8.

[2] In Mr. Bayley's valuable history of eminent persons connected with the Tower, compiled from State Papers and original MSS. (that gentleman being himself officially employed in the examination of the public records), he says, when controverting an unfounded statement against King Richard: — "The forwardness of More to impute this and other crimes, for which there is not a shadow of reason, to the Duke of Gloucester, shows how bitterly his mind was prejudiced, and how little credit is therefore due to all his narrative concerning him." — *Bayley's Hist. and Antiq. of the Tower*, vol. ii. p. 337.

[3] "The Historie of King Rycharde the Thirde, written by Master Thomas More, then one of the Under Sheriffes of London: about the yeare of our Lord 1513." This history was first printed in Grafton's continuation of the Metrical Chronicle of John Hardyng, in 1543. It was again printed in the Chronicles of Grafton, Hall, and Holinshed. — See *Singer's reprint of More's Richard III.*, pp. x. xii.

nected with this period, that he has merely versified the language of those early historians, who based their authority on Sir Thomas More, the graphic descriptions derived from that writer affording subject especially suited for displaying the peculiar power possessed by the "Bard of Avon" in the delineation of character, and in that deep and extensive knowledge of the workings of the human heart, for which he was so pre-eminently distinguished. One conclusive and very remarkable fact presents itself for consideration; viz. that no writer except Rous describes the person of Richard during his lifetime, and this is the fitting place for drawing attention to so strong an argument in his favour. It is, however, but justice to those writers who have been alluded to, as also to the excellent and learned Chancellor himself[1], to consider one very important point connected with his narrative. Sir Thomas More, with a view to his education, was a resident in early years in the house of Bishop Morton[2], who predicted great things from his precocious talents[3], and always bestowed on him marks of distinguished favour and affection. Now Morton was the bitter enemy of Gloucester, by whom he had been arrested and imprisoned when Lord Protector[4], a circumstance of itself sufficient to explain the antipathy which was entertained by the prelate towards him. More-

[1] Sir Thomas More succeeded Wolsey as lord high chancellor of England in 1530.

[2] Biog. Britt.

[3] Cardinal Morton was wont to say, "More will one day prove a marvellous man." — *Biog. Dict.*

[4] Cont. Croy., p. 566.

over, Morton was a personal friend, a companion in exile, and an agent in establishing Henry VII. on the throne; and by this monarch, the rival and successor of Richard III., he was loaded with honours, made one of his privy council, and was successively created by him archbishop of Canterbury and lord high chancellor of England.[1]

The very work in question has even been ascribed to this ecclesiastic, though apparently without foundation[2]; nevertheless, it is quite clear, from the testimony of More's biographer[3], that "the mistakes, discrepancies, and falsifications" of the history that bears his name, together with the "hideous portrait of Richard" contained in it, were derived from details and conversations in boyhood from Morton, his avowed enemy and bitter persecutor, who sought that monarch's destruction on every occasion, and by whose death, at length accomplished, this prelate was placed by his royal master in the most elevated position; the favour of his sovereign Henry VII. being further evinced by his obtaining for him his elevation to the dignity of a cardinal.[4]

It is therefore obvious that the testimony of one so prejudiced and so interested must be received with much caution.[5] Still greater doubt

[1] Bacon's Hen. VII., pp. 16—51. [2] See Appendix S.
[3] Singer's reprint of More, pp. viii. ix.
[4] Bentham, Hist. of Ely.
[5] Lord Bacon says, when summing up the character of Cardinal Morton: "Hee was a wise man, and an eloquent, but in his nature harsh and haughtie; much accepted by the king, but envyed by the nobility, and hated by the people. Hee wonne the king with secrecie and diligence, but chiefly because he was his old servant in his lesse fortunes; and also for that (in his affections) hee was not without

attaches itself to the relation of such as framed their description of King Richard upon mere hearsay evidence, and from reports which sprang up after his death, originating in the malice of his enemies.

Resuming the narrative at the point from whence it diverged for this lengthened but necessary digression, viz. the nomination of Richard to the dukedom of Gloucester, and his investiture with lands and appointments fitting to support the dignity attached to a prince of the blood royal[1], it may here assist the recollection of the order of events in a chronological abstract of his early life, to state that Richard had just attained his ninth year; his creation as Duke of Gloucester occurring November 4th, 1461, in the first parliament held by King Edward IV. after his coronation.[2]

It will be apparent that at so tender an age the young prince could take no part in the turbulent proceedings which marked the opening years of his brother's reign. The character of the times, and the course of instruction then rigidly observed, would alone have restrained the exercise of talents even the most precocious, and neutralised the passions of the most depraved boyhood. The laws of chivalry[3] were, during the dominion of the Plantagenet race, in full and undisputed vigour. One system of education prevailed, and the high-born and the high-bred in every civilised court

an inveterate malice against the House of York, under whom he had been in trouble." — *Bacon's Hen. VII.*, p. 198.

[1] Whitak. Hist. of Craven, p. 67.

[2] Rot. Parl., vol. v. p. 461., and Sandford, book v. p. 405.

[3] See Vertuous Precepts of Chivalry, in Boswell's "Concords of Honour," pp. 8. 10.: printed An. Dom. 1597.

throughout Europe, submitted to the severe discipline which it imposed.[1] The infant aspirant for knighthood, whether prince or peer, remained till he was seven years of age under the control and tutelage of his mother, or female relatives; during which period he was carefully instructed in religious and moral, as well as in domestic duties, and taught also the limited scholastic acquirements of that period. After attaining his seventh year, the young noble was removed from maternal care, and admitted into the family of some renowned feudatory lord, who initiated the youthful claimant for military fame into the mysteries and hardships of a martial and chivalrous career.[2] There, inured by degrees to the mortifications, restraint, and disregard of danger imposed on the associates of the bold leaders of those rude times, and far removed from the enervating influence of the solicitude and anxiety of home, the future warrior, under the designation of a page, remained until the age of fourteen[3]; when, being invested with his first degree, that of squire, and having exchanged with much solemnity the short dagger of the page for the sword allotted to this second grade of chivalry[4], he became qualified to follow his gallant leader, either to the field of battle, or to be associated with him in the more peaceful joust and chivalric tournament, to lead his war-steed, to buckle on his armour, to furnish him with fresh horses and weapons, and himself to strive and win the spurs

[1] See "The Accedence of Armorie," by Master Gerard Leigh, pp. 70, 71.: reprint of 1612.
[2] Essays on Chivalry, No. I. Graphic Illus., p. 25.
[3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

of knighthood, if happily opportunity presented itself for doing so. At the age of twenty-one, the honour of knighthood itself was conferred upon him, under circumstances of great solemnity[1], accompanied with very impressive rites and ceremonies, the initiation being rendered still more solemn from its being hallowed by the Church, and ushered in and accompanied by those pompous ecclesiastical processions and religious services, which flung such a romantic colouring over the early days and scenes of our national history. It is true that instances are not wanting in which this final investiture was formally bestowed at a much earlier, and even at a very tender age, as in the case of infant monarchs and princely minors; two instances of which, viz. that of King Henry VI. and Richard Duke of York, have been already mentioned in this memoir; nevertheless, even when from peculiar circumstances the dignity had been so prematurely given, the routine afterwards pursued was as similar as regal etiquette permitted[2];

[1] James's Hist. of Chivalry, p. 22.

[2] A very interesting example, in illustration of this, is given by Froissart in his Chronicle, when detailing the leading incidents relative to the battle of Cressy, shortly before which memorable engagement Edward Prince of Wales, surnamed "the Black Prince," was knighted by his royal parent, King Edward III., at the early age of sixteen. Perceiving the prince in danger of being overpowered by numbers, the nobles who surrounded him sent a message to the monarch, who was "on a little windmill hill" adjoining, soliciting assistance. "Then the king said, 'Is my son dead, or hurt, or felled to the earth?' 'No, Sir,' quoth the knight; 'but he is hard matched, wherefore he hath need of your aid.' 'Well,' said the king, 'return to him and to them that sent you, and desire them to send no more to me on any account while my son is alive; and also say to them, that they suffer him this day *to win his spurs;* for, if God be pleased,

and the age of twenty-one, apart from all previous ceremonial, established definitively and in effect as such the warrior knight of the middle ages.

In this manner, as it would appear from the few and brief memorials of his early years which are yet extant, Richard Duke of Gloucester was educated.

That he remained under his mother's especial care up to the usual age of seven, has been already shown by the fact of his being seized with her, and associated in her imprisonment, after the sacking of Ludlow Castle; and it is made still further evident by her despatching him so promptly to Utrecht, on the occasion of his father's death. But from this period the young prince's name is no longer mentioned in connection with the Lady Cecily. His royal brother sent messengers to bring him to England, and provided both him and Clarence, on their arrival, with instructors suited to their age and high station; but there is no mention made of Gloucester's rejoining his widowed parent, or sharing her retirement at Berkhampstead. Whether the wardship of Richard was granted as a reward to one of the powerful supporters of the crown, as was customary in these times with minors so richly endowed, or whether Edward IV. retained in his own hands this vast source of wealth and power [1], cannot now be ascertained; but as Sir George Buck states that the King, "when he called home his two brothers,

I wish the honour of this engagement to be his and theirs who are about him.'" — *Berner's Froissart*, vol. i. p. 289.

[1] Hutton's Bosworth, p. xxii.

entered them into the practice of arms,"[1] it appears most probable that on his return from Flanders, Gloucester was forthwith submitted to the prescribed probation of the succeeding seven years, in the abode of some powerful baron, which, as above shown, was then usual with such as were destined to perform the duties of a warrior knight, and to be well tutored in the chivalrous accomplishments of the age. This surmise appears to be the more certain as regards this prince, because with the exception of letters from King Edward, conferring on his young brother, in addition to the honours and possessions before enumerated, the castles, manors, lands, &c. which had been forfeited by the attainder of Henry Beaufort, late Duke of Somerset (anno 3d Edw. IV.)[2], and the grant of Caister[3] in Norfolk, and Weardale Forest in the Palatinate of Durham[4], no other public document relating to him is on record, until the fifth year of his royal brother's reign, when, by an entry on the issue roll of the Exchequer[5], it is recorded that money was "paid to Richard Earl of Warwick for costs and expenses incurred by him on behalf of the Duke of Gloucester, the king's brother." This entry is very valuable, not merely as a guide to the probable nature of Richard's mode of life after his emancipation from childhood, but it will be found also highly important in explaining much

[1] Buck, lib. i. p. 8.
[2] Rymer's Add. MSS. No. 4614., art. 91.
[3] Paston Letters, vol. iv. p. 59.
[4] Surtees's History of Durham, p. lx.
[5] Anno 5 Edw. IV., p. 490. 8vo. 1837.

that has hitherto appeared mysterious in his after years; it proving how early he was domesticated in the family of the Earl of Warwick, who, if not actually his guardian, and as such laying the foundation of views that were remarkable in their final accomplishment, was, it is most clear, invested with some charge respecting him personally, that led to the grant of money now under consideration.

Of the nature of this power, however, at least in a modified sense, there can exist no doubt; for the usage of the times reconciles the fact of the military guardianship, if considered in that light alone; and though its full extent as a wardship may be disputed, yet the conjecture, even to this extreme point, seems reasonable, from the tenor of this entry agreeing so entirely with that of petitions in the Fœdera, presented by guardians for similar payment relative to wards.

The age of Richard Duke of Gloucester at the time of this entry (1465) was fourteen years: now this corresponds precisely with the intermediate probationary term exacted by the laws of chivalry for the knightly instruction of noble youths at that period. This fact, taken in conjunction with the omission of all mention of this Prince's name in political affairs during the intervening years, and the particular wording of the document, "for costs and expenses incurred by him on behalf of the Duke of Gloucester," seems to warrant the conclusion, that Richard the renowned Earl of Warwick, the "king maker" and the king dethroner, was the warrior lord selected by King Edward IV. for initiating his young brother into the noble practice of arms.

This heroic and most powerful chieftain was peculiarly fitted for so high a trust. His magnificent style of living and large possessions had procured for him the appellation of "the Great Earl of Warwick;"[1] his fame had spread throughout Europe, and his authority in England was almost absolute[2]: independent, too, of his claims to the respect and gratitude of the King and his brother, from his devotion to their deceased parent, he was their mother's nephew,[3] their own near kinsman, and one of the most zealous and firm supporters of their house. His father, the Earl of Salisbury, had been a principal promoter of the Duke of York's pretensions to the crown, and in advocating to the last what he considered to be his just cause, he fell a victim to his fidelity, being taken prisoner, as it will be remembered, and beheaded with the Duke at the fatal encounter at Wakefield. The Earl of

[1] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 91.

[2] At this time, observes Mr. Sharon Turner (on the authority of an author living at that period) none before Warwick had in England half the possessions which he then enjoyed. He had the entire earldom of Warwick, all the lands of the Spencers, and the earldom of Salisbury. He was great chamberlain of England, the chief admiral, captain of Calais, and also lieutenant of Ireland; an accumulation of honours and power which made him inferior only to his sovereign. These possessions, exclusive of his own estates, amounted to 20,000 marks a year.—*Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 268.

[3] Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, was the eldest son of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, K.G., by his second wife Joane, daughter of John of Gaunt. From marrying Alice, the daughter and heir of Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, K.G., he was created Earl of Salisbury, and was appointed lord great chamberlain of England, 39 Henry VI., but was beheaded at York shortly afterwards. His eldest son Richard, K.G., acquired the earldom of Warwick by marrying Ann, sister and heir to Henry Duke of Warwick, and is celebrated in the History of England as the "king maker," from his great influence and power.—*Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 287.

Warwick, his son, so created in right of his wife, the heiress of that house, devoted himself to advance the cause of his cousin, the young Earl of March, as strenuously as the Earl of Salisbury[1] had previously that of the Duke of York. Both these young nobles deplored the untimely death of their illustrious and noble parents; both became leagued in one common cause against their sanguinary opponents; and the ultimate advancement of King Edward IV. to the throne was, in a great measure, owing to the vigorous measures, decisive conduct, and vast influence of Richard Earl of Warwick. This noble was, therefore, as before observed, the most fitting person, by consanguinity and chivalrous fame, that the sovereign could have selected "to season the forwardnesse"[2] and excite the emulation of the young prince; whether in preparing him for the honourable distinction of knighthood, or for acquiring the highest degree of excellence in the martial pursuits of the age. And these were of extreme importance to King Edward; for while the dethroned Henry of Lancaster remained alive, and was protected by other crowned heads, his seat on the English throne could scarcely be considered either firm or fixed. He needed, therefore, all possible support from his natural allies, and, conse-

[1] King Edward IV., in his speech from the throne at the first Parliament held after his accession, couples the Earl of Salisbury's name with that of the Duke of York: after thanking the Commons for their "true hearts and great assistance" in restoring him to the throne of his ancestors, he adds, "also, in that ye have tenderly had in remembrance the correction of the horrible murder and cruel death of my lord and father, my brother Rutland, and my cousin of Salisbury and other, I thank you heartily."—*Rot. Parl.*, v. p. 487.

[2] Buck, lib. i. p. 8.

quently (as Mr. Hutton observes), "he initiated his brothers into the use of arms, as an additional strength to his house."[1] The military fame which distinguished Gloucester in after years, and which has been so highly extolled even by his enemies[2], bespeaks him to have been tutored by no ordinary person, and would have done full justice to lessons so ably inculcated, even if his instructor had been, as is surmised, the powerful and renowned Warwick himself. At the castle of Middleham, then the hereditary demesne of his illustrious kinsman, did the young Richard of Gloucester, in all probability, pass his boyish days. There, in the domestic circle of England's proudest baron, he must have been associated with the flower of British chivalry; and at a time when, without reference to his extreme youth, and with a total disregard of all existing records, he is universally believed to have been concocting schemes fraught with destruction to his fellow-men, he was in all likelihood practising with his youthful and noble compeers the manly exercises that marked the age; some bold and athletic, others sportive, with "hawk and hound, seasoned with ladies' smiles;" and forming those early friendships which lasted through life, and which, from their devotedness and durability, form a striking feature in Gloucester's chequered career. There too, in all probability, it may be inferred that Richard first bestowed his affections[3] on his gentle cousin Anne, Warwick's youngest and most lovely daughter[4]; who, treading

[1] Hutton's Bosworth, p. xviii. [2] Rous, p. 215., and More, p. 9.
[3] Buck, lib. i. p. 81. [4] Ibid., p. 8.

in the footsteps of his mother, the Lady Cecily, from being the companion in childhood of the orphan Prince, and then perchance the "ladye love" of his chivalrous probation, acquired an influence over him, that led in after years to his selecting her as his consort when she was in adversity, and he in the zenith of his greatness. Very many historical notices and chance local details afford strong presumptive evidence to warrant this conclusion. "The partiality of Richard for Middleham through life is," says its historian, "well known;"[1] and Sir George Buck, speaking of his childhood, states "that this Richard Plantagenet lived for the most part in the castle of Middleham;"[2] which could not have been the case during his father's lifetime, because Middleham was the baronial hall of Warwick[3], and not that of York. A yet more important link in the chain of evidence is afforded by the association of Gloucester's name with the young heir of the house of Lovell[4], in the identical entry that connects this prince in boyhood with the Earl of Warwick. After the words in the exchequer roll, above quoted, viz. "Paid to Richard Earl of Warwick for costs and expenses incurred by him on behalf of the Duke of Gloucester, the King's brother," there follows immediately this additional clause: "and for the exhibition and marriage of the

[1] Whittaker's Hist. of Richmondshire, vol. i. p. 335.
[2] Buck, lib. i. p. 7. [3] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 185.
[4] Francis Lovell, son and heir to John Lord Lovell, married Anne, daughter of Henry Lord Fitz Hugh. He very soon succeeded his father as Lord Lovell, and was afterwards created Viscount Lovell. — *Paston Letters*, vol. iv.

son and heir of the Lord Lovell."[1] Now the custody and wardship of minors at this period, as there has been before occasion to notice, was a source both of immense profit to the barons, and of unlimited patronage to the crown; and it may be reckoned among the many serious grievances which the corruption of the feudal system brought upon the country, especially as relates to marriage.[2] The circumstance, therefore, of the association of these two noble youths with Warwick in one public document, together with their corresponding ages, and the devoted attachment which induced such marks of favour through life from the Prince, and devotion to him even to death from the Lord Lovell[3],

[1] Issue Rolls of the Excheq., p. 409.

[2] The feudal lord exercised the privilege of receiving the lands and person of the minor, and retaining them till the male ward arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and the female of fourteen years; during which interval the rents and profits of the estates belonged entirely to the guardian. The right of marriage was still more opposite to reason and justice, since by this the guardian in chivalry might dispose of his charge in wedlock to any one he chose; or, what is more, might sell the disposition of him to another, without troubling himself at all about the inclination or affections of the unfortunate ward. — *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vols. ii. and iv.

[3] The life of this young nobleman, and the vicissitudes that marked his singular career, arising chiefly from his devotion to Richard of Gloucester, constitute one of the most remarkable narratives connected with these tragical times. The Lord Lovell accompanied the prince in most of his military campaigns; and on Richard's being appointed to the protectorate, he procured for the companion of his youth the lucrative office of chief butler of England.—*Harl. MS.* 433., fol. 223. At this monarch's coronation he walked on the king's left hand, bearing one of the swords of justice (*Excerpt. Hist.*, p. 380.); and after attending him to the battle of Bosworth, and opposing with determined zeal the accession of his rival, Henry VII., he is supposed to have been starved to death in a subterranneous chamber at his own seat, Minster Lovell, in Oxfordshire, the skeleton of a man seated in a chair, with his head reclining on a table, being accidentally discovered there in a chamber

is, to say the least, strong presumptive proof that both were associated in boyhood under the roof of the illustrious "king maker," the Earl of Warwick, and both perhaps connected in wardship with that almost sovereign chief. No decisive authority, indeed, appears extant to warrant the positive assumption of so important a fact; but as the historical traditions of distant periods are often verified by official records, so the document now quoted affords the strongest ground for believing that Gloucester was, for some years, under the entire charge of the great "Warwick," either in a civil or warlike capacity. The inference thus drawn merits deep consideration, arising from the value that attaches to every particular that can throw light on the early days of a monarch whose life is so wrapt in mystery as that of Richard III.

Whatever degree of probability may be attached to this surmise, one thing at least remains undisputed, as connected with the youth of this prince; and it is a matter of extreme importance to his character and his disposition; namely, that evidence is afforded by the very next public notice of repute respecting Gloucester, of King Edward's strong and unabated affection for him, and of his anxious desire to promote his young brother's advancement to the highest and most honourable posts. If the written memorials of his history then are few, yet

under ground, towards the close of the seventeenth century. The Lord Lovell probably took refuge in this place of concealment after his defeat at the battle of Stoke, a large reward being offered for his apprehension; and his melancholy end is supposed to have occurred from neglect on the part of those who were intrusted with the secret. — *Lingard*, vol. v. p. 290.

on this one point at least they are authentic and valuable; nor could any more convincing proof be desired, than that afforded by his being elected in the fourteenth year of his age to the high honour of a knight of the most noble order of the Garter, an institution which made England the centre of chivalry [1], it being one of the most ancient lay orders in the world, and at that time limited to twenty-six companions.[2] The rarity of the distinction is evinced by its not having been bestowed by the founder, Edward III., even upon his own son, Thomas Duke of Gloucester; for, although that prince sat in Parliament as constable of England [3], he was not created a knight of the Garter until after his nephew had ascended the throne.[4] Conclusive evidence is thus afforded of the progress that Richard must have made in the martial accomplishments of the times; since it appears that being of the blood royal [5] did not necessarily, at this

[1] Noble's Hist. of Col. of Arms, p. 20.

[2] The first names enrolled by Edward III., its royal founder, on the most noble order of the Garter, were the young and gallant Edward, his eldest son (surnamed the Black Prince), and the most heroic of his brave companions at Cressy. On the king's return from his triumphant expedition into France, he rewarded other valiant knights who had faithfully served him there by investing them also with this noble and chivalrous order, which then consisted of twenty-six brethren in arms: of this number the monarch himself formed one; the remainder were all persons of choice endowments, and acknowledged military reputation. — *Art of Heraldry*, p. 99.

[3] Sandford's Geneal. Hist., book iii. p. 227.

[4] Edmondson's Heraldry, art. Orders of Knighthood.

[5] The Duke of Gloucester himself, when monarch of England, exemplified this remark, inasmuch as, after his accession to the throne, he neither created his only son, Edward Prince of Wales, a knight of the Garter, nor did he bestow this much-esteemed dignity either upon Edward Earl of Warwick or John Earl of Lincoln,

early period, suffice for enrolment as a member of a fraternity, the qualifications professedly required for which were military ardour, and princely and gallant deportment.[1] "On the 4th of February, 1466, directions were given for delivering the sword and helmet of the sovereign's brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, to be placed in St. George's Chapel." And in the March following, we read "of the badge of his order being paid for, though he did not take possession of his stall until after the month of April."[2] This emancipation from the trammels of boyhood, and installation at so early an age to the highest dignity which could be awarded to prince or subject, and the insignia of which, since its first institution, the greatest monarchs in all succeeding ages have thought it an honour to wear, appears to mark the point from whence Richard's true entrance into public and political life may be dated. The more so, as a passage in the Paston Letters[3] intimates, that in the following month (30th of April, 1466) this prince was employed on some special mission, either of a warlike or confidential import; viz. "Item: as for tidings, the Earl of Northumberland is home into the North, and my Lord of Gloucester shall after, as to-morrow men say."

If then but little of actual importance remains on record, connected with the early youth of Richard III.; and if his domestic habits and pur-

although he nominated each of these princes his nephews, at different periods, successors to the throne.

[1] See Appendix T.

[2] Sir Harris Nicolas's Order of British Knighthood, p. 92.

[3] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 289.

suits at that important period of his life must be rather implied from circumstances than actually illustrated by existing records; yet it cannot but be considered an indication of his peaceable and tranquil career, that up to this period no verified tale of horror, no accusation, however forcibly reported by the rancour of his enemies, associates itself with his memory, or can be fairly and unequivocally brought home to him. King Edward might, from a selfish feeling, have endowed his young brother with manors and lordships, that the stream of such vast wealth should flow into and enrich his own coffers, or be the means of cementing in wardship the aid and alliance of some discontented baron. He might have loaded him with high-sounding titles and ancient dignities, to gratify personal or family pride; or have nominated him to important offices and appointments, as the means of preventing the power thus nominally bestowed from being turned against himself by treachery or rebellion: but, unless this monarch had considered Gloucester as worthy to bear and fitting to adorn one of the most distinguished positions to which it was in the sovereign's power to advance him, — one exclusively of honour [1], instituted to stimulate and reward military prowess, wholly unconnected with emolument, and productive of no personal advantage to himself, — he would scarcely have been induced at the early age of fourteen to invest the young Richard with so high a distinction as was that of the order of the Garter in those days of true chivalry and gallant knighthood.

[1] Rot. Turris Lond. ap. Anst. Reg. Gart., vol. i. p. 131.

CHAP. V.

Re-interment of the Duke of York and the Earl of Rutland at Fotheringay. — Richard selected by the King to follow their remains in state. — Coolness between Edward IV. and his brother of Clarence. — Character of King Edward, of George of Clarence, of Richard of Gloucester. — Superior mental qualifications of Gloucester. — Absence of all foundation for his alleged depravity. — Marriage of Edward IV. — Mortification of Warwick. — Jealousy of Clarence. — Warwick essays to tamper with Clarence and Gloucester. — Marriage of Clarence. — Indignation of the King. — Open rupture between Edward, Warwick, and Clarence. Gloucester continues faithful to the King. — Honours awarded to him. — He is created lord high admiral, and chief constable of England. — Unsettled state of the kingdom. — Open insurrection. — Edward IV. abdicates the throne. — Escapes into Burgundy. Richard shares his exile. — Restoration of Henry VI. — Attainder of Edward IV. and of Richard Duke of Gloucester.

RICHARD of Gloucester was but a stripling in age when he entered the arena of political life. As stated at the conclusion of the last chapter, this entrance may be dated from the period when he was created a knight of the Garter, shortly after attaining his fourteenth year: and most active was his public career from that early period. The first document concerning him, which next presents itself to notice, is, perhaps, the most pleasing of any that are associated with his memory. It was a tribute of filial affection; — one of those scenes of domestic tenderness, which form so redeeming a feature in the life and history of the House of York, — a resting place amidst the harrowing scenes of rapine, murder, and rebellion, which associate

themselves on most occasions with the striking events of this turbulent period.

Almost the first act of Edward IV. after his accession to the crown was to remove the head of his illustrious parent from its ignominious elevation over the gates of York, and honourably to inter his remains beside those of the young Earl of Rutland, at Pontefract. When firmly established on the throne, and after a few years of tranquillity had somewhat replenished the impoverished coffers of the kingdom, the young monarch farther evinced his strong affection for the memory of his deceased parent and brother, by deciding on the removal of their remains to the burial-place appertaining to their family, in the chancel of the collegiate church founded by their ancestor at Fotheringay.[1] Richard of Gloucester, on this important occasion, was selected by his sovereign to transport the remains of their father, and to accompany them in state the whole way, following next after the corpse[2], supported by the chief of the nobility and officers, whose attendance was commanded on this interesting and solemn occasion.

The funeral was one of the most splendid and sumptuous on record, little less than regal[3]; and while admiration is elicited by this dutiful testimony of respect paid by King Edward to the memory of

[1] Edward Plantagenet, second Duke of York, founded a magnificent college at Fotheringay, for which he was obliged to mortgage great part of his estate. Being slain at Agincourt, his body was brought to England, and buried in the choir of his collegiate church, under a marble slab, with his figure inlaid in brass, according to his will. — *Nichol's Royal Wills*, p. 223.

[2] Sandford, book v. p. 373.

[3] See Appendix U.

his father[1], it cannot but suggest a strong conviction to the mind, that George of Clarence must early have forfeited the esteem and confidence of his royal brother, or at a very early age have estranged himself from his kindred; otherwise the youthful Duke of Gloucester would scarcely have been selected to take the lead in a ceremony so imposing, and which was so religiously considered as the public solemnisation of the funeral of a deceased parent.

It may perhaps be said that Richard, as the youngest son, was the fitting person to follow in the entire train of the mournful cavalcade; but then, where was Clarence when it reached its final destination? The King stood at the entrance of the churchyard, arrayed in the deepest mourning, to receive from Gloucester the relics, and to precede the revered remains of his relatives to the altar of Fotheringay church[2]; but no mention is made of Clarence, though many noble personages are enumerated by Sandford, as aiding the monarch in the solemn ceremony which he so minutely describes, and making the offerings then customary for the repose of the dead.

[1] Sandford states, that the royal crown was borne at the Duke of York's funeral, to intimate "that of right he was king." — Book v. chap. iv. p. 369.

[2] King Richard III. is conjectured to have put a finishing hand to this church (his father and his uncle, who commenced it, having both been slain in battle before the work was completed); for, in addition to the royal arms of this monarch carved in wood on the pulpit, which is as old as the building itself, on each side of the supporters was a boar, which was King Richard's crest. One of these Mr. Hutton described as still perfect in 1802. — *Life of William Hutton, F.R.SS.*, p. 253.

It is quite evident, therefore, that Clarence was not present; and this, united to other matters of less import than a domestic reunion of so sacred a nature, forces the conviction that even at this early period of the reign of Edward IV. the factious and rebellious spirit of the irresolute Clarence was discerned and resented by the King; while the firmness and decision which characterised the young Richard of Gloucester, equally apparent to his elder brother, formed the groundwork of that unity of feeling which throughout their lives existed between Edward IV. and the subject of the present memoir.

Young indeed as he was at this period, there are not wanting undoubted memorials which evince Gloucester to have been a prince endowed with a most powerful mind, and gifted with shrewdness and discretion far beyond his years, and far exceeding that possessed by his more noble-looking brothers. Sir Thomas More, in describing these princes, says, in the quaint language of his time, "All three, as they were great states of birth, so were they great and stately of stomach, greedy and ambitious of authority, and impatient of partners;"[1] and he further adds, after eulogising his elder brothers — "Richard, the third son, of whom we now entreat, was in wit and courage equal with either of them, though in body and prowess far under them both." Personal bravery, indeed, was a characteristic heir-loom in the House of York; and King Edward IV., the first of that line, was unexampled in English history for the frequency and completeness of his victories, and the

[1] More's Rycharde III., pp. 7, 8.

number or high character of his appointments.[1] But though an able general, and of invincible courage, he was so averse from business, so devoted to pleasure, so vain of his person, and so self-willed in his actions, that, notwithstanding he was by nature endowed with an understanding of no ordinary power, he was generally looked upon by his nobles as a weak though fascinating prince[2], and treated as a shallow politician by foreign potentates.[3]

Tender and devoted affection to his family was the brightest quality in this monarch's character, and vindictive and revengeful cruelty[4] to his enemies, his greatest defect. He had little foresight, and no penetration, save in military affairs; but he was generous, witty, and conciliating, and he won the hearts of the mass of his people by his princely bearing, his courteous manners, and his frank and affable deportment.[5]

George Duke of Clarence was "a goodly and noble prince,"[6] scarcely inferior to the King in beauty of person and dignity of demeanour. The chronicler of Croyland, speaking of him and his

[1] Turner's Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 361.

[2] Philip de Comines, p. 242. [3] Ibid., p. 246.

[4] The unrelenting policy of King Edward is made known by Philip de Comines, to whom he mentioned that it was his practice to spare the common people, but ever to put the gentry to death; for this purpose he would ride over the field of battle, when the victory was complete, to see that none but the soldiery were spared; so that the carnage after the conflict was more destructive than during the heat of the engagement. — *Comines*, p. 251.

[5] "There was never any prince of this land attaining the crown by battle," observes Sir Thomas More, "so heartily beloved with the substance of the people; nor he himself so specially in any part of his life, as at the time of his death."—*More's Rycharde III.*, p. 2.

[6] More, p. 7.

young brother of Gloucester says, that "the said princes possessed so much talent, that all men, even those learned in the law, wondered" at them[1]; and again, "these three brothers, the King and the Dukes, were of such excellent understanding, that if they did not quarrel it would be difficult to break the triple cord."[2] But Clarence, though undoubtedly the most amiable in private life[3], and fully as daring and intrepid when called upon to evince the inherent bravery of his race, was naturally of an unquiet and restless spirit. He was easy of access, forgiving in temper, and possessed of warm and kindly feelings; but he was a fickle and unstable prince[4], and in strength of mind far inferior to either of his brothers. To a deficiency in judgment[5], he united an imprudent openness, and great violence of temper[6], so that he easily became the prey of designing men, and was often the dupe of time-serving friends, who were far beneath himself in goodness of heart and in intellectual endowments.

Richard of Gloucester, ten years younger than

[1] Cont. Hist. Croyland, p. 557. [2] Ibid.

[3] "He was a good master, but an uncertain friend; which delivers him to us to have been, according to the nature of weak men, sooner persuaded by an obsequious flattery than a free advice. We cannot judge him of any evil nature, only busy and inconstant, thinking it a circumstance of greatness to be still in action. He was too open breasted for the court, where suspicion looks through a man, and discovers his resolutions though in the dark, and locked up in secrecy. But, what was his ruin, he was, whether the house of York or Lancaster prevailed, still second to the crown; so that his eye, by looking too steadfastly on the beauty of it, became unlawfully enamoured." — *Habington's Life of King Edward IV.*, p. 195.

[4] Hume, chap. xxii., p. 241. [5] Ibid., p. 222.

[6] Ibid., p. 241.

the King, and four years junior to Clarence, was gifted with such vigorous powers of intellect, that, in spite of the disparity of years, he has been found hitherto on all occasions associated with his brothers, and is always named in conjunction with them, from the decided position he maintained, when called upon to act for himself, and from the ascendency which he seems early to have exercised over those around him. He appears to have united in his slender person, all the more powerful mental qualifications which were denied to his more comely relatives, as though nature, in the impartial distribution of her gifts, had compensated to him by strength of mind for inferiority in personal appearance. His genius was enterprising, and his temper liberal[1]; in manner he was courteous[2], and in general deportment mild, affable, and companionable.[3] He is represented by his contemporaries as pious and charitable[4]; noble[5], bountiful and munificent beyond his means[6]; a high-spirited youth, whom all

[1] "His genius was enterprising, and his temper liberal." — *Paston Letters*, vol. i.

[2] "Disposition affable and courteous." — *Buck's Richard III.*, lib. iii. p. 78.

[3] "At court, and in his general deportment, of an affable respect, and tractable clearness." — *Ibid.*, lib. v. p. 148.

[4] "Your bountiful and gracious charity." . . . "Your large and abundant alms."—Address from the University of Cambridge to Richard Duke of Gloucester. *Baker's MS.*, xxvi. p. 6. See also *Rous*, p. 215., and *Polydore Virgil*, lib. xxv. Both these writers, although his avowed enemies, speak much in commendation of his pious and charitable institutions, many of which they enumerate.

[5] "Although desire of rule did blind him, yet in his other actions, like a true Plantagenet, he was noble."—*Bacon's Henry VII.*, p. 55.

[6] "Free was he of dyspence [to spend or lay out money], and somewhat above his power liberal." — *More's Rycharde III.*, p. 9.

praised and applauded[1], possessed of shining abilities[2], stout in heart, and of great audacity.[3] Unlike his brother of Clarence, he was close and secret[4] in his purposes; and he seems early to have learnt the wisdom of cautiously communicating his thoughts[5]; but he was peaceable in conduct[6], consistent in his actions, possessed of acute discernment[7], and evinced solid judgment in his dealings with mankind.[8] He appears to have been endowed with some peculiar fascination of voice or speech[9], which subdued even his enemies[10], and enabled him to penetrate the thoughts of others without unveiling his own.[11] It is true that his policy was deep, and his ambition unrelenting[12]; nevertheless, he was considered by his associates to be without dissimulation, tractable without injury,

1 "A high-spirited youth, whom all were praising and applauding." — *Turner's Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 343.

2 "Those good abilities, whereof he hath already right many, little needing my praise." — *Grafton*, p. 142.

3 "Such a great audacity, and such a stout stomach reigned in his body." — *Ibid.*, p. 232.

4 "He was close and secret." — *More*, p. 9.

5 "A deep dissimular, outwardly companionable when he inwardly hated." — *Ibid.*

6 "This prince, during his brother's reign, attempted to live on good terms with all parties." — *Hume*, chap. xxii. p. 247.

7 "His wisdom appearing with his justice, in the good laws he made." — *Stow*, p 882.

8 "Wherever he resided, he won the inhabitants." — *Hutton*, p. 83.

9 "There is to this the commendation of his eloquence and pleasing speech." — *Buck*, lib. v. p. 536. "Valour and eloquence met in his person." — *Ang. Spec.*, p. 536.

10 "He went about to win unto him . . . . all kind of men." — *More*, p. 124.

11 "Friend and foe was muchwhat indifferent where his advantage grew." — *Ibid.*, p. 9.

12 "A prince of deepest policy and unrelenting ambition." — *Hume*, chap. xxii. p. 241.

merciful without cruelty[1]; and even his bitterest enemy, Cardinal Morton, speaks of his "good qualities being fixed on his memory."[2] Bred from his youth to martial deeds, and by nature "a courageous and most daring prince,"[3] his temperament was better suited for war than for peace[4]; yet even his foes, though depicting him as "lowly in countenance and arrogant of heart,"[5] have borne testimony to the generous[6], unsuspicious, and noble feelings which generally characterised his youth[7]; whilst the evidence of his brother, Edward IV., in a public document still extant, affords proof beyond all refutation, of the probity, virtue, and integrity which he felt to be deserving of public notice, and of substantial reward.[8] That these virtues of his young age were matured in after years, and continued to influence his actions, is made known by a parliamentary roll[9], in which "the great wit, prudence, justice, princely courage, memorable and laudable acts, in divers battles, which we by experience know ye heretofore have done for the salvation and defence of this same realme," attests

[1] Grafton, p. 152. [2] Ibid., p. 147.

[3] "A courageous and most daring prince."—*Cont. Croy.*, p. 574.

[4] "None evil captain was he in the war, as to which his disposition was more metely than for peace." — *More*, p. 9. [5] Ibid.

[6] "With large gifts, he got him unsteadfast friendship." — *Ibid.*

[7] "A prince of military virtue approved jealous of the honour of the English nation." — *Bacon's Henry VII.*, p. 2.

[8] "The king especially, considering the gratuitous, laudable, and honourable services, in manywise rendered to him, by his most dear brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, his innate probity, and other deserts of manners and virtues, and willing therefore to provide him a competent reward," &c., bestows on him by letters patent, a fitting remuneration for his fidelity and honourable conduct. — *Cott. MSS. Julius*, book xii. fol. iii.

[9] Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 240.

the opinion entertained of his character and conduct, not merely by his lordly compeers, but by the great mass of the people who flourished in his time.

Such was Richard Duke of Gloucester — such the much-execrated monster, long believed and long represented as deficient in every quality, except such as were revolting to humanity.

A perfect character he certainly was not; for perfection at any period is not to be looked for in frail and erring man, still less at the time he flourished, when the wildest and fiercest passions raged in the human heart: but it cannot be denied that he possessed many qualities worthy of esteem; and when tested with other prominent characters of his age, Richard of Gloucester will be found to appear in a far from unamiable light, and to have betrayed only those counterbalancing defects which war often with the noblest feelings, and too frequently bring down to the level of mankind in general, those who would otherwise be elevated far above them by their brilliant achievements, and their many great and estimable qualities.

For the successful pursuit of the study of history, it is indispensable that the mind should be unshackled, free from prejudice, and divested of narrow-minded views: to such as will prosecute their researches in such a spirit, to all who will cast away preconceived notions, it will be apparent that Richard Plantagenet was far better constituted to wield the sceptre, than either of his more highly extolled brothers; and had his path to the throne been direct, there can be little doubt he would

have shone in history, as a mighty monarch, a prudent lawgiver, and a wise and powerful ruler.

Early distinguished by his sovereign with every testimony of fraternal confidence and love, he was associated in affairs of state, and established in a prominent and dangerous position at court, when little more than a boy in years. An impartial retrospect of his chief characteristics will easily explain how from childhood he acquired, and always continued to maintain, such influence over his royal brother; for King Edward had sufficient discernment to perceive in Richard "a leading capacity and a rising spirit,"[1] and, as justly observed by the biographer of this prince, "he wished to promote his own interest by encouraging both." And very speedily was Gloucester called upon to display the germs of those qualities which have been above enumerated, and which will hereafter be still further noticed. They have now been indiscriminately selected from various sources, embracing the testimony of his opponents as well as his advocates; for Richard lived in too troubled a period not to possess his full share of the former, especially as he entered upon the turmoil of political strife at a season when ominous clouds were beginning to lower with their heavy shadows upon the house of York, and peace and prosperity were once more on the eve of being merged in discord, treachery, and domestic feud.

To make this prince's situation at this critical juncture more clear, it will be desirable to take a brief retrospect of the state of the kingdom, up to

[1] Hutton's Bosworth, p. xxii.

the period of his emancipation from boyhood; especially such portion as more immediately involves his after policy and faithful conduct towards his royal brother: for the great cause of mis-statement, as connected with Gloucester's generally received history, has arisen from his being judged by events that took their rise during his childhood, without due consideration being bestowed on the actual agents in those disastrous scenes in which Richard neither was nor could be personally implicated, until long after the important results to which they eventually led had involved him in the common ruin which overwhelmed his family.

Never did monarch assume a crown under brighter prospects, never did the tide of royal fortune flow more propitiously, than during the opening years of the reign of Edward IV. Noble, courageous, and princely in his actions, the son of the popular Duke of York gained credit for inheriting the excellencies that had shone so pre-eminently in his father, and which were believed to be united in his successor, with every quality that could fascinate and interest a bold and chivalrous people. His amiable and affectionate consideration for his kindred[1], and his judicious proclamation of a general amnesty[2], seemed at the outset of the career to prove the goodness of his heart; while the severity

[1] In addition to the honours and wealth with which King Edward so amply endowed his brothers, and the annuity which he immediately settled on the Lady Cecily his widowed parent, he made a special provision for his young sister Margaret, then "of tender age and under her mother's care," by a grant of 400 marks yearly from the exchequer for her clothing and other expenses. — *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 540.

[2] W. Wyrcester, Annales, p. 500.

exercised towards such of the defeated Lancastrians as would not submit to his clemency, equally satisfied the stern resentment and the rancorous policy of the day.[1] By his valour and intrepidity peace was restored to the long-desolated realm; and by the splendour of his court, and the encouragement of pastimes and pageants natural to his youth and his temperament, kindly and more gentle feelings were by degrees excited among his subjects.[2] He sat personally in the courts of law [3], and continually visited distant and different parts of the country, for the purpose of redressing grievances and administering justice.[4] Arts, commerce, agriculture, and letters began to revive and flourish once more; and Edward of York, their patron and encourager, beloved and obeyed by all, in a brief period attained to the highest degree of popularity.

Prosperity, however, was less suited to exalt the character of this inconsiderate monarch, than were the harder lessons of adversity.[5] He soon became careless, indifferent, and short-sighted, except in the pursuit of pleasure. He omitted to calculate on the fleeting tenure of public applause; and, ever guided by passion more than by prudence, unmindful of the fact that the crowned head can never be the independent actor of a less exalted sphere, King Edward, in an unguarded moment, subdued by the beauty and virtues of a Lancastrian widow pleading in all lowliness of heart forgiveness and favour for herself and her offspring, elevated, by a

[1] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 239.
[2] Habington's Edw. IV., p. 228.
[3] Sandford, book v. p. 384.
[4] Paston Letters, vol. iv. p. 59.
[5] Ibid., vol. i. p. 59.

secret marriage, to the exalted dignity of queen of England, the Lady Elizabeth Grey[1], and placed the regal circlet on the brow of one not only a subject, but the relict of an attainted rebel, and the consequent associate and ally of a faction still hated by his own devoted partizans.

It has generally been asserted that the Earl of Warwick was, at the precise time of this marriage, in France[2], having been sent there by King Edward IV. expressly to treat for the hand of the Princess Bona of Savoy[3], sister to the Queen of France, and then resident with her at the French court. This, however, appears to be one of the many and most inexplicable errors of later historians[4]; it being disproved not only by the silence of the French chroniclers as regards any such embassy, but also by the positive contradiction of our own contemporary writers[5], such contradiction being elicited from facts stated by them, which are entirely opposed to it. One in particular, and he the most correct annalist of the time, mentions the efforts which were made by Warwick himself to induce his sovereign to select as queen-consort "the relict of the late King of Scotland,"[6] which would at least seem to contradict the fact of that noble lord being employed as an accredited agent on a similar mission in France[7], even were it not

[1] Hearne's Fragment, p. 292. [2] Hall, p. 262.

[3] Sandford, book v. p. 384.

[4] Dr. Lingard considers the whole account as a fiction. See his most able investigation of this much-disputed point. — *Hist. England*, vol. v. p. 190.

[5] Hearne's Fragment, p. 292. [6] Cont. Croyland, p. 551.

[7] "Howbeit that some would affirm the Earl of Warwick should

on record that he was not absent from England at the time the event occurred; for by reference to the "Fœdera,"[1] it will be seen that he was politically employed in London within a few days of the marriage, and also engaged on state affairs there, immediately subsequent to it. Another proof of the groundless nature of this long perpetuated tradition is the testimony of the celebrated Isabella of Castille, who, many years afterwards, when proposing an alliance with this country, after she had become the wife of Ferdinand of Arragon, and when Richard III. was on the English throne, instructed her ambassador to say, "that King Edward IV. had made her the bitter enemy of himself and of this country," by his refusal of her, and taking to wife a widow woman of England."[2] This assertion certainly gives ground for supposing that some negociation may have pended between the Spanish and English courts; but the very circumstance of the refusal proceeding from King Edward, and the consequent offence taken by the Castilian princess, would seem to imply that the proposition originated from Spain, and not from any authorised overture being made either publicly or privately from the monarch himself.

Equally fallacious is the supposition, that resentment at the reputed affront to the Lady Bona, and to himself as the diplomatist engaged, was the

have been ambassador for him in Spain, to have Isabel, sister of Henry of Castille; the which affirming is not truth, for the Earl of Warwick was never in Spain, but continued all this season with his brother John Marquis Montague in the north, to withstand the coming in of King Harry VI." — *Hearne's Fragment*, p. 292.

[1] Tom. xi. pp. 424. 521. [2] Harl. MSS., No. 433. p. 235.

cause of that fearful discord which now arose between King Edward and his all-powerful kinsman; although there can remain little doubt, if circumstances are dispassionately considered, that this ill-judged marriage was itself the source of Warwick's defection, and all its disastrous consequences. That he, in common with the nobles of the Yorkist party, felt indignant at so unseemly an alliance[1], is probable; and also that in his individual instance that feeling was heightened by having two daughters co-heiresses to his enormous wealth, one of whom he may have considered, if a subject were to be selected, better entitled by birth and consanguinity, and in reward of his own services, to be raised to the distinguished position of King Edward's queen, rather than the widow of that monarch's enemy and opponent.[2] But that no alienation or offence at the match was outwardly evinced by him after its announcement, is manifested by this most conclusive fact; viz. that the Earl of Warwick, in conjunction with the king's brother, the Duke of Clarence, presented the queen to the populace at Reading, after she had there been approved as such "by the earl himself and all the prelates and great lords of the realm,"[3] and also because he stood sponsor[4] for their first-born child, the Princess

[1] Edward IV. was the first monarch of this realm who selected a subject to share the regal honours.

[2] Elizabeth, the consort of King Edward IV., was the daughter of Sir Richard Wydville, Knight, and the widow of Sir John Grey of Groby, slain fighting against that monarch at the battle of St. Alban. — *Sandford*, book v. p. 385.

[3] Cont. Croy., p. 551.

[4] "In the fifth year of King Edward IV. the queen was delivered of a daughter, the which was christened 11th February, 1466; to

Elizabeth of York.[1] It was shortly after this last event that Warwick was appointed ambassador to France[2]; and then it was that this proud chieftain became the tool of the wily Louis XI.: then it was that the most absolute and despotic noble that ever swayed the destinies of England[3], and who possessed such astonishing power of moulding to his views the great and the gifted in his own land, was in his turn wholly subdued, though unknowingly and unsuspected by himself, and made the victim of one of the most crafty and unprincipled monarchs that ever sat on the throne of France. Had King Edward been endowed, like his younger brother, Richard of Gloucester, with the faculty of penetrating the workings of the human heart, he might, notwithstanding the discontent at his ill-judged union[4], have maintained undisputed his popularity and peaceful rule by conciliation and judicious counsel during the absence of the despotic Earl of Warwick: but, jealous of the authority, and weary of the thraldom in which he was kept by those powerful feudatory lords who had helped to seat him on the throne of his ancestors, the monarch sought to neutralise the power of the ancient aristocracy of the realm through the means of a counteracting and newly created nobility. Hence he

whom was godfather the Earl of Warwick, and godmothers Cecily Duchess of York and Jacqueline Duchess of Bedford, mother to King and Queen." — *Hearne's Fragment*, p. 294.

[1] Eventually espoused to King Henry VII.

[2] Hearne's Fragment, p. 296.

[3] "Ever since the battle of Towton, Edward IV. had resigned the management of affairs to the wisdom and activity of the Nevilles."—*Lingard*, vol. v. p. 183.

[4] W. Wyr., p. 506.

raised to the highest dignities the relatives of the queen[1], and conferred on her connections those places of profit and emolument[2] which were greatly coveted by the impoverished gentry of his own party, and which indeed were justly due to them in requital of their faithful services: thus inducing universal discontent at an alliance which, though in itself impolitic, had been already pardoned[3], and the ill-will arising from which would probably have been speedily forgotten, but for the irritating results it continually induced.[4] In corroboration of this it will be sufficient to state, that though many disappointments and mortifications were experienced by the Earl of Warwick, especially the bestowing in marriage upon the son of the queen, by her first husband, the king's own niece, daughter of his eldest sister, the Duchess of Exeter, who had been long designed by the earl for his nephew[5], and with whom, indeed, proposals of alliance were even then pending; yet his fidelity towards his acknowledged

[1] The elevation of Elizabeth was the elevation of her family. By the influence of the king, her five sisters were married to the young Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Kent, the heir of the Earl of Essex, and the Lord Herbert. Her brother Anthony, to the daughter of the late Lord Seales, with whom he obtained the title and estate; her brother John, in his twentieth year, to Catharine the dowager, but opulent Duchess of Norfolk, aged eighty; and Sir Thomas Grey, her son by her former husband, to Anne, the king's niece, daughter and heiress to the Duke of Exeter — *Lingard*, book v. p. 186.

[2] Col. Rot. Parl., 312.

[3] Chron. Croy., p. 542.

[4] To add to their discontent, the Lord Mountjoy, treasurer of England, was removed, to make place for the queen's father, who was created Earl Rivers; and soon afterwards, at the resignation of the Earl of Worcester, lord high constable of England. — *Lingard*, vol. v. p. 186.

[5] W. Wyr., p. 507.

sovereign, and his peaceable demeanour towards the queen and her relatives, continued unbroken[1], until, by their influence with the king, that monarch was induced to disregard the advice and remonstrance of his powerful kinsman, and to accept a treaty of marriage from Philip Duke of Burgundy, for uniting his heir with the Lady Margaret Plantagenet, the sovereign's youngest sister. "This," says the Chronicler of Croyland, in his most valuable history[2], "I consider to be the true cause of the dispute between the king and the earl," as the latter was at personal enmity with Prince Charles of Burgundy, and wished moreover to promote an alliance between the house of York and the court of France, with whom of late he had been amicably connected, and was in fact secretly allied.[3] When in addition to his previous mortification at the king's ill-advised marriage, and that which immediately followed from his views being thwarted in regard to his nephew, owing to the marriage of the Lady Anne of Exeter with Sir Thomas Grey, was joined this sanctioned alliance of the Lady Margaret with a prince of Lancastrian lineage[4] who had warmly espoused the cause of that race[5], and also the decided opposition evinced by Edward IV. towards an expressed desire of his brother George Duke of Clarence to unite himself with his cousin Isabel, the eldest of the daughters of the Earl of

[1] "The earl's favour continued towards all the queen's relatives until this marriage was brought about by their means."—*Cont. Croy.*, p. 551.

[2] Chron. Croy., p. 551.

[3] Hearne's Frag., p. 227.

[4] Lingard, vol. v. p. 137.

[5] Excerpt. Hist., p. 223.

Warwick[1], it may easily be supposed, that the proud irascible noble felt his power was at an end, and that his services were forgotten and most ungratefully requited by the kinsman whom he had chiefly aided to establish on the throne.

In justice, however, to King Edward, it cannot be denied that the advantage to England by the alliance of the Princess Margaret with Count Charles of Burgundy, son to one of the most influential potentates of the age[2], was apparent to all but the jealous earl and his party, who were either personally or politically opposed to connection in that quarter. The union was postponed for a brief period on account of the sudden demise of Philip, the reigning duke, during which a partial reconciliation was effected between Warwick and his sovereign[3]; but it had no effect on the projected alliance with Count Charolois, for on the 18th June in the following year, 1468, all definitive arrangements being completed, the young princess, with every demonstration of pomp and rejoicing, was conveyed from the metropolis to Margate on her way to Flanders, and landing at Sluys was united to the Prince of Burgundy on the 9th July, 1468.[4] This auspicious event occurred about two years after the public funeral of the Duke of York, in which ceremony of state, as has already been observed, Richard of Gloucester took so prominent a part. And on this occasion he is found associated with Clarence and Warwick, in publicly testifying their submission to the king's

[2] Excerpt. Hist., p. 300.
[3] W. Wyr., p. 512.
[1] Ibid., p. 227.
[4] Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 3.

will, and evincing their affectionate interest in the welfare of their sister, the Lady Margaret; who, preceded by the Earl of Warwick, and attended by her brothers, the king and the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, was escorted as far as Margate, from whence she embarked with her suite for Holland.[1] Greater stress has been laid on this incident as being the first occasion in which Richard Duke of Gloucester is officially named in connection with public events, and the only time in which it appears that he acted in conjunction with his brother of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick.

It was a fitting occasion for unity, and one in which the young princes were likely to feel an undivided interest; for it will be remembered that this their youngest sister shared the vicissitudes of their childhood, and was in particular associated with them in their concealment at the Temple; but it was affection for the Lady Margaret, not deference for the king's judgment, that produced the feeling of harmony; and with the occurrence ended the brief union which on this one solitary occasion caused Clarence and Gloucester to act in concert.

Warwick, as already stated, felt himself aggrieved in various ways. His enthusiasm for King Edward had gradually cooled; and now he repented of the part which he had taken in raising to the throne the kinsman who sought to humble his pride and to diminish his power in every way; and, with the bold and daring spirit which ever characterised his actions, he forthwith turned his

[1] Excerpt. Hist., p. 224.

attention to the king's young brothers; dissembling his own discontent until he had tested their sentiments.

The reserve of Gloucester, young as he was, baffled all his efforts to corrupt him: the fidelity of this prince to his royal brother was not to be tampered with, and, as Sandford alleges, Warwick "found he dared not trust him."[1] Not so the unstable Clarence: he, fickle and irritable, was an easy instrument for the earl to mould to his views. Already he had absented himself from court, from jealous indignation at the ascendency of the queen and the elevation of her kindred; so that he found him as inclined to listen to complaints against the king, as the earl was prepared to urge the wrongs which he conceived had been inflicted on himself, his brothers, and his connections generally. Thus, having been foiled in his hopes of seeing the eldest of his co-heiresses raised to that throne on which he had aided to place her cousin,—who he perhaps secretly hoped might in gratitude have selected his child to share honours and dignities so great and unlooked for,—the Earl of Warwick henceforth bent all his thoughts on Clarence, then the first prince of the blood royal; and sought to appease his mortification by striving to promote the union of the Lady Isabel with the next male heir[2] to the crown.

The decided opposition made by the king to this union, the disapprobation which he expressed, and

[1] Sandford, book v. p. 386.

[2] King Edward IV. had two daughters, but as yet no son, and up to this period female sovereigns had not ruled in England.

the efforts which he made to crush all connection between Warwick and his brother, served to complete the exasperation of that proud and haughty baron. Clarence, too, was easily led by him to consider the opposition to his marriage as a personal grievance, and an act so tyrannical as to rouse all the innate jealousy of his nature.

It was a common cause of offence, then, which really united in firm alliance the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, although the marriage of the Lady Margaret produced a brief harmony between all parties. Warwick had been ostensibly reconciled to King Edward before its solemnization, and his pride was soothed at being appointed to fill so marked and prominent a position in the royal progress as that of bearing on his own charger his young and beautiful cousin; for "she rode behind him on horseback through the streets of London,"[1] —a post the most honourable that could well have been assigned him. Nevertheless the renewal of friendship between Edward IV. and his offended relative was of very short duration. The conviction that undue lenity was evinced towards the Lancastrians[2], owing to the queen's former connection with that faction, the heads of which, from their contempt of the Yorkist dynasty, yet lived out of the kingdom, either in exile or from attainder, had rankled perpetually and deeply in the minds of all the Nevilles[3]; and King Edward, ex-

[1] Excerpt. Hist., p. 227.

[2] Paston Papers, vol. iv., Letter 52.

[3] Richard Earl of Warwick had two brothers, both equally shrewd and ambitious as himself, but not such consummate politicians. Lord Montague, the eldest, had obtained the lands of the Percys,

asperated against them, and the Earl of Warwick in particular, was excited beyond all forgiveness by the announcement of a clandestine marriage between the Duke of Clarence, then but nineteen years of age, and the Lady Isabel Neville, about two years younger, at the suggestion of her father, and in open defiance of the king's expressed disapprobation of the union.[1]

Enticing the young prince to Calais, of which dependency Warwick was then governor, he there bestowed on him, at the church of Notre Dame, and by the hands of his brother the Archbishop of York, his eldest daughter in marriage[2]; with a settlement upon them of one half of the Countess of Warwick's rich inheritance; having first obtained a dispensation from Pope Paul III., dated at Rome 1468, inasmuch as the two cousins were related within the forbidden degrees of con-

together with the title of Earl of Northumberland; George, the youngest, was made lord high chancellor on King Edward's accession, and was at this time also archbishop of York. Of these aspiring brothers, the two eldest were slain in battle, and the youngest lingered in poverty and in exile, a prisoner until within a few months of his death.

[1] Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 162.

[2] "Be it known and remembered that the Tuesday, the xii day of the month of July, in the translation of Saint Benet the abbot, the ixth yere of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Edward IV., in the castelle of Calais, the said Duke took in marriage Isabelle, one of the daughters and heirs of the said Richard Earl of Warwick, which that time was present there; and five other knights of the Garter, and many other lords and ladies and worshipful knights, well accompanied with wise and discreet esquires, in right great number, to the laud praysing of God, and to the honour and worship of the world; and there abode after the day of matrimony five days, and then shipped into Ingland, leaving the said Duchess at Calais aforesaid, and went himself and the said earl to the city of London, and so forth northward." — *Ordinances and Regulations for the Royal Household.*

sanguinity.[1] From this point the reigning family of England must be viewed in a divided and two-fold light: the Duke of Clarence siding with his father-in-law and kinsman the Earl of Warwick; and the Duke of Gloucester supporting with all zeal and fervour the royal prerogative, and defending with energy and warmth the enactments of his brother Edward IV. That this young prince was constitutionally weak in health, though bold and daring in temperament, has been already distinctly expressed; and whether it was to this cause as exciting peculiar interest, or that the disparity in their years induced feelings more akin to that of sire and son, than the more juvenile bond of fraternal love, or whether the king, struck with the solid judgment and quick perception which formed so striking a feature in his young brother's character, evinced for him a degree of confidence and consideration which in return elicited from Gloucester a devotion that never failed, even under the most trying circumstances, cannot of course now be determined. But, whatever may have been the cause, it is apparent that the king was attached to Gloucester in no common degree; for, by reference to the parliamentary documents and state records of that monarch's reign, it appears that scarcely a year passed, from his accession to his death, without some publicly notified testimony of it.[2] Shortly before this present time he had granted to him the castle and manors which had belonged to Lord Hungerford, and all the posses-

[1] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 162. [2] See Appendix V.

sions of Henry Duke of Somerset and Edmund his brother[1]; and almost immediately after his expressed indignation at Clarence's marriage, he marked his favour to Richard Duke of Gloucester by nominating him chief justice of South Wales, and creating him lord high admiral and chief constable of England for life.[2]

These responsible appointments, occurring as they do at the period up to which this prince's personal memoir has been brought, viz. 1468, form that connection between his domestic and political life which it was the design of this brief retrospection of public events to render apparent. He had now fully entered upon that active career from which he never withdrew for the remainder of his days; and from henceforth the elder and younger brother will be found acting in concert on every important affair, actuated apparently by mutual confidence and united by the warmest attachment. Gloucester publicly accompanied the monarch in his regal progresses to different parts of the country, and is invariably named with him on all striking occasions. "The king is come to London," says Sir John Paston in a letter to his mother, "and there came with him, and rode again in company with him, the Duke of Gloucester."[3] And again, in the same invaluable collection of contemporary records it is observed, with reference to a letter of later date, "We find the Duke of Gloucester accompanied the king, but we hear nothing of the Duke of Clarence."[4] This letter relates to Edward the Fourth's

[1] Pat. 9 Edw. IV., p. 314.
[2] Ibid., p. 315.
[3] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 289.
[4] Ibid., vol. iv.

memorable visit to Norwich, where, in the year 1469, he went in haste, with the view of raising subsidies, and ascertaining the state of the public mind; intimation having been privately made of Warwick's expressed disaffection, of the unanimity which existed between the earl and his brother of Clarence, and likewise of the conspiracies which were secretly fomented by them.

The consequent result was, that all parties remained in an unsettled state for the space of another twelvemonth; during which period, perpetual disputes and temporary reconciliations rather tended to increase the alienation, than to allay the smothered but indignant feelings of the haughty and irascible opponents.

But neither into these disputes, nor into the foreign politics of the day, is it the design of this memoir to enter, or, indeed, to treat farther of the transactions of Edward the Fourth's own times, than is absolutely requisite towards clearly elucidating the career of Richard Duke of Gloucester. It will be sufficient for preserving the continuity of the narrative as relates to his movements, briefly to state, that Margaret of Lancaster, the exiled queen, ever watchful to restore her husband to liberty, and reinstate the Prince of Wales in his hereditary honours, hailed with joyful feelings the divisions amongst the Yorkist leaders; and her partizans in England, animated by her unsubdued spirit, and by the promise of excellence evinced by her young son, rallied again their forces; so that towards the close of the same year, 1469, open rebellion was proclaimed in the north of England.

The disaffection rapidly spread; and, under the command of a popular leader, called Robin of Redesdale[1], the insurgents, to the number of 60,000 men, commenced their march towards London.[2] They gained a signal victory over the supporters of the house of York at the battle of Edgecote[3]; shortly after which engagement, the father and brother of the reigning queen, Earl Rivers and Sir John Wydville, were taken prisoners and beheaded[4] at Northampton. The royal troops were every where defeated, and King Edward himself, not being supported with unanimity by his followers, fell into the hands of Warwick and Clarence[5], who, although not as yet openly leagued with the Lancastrian party, hoped to intimidate the monarch by temporary captivity, and to mould him again to their views by this display of strength

[1] Chron. Croy., p. 542.

[2] On their progress to the metropolis, the rebels, instigated by the Lords of Clarence and Warwick, distributed papers among the people containing the substance of their grievances, which were as follows: That the king had been too profuse in his bounty to the Wydville family; that they had abused his favour by estranging him from the ancient nobles of the realm; and that to satisfy their inordinate ambition and avarice, he had unlawfully expended vast sums belonging to the church, diminished the royal household, and imposed heavy burdens on the people. They therefore required the king to punish the queen's kindred, and to dismiss them from his councils. — *Harl. MSS.*, No. 543.

[3] Ibid.

[4] "The jealousy which had been kindled in the minds of many towards the Earl Ryvers broke out with deadly violence in the following year; when, being seized by the Lancastrian rebels, encouraged by the Earl of Warwick, his chief enemy, he was beheaded at Northampton, with his second son, Sir John Wydville, on the 12th August, 1469. Anthony Wydville, Lord Scales, succeeded to the earldom, and also to the office of constable of England." — *Excerpta Historica*, p. 27.

[5] Cont. Croy., p. 551.

and power. He was sent first to Warwick Castle, and thence to Middleham, and there placed in the custody of George Neville, archbishop of York; but as his treacherous kinsmen had no actual authority for detaining their sovereign a prisoner, and they having reason to fear a rescue from the more moderate of the Yorkist party, he was ere long voluntarily released [1]; but the indignity and injury was never forgotten by the monarch, and was, in truth, an unexampled and bitter insult.

The Duchess of York, who has been already named as a rare and uncommon character, a woman of powerful understanding, keen discernment, and severe virtue, beheld with feelings of grief and anxiety the rancorous spirit of hostility which actuated her sons in their persecution of each other. The king, openly defied by Clarence, is made the victim of duplicity, deprived of his liberty, and in fear even of an untimely death [2]; while the bitter

[1] The imprisonment of Edward IV. by Clarence and Warwick is another amongst the many conflicting statements connected with these obscure times. But the testimony of contemporary writers completely sets at rest all doubts raised by later historians, however respectable the authority from whence such doubts may have been promulgated. As every instance of Clarence's treachery to Edward IV. renders more striking the uncompromising fidelity of Richard of Gloucester, it is important to this memoir, to substantiate all such examples by reference to the only legitimate source whence the truth may be elicited — that of annalists who were living at the time when the event occurred. — See Appendix W.

[2] The Warkworth Chronicle, written during the first thirteen years of the reign of Edward IV., fully pourtrays the contumacious and rebellious spirit of Clarence, and the great provocation given by him to his royal brother. "Howbeit that our sovereign lord granted unto George Duke of Clarence, and Richard Earl of Warwick, his pardon general of all offences committed and done against him, yet the said duke and earl unnaturally, unkindly, and untruly intended

edicts issued not long after by the monarch against his offending brother evinced the deadly hatred that operated in him to the exclusion of all fraternal affection towards Clarence: one hundred pounds' worth of land of yearly value, or one thousand pounds in ready money, "being promised by the King" to him "that taketh and bringeth the said duke."[1] Many were the efforts made by their parent to appease this unnatural dissension before it had attained so formidable a height, and to soften and subdue the ungovernable passions that raged so fearfully in the hearts of her elder sons; but, although exercising the authority of maternal love, and availing herself of the hold which she evidently maintained over her children's affections, this authority was never exerted except in the privacy of domestic life; and no stronger proof can be given of the true greatness of the Lady Cecily's character, than the rigid manner in which she continued to abstain from all interference in public or political affairs. Possessing, as has been already shown, great influence over the king's mind, she might, from the deference which he paid her upon his accession to the throne, and from the claims which her misfortunes gave her on the sympathy of her own kindred, have produced as much division in the councils of the young monarch as those which had been so unhappily

his destruction and the subversion of his realm, and the common weal of the same, and to make the said Duke of Clarence king of this his said realm, against God's law, man's law, and all reason."—Page 52. (Edited by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., and published by the Camden Society.)

[1] Close Rolls of 10th Edw. IV. m. 8. dorso.

wrought by the consort of the dethroned Henry VI. But, with a high degree of moral courage and self-command, that seems never to have been sufficiently made the object of their comment and admiration by historians, the Duchess of York, from the moment that her son was crowned, strove to bury in oblivion all thought of those regal dignities which she once so earnestly coveted, and had so nearly enjoyed; seeking aid from the only true source of strength to enable her to calm her naturally high and ambitious temper, by the steady exercise of religion, in a dignified retirement, and the unobtrusive practice of every noble and feminine virtue.

Although Edward IV. was first proclaimed king under her roof, although he chose her as the medium of announcing to the citizens of London the victories that secured his accession, and though he repaired from her maternal abode to that sacred edifice in which, by the solemn office of religious consecration, he was made the crowned as well as the elected monarch of England, this high-minded scion of the house of Neville, the widow of the "Prince of Wales,"[1] heir presumptive of a throne which she, as his consort, seemed destined to share[2], in no one instance appears acting publicly

[1] "For so was he created."—*Archæologia*, vol xiii. p. 7.

[2] The arms of Cecily Neville, Duchess of York, impaled with those of her husband, exhibiting the royal arms, ensigned with a coronet, and supported with two angels standing upon as many roses, within the rays of the sun, were carved on a niche upon the south-east pillar of St. Benet's steeple, near Paul's Wharf, the parish church of Baynard's Castle, her metropolitan abode. These Sandford caused to be delineated in his "Genealogical History of the Kings of

in the capacity of mother of the reigning sovereign, until the report of his imprudent overtures to the Lady Elizabeth Grey rendered her apprehensive of the effect which such an alliance might have on the future stability of the throne. It is said that the young king, influenced by a sense of duty, consulted his mother on the occasion: be that as it may, she certainly addressed him the most earnest appeal[1], and strenuously exhorted him to abstain from so imprudent a connection; unhappily, however, with no good effect, as appears by the reply of the giddy and inconsiderate monarch[2], notwithstanding that, in addition to the arguments which she employed against so unseemly an alliance as regarded political consideration and regal precedent, she farther urged his previous betrothment to one of his subjects[3] far higher in rank than the daughter of Sir Richard Wydville, but who, as a subject, was equally unsuited to his present regal station.

Betrothments, at this period of English history, were considered to be fully as binding by the canon law as the rites of marriage[4]: they could

England before the Conflagration of London, Anno 1666," book v. chap. iv. p. 369.

[1] Archælogia, vol. xiii. p. 7.

[2] These are both inserted in Buck's "Hist. of the Reigne of King Richarde III." (lib. iv. p. 119. ed. 1646), where they may be found unabbreviated.

[3] The Lady Elinor Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who is also called in authentic writings the Lady Butler, because she afterwards became the wife and widow of the Lord Butler. — *Buck*, lib. iv. p. 122.

[4] "By the ancient canon law, a contract for marriage might be valid and perfect without the church ceremony." — See *Gibson's Codex*, tit. 22. Hence there have been decisions in the ecclesiastical

only be annulled by papal dispensation. This was well known to the Duchess of York; and she foresaw, as the result proved, that nothing but misery and contention to her son and his offspring would result from an alliance contracted under such impediments, with one who was powerless, by birth and connection, to soften the evils which it induced, and the struggles for legitimacy which it too surely indicated, and but too unhappily produced in after years. Submitting, however, with her usual self-command, to the marriage, after it was solemnised, and publicly acknowledged by the lords of the council, the Duchess of York again retired for a period into the privacy of domestic life.

But though she appears to have observed towards the queen-consort, after Elizabeth was crowned as such, the deference which was due to her regal position; and her tenderness towards her son in his domestic circle is shown by her standing sponsor for his eldest child, and from his second daughter, the Princess Cecily, being so named in compliment to her; yet was she too innately imbued with hereditary pride of birth, and too sensitive on the point of her own near assumption of the same regal dignity, not to feel deeply and bitterly the ill-judged marriage of her eldest son, the founder of the Yorkist dynasty. By this union King Edward forfeited his mother's respect, and weakened her affection; while Clarence's

courts by which second marriages have been annulled on account of the existence of a pre-contract.—*Decret.*, lib. iv. tit. i. c. 21.; *Turner's Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 457.

treacherous and unprincipled conduct warred with all the better and nobler feelings of her nature. In the young Duke of Gloucester she beheld a firmness of character that contrasted as strongly with the weak points in his eldest brother, as his fidelity to this latter was opposed to the envious and ungenerous acts which, from his entrance into life, had characterised every movement of her second son towards his royal kinsman. Richard's highly honourable career was equally at issue with that of the ignoble political conduct of the "false and perjured Clarence." On his actions she could dwell with pride and pleasure; and on him, therefore, there is little doubt that his mother henceforth fixed her hopes and strong affections. The peaceable demeanour of the Duke of Gloucester coincided, too, with her own exemplary line of conduct; and it was most exemplary, considering her peculiar position, and the temptations which it offered to one by nature of so ambitious and unbending a temper. This eulogium on the Lady Cecily, founded as it is on well-authenticated facts, as also the causes that led to her affections being more strongly centred on her youngest son in proportion as they were gradually weaned from his elder brothers, will be found important at a later period of this memoir, when considering accusations against Richard III. which it would now be premature to discuss.

The unnatural warfare that speedily ensued between Edward IV. and the Duke of Clarence, after the former had regained his liberty, and the defiance by her nephews, the Nevilles, of the

acknowledged sovereignty of their king, shown by the most seditious proclamations and open rebellion, kindled again all the gentler feelings of the Lady Cecily's nature, and once more induced the public exercise of maternal rebuke and interference. She procured a meeting at Baynard's Castle between the two brothers and her impetuous kindred[1], and once more exerting that all-powerful influence which appears never to have been weakened, she again succeeded in effecting a reconciliation: but it was transient and insincere. Injuries had accumulated too thickly, and pressed too heavily, to be forgotten; and petty insults had aggravated a predisposition to enmity. The calm produced by this well-designed family assemblage, only rendered still more violent the storm of hateful passions which it preceded. A spirit of disaffection had gradually spread throughout the realm, and soon ripened into avowed insurrection; and this was manifested in so many different districts, and was fomented by such influential persons, that King Edward found himself compelled to resist, by force of arms, the universal insurrection, which had in the first instance been instigated by his own brother, and was afterwards encouraged by his nearest relations.[2] On the 26th of March, 1470, he appointed Richard Duke of

[1] Fabyan, p. 500.

[2] By the confession of Sir Robert Welles it appears that the Duke of Clarence took a much more active part in the rising of Lincolnshire than is generally supposed; and that the real object of the rebellion was to place the crown on Clarence's brow, and that both Clarence and Warwick had for some time been urging the Lord Welles and his son to continue firm to their cause.—*Warkworth*, p. 51., and *Excerpt. Hist.*, p. 282.

Gloucester, then but seventeen years of age, "commissioner of array in the county of Gloucester,"[1] in consequence of the rebellion of "George Duke of Clarence, and Richard Earl of Warwick;" and by other letters patent of the 15th of April following the young prince was nominated a commissioner for a similar purpose in the counties of Devonshire and Cornwall.[2]

A series of vindictive conflicts followed this recommencement of civil war, in which, for a brief period, King Edward gained the ascendency; and Clarence and Warwick were compelled to fly to France, where, by reason of the amity which had long been secretly fostered between Louis XI. and the Earl of Warwick, they were most courteously received.[3] There they found sojourning Margaret of Anjou, with Prince Edward of Lancaster, her son; and all hope of pardon from King Edward appearing futile by reason of their avowed rebellion, and all further connection with the Yorkist faction being irrevocably broken by their abandonment of their royal chief, notwithstanding his conciliatory proclamation[4], they were induced by the

[1] Cal. Rol. Pat. 10 Edw. IV. [2] Ibid.

[3] Chron. Croy., p. 533.

[4] The strong affection borne by the king to his family, notwithstanding the aggravation he had received, and the natural warmth and innate goodness of his heart, is proved beyond all doubt, by the efforts he made to conciliate Clarence and Warwick, even when compelled by self-defence to take up arms, and to issue edicts to counteract their treachery and defiance of his authority, "yet natheless, our said sovereign lord, considering the nighness of blood that they the said duke and earl be unto him, and the tender love which he hath aforetime borne unto them, were therefore loathe to lose them, if they would submit them to his grace, and put him in surety of their good demeaning hereafter." — *Warkworth's Chronicle.*

French monarch openly to espouse the cause of the exiled queen and that of the deposed Henry VI., and publicly to avow their intention of reinstating that sovereign on the throne of England.[1] To make this most extraordinary alliance more binding, a marriage was contracted between the youthful Prince of Wales and the Lady Anne Neville, youngest daughter of the Earl of Warwick, whose sister, as was before stated, had been united to the Duke of Clarence about a year previously. But as the desire of regaining for his child and her royal consort their long-lost rights, was the ex-queen's sole inducement for yielding, after a severe struggle, to the earnest solicitations of Louis in favour of this betrothment of her only son, at the youthful age of sixteen, to the co-heiress of his bitterest foe, one year his junior,[2] the fulfilment of the contract was made to depend on the dethronement of Edward IV., and the solemnisation of the marriage was to be the recompence only of King Henry the Sixth's restoration to the throne.

Ambition and revenge being predominant features in the earl's character, united to great decision and unwearied zeal in whatever he undertook, he commenced preparations without loss of time for his projected invasion: and receiving prompt and considerable aid from Louis XI., both in men and shipping, he was speedily in a state, accompanied by the Duke of Clarence, to effect a landing in England, and to issue proclamations denouncing Edward of York a usurper, and declaring the im-

[1] Cont. Croy., p. 533. [2] Harl. MSS., p. 543.

prisoned Henry of Lancaster to be the lawful sovereign of the kingdom.

Upon this the young Duke of Gloucester was immediately appointed warden of the northern marches[1], and thither he was hastening with the king and his adherents, to quell the insurrection in those revolted districts, when information was privately conveyed to them that Warwick and Clarence had landed on the southern coast, and that King Edward was once more about to be treacherously betrayed by others of his perfidious relatives in the north.[2] Thus openly defied, and basely entrapped, the recently idolised monarch found himself, in a brief period, a king only in name. Perceiving his liberty to be again endangered, and his situation growing desperate, his own brother being arrayed against him, the once popular, but now despised, Edward of York was compelled to abdicate his throne, and, together with Richard of Gloucester and a small band of faithful followers, to fly the kingdom. He embarked from Lynn, in Norfolk, September, 1470, and sailing forthwith to Flanders, besought an asylum from his sister Margaret, at the court of Burgundy, to the reigning duke of which principality, it will be remembered, she had recently been united; but so extreme was his poverty, by reason of his precipitate flight, that it is said his kingly robe, lined with marten skins, was all he possessed[3] wherewith to recompense the brave man

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 658. [2] Chron. Croy., p. 553.

[3] "For the king's escape was so hasty, that not onely his apparell and other furniture were lost or left behind, but even his treasure;

who conveyed him across the seas. The insurgents hastened with all speed to London, released from captivity the unfortunate Henry VI., and on the 13th of October, 1470, just nine years after his dethronement, the hapless monarch resumed the crown, and again ostensibly exercised the royal prerogative.[1] Queen Margaret, however, in her league with Warwick, had greatly circumscribed that chieftain's delegated powers.[2] She was suspicious of his fidelity, and could ill brook a friendly alliance with so bitter an enemy, the chief agent of all their misery and distress. But her unhappy consort, naturally deficient in intellect, had become so weakened in mind by close imprisonment and neglect[3], and the present excitement had so enfeebled his slender powers of exertion, that he became paralysed, as it were, and a mere cypher in seconding the efforts of his friends. Finding him wholly incapacitated for government, Warwick and Clarence were compelled after his release from captivity to summon in all haste a Parliament[4],

so that to defray the charge of his transportation he was necessitated to give the master of the ship a gowne furr'd with martens." — *Habington's Edward IV.*, p. 66.

[1] Croy. Chron., p. 554. [2] Harl. MSS., No. 543.

[3] This is proved by a very touching passage in Warkworth's Chronicle, which would almost seem to indicate that he was once more reduced to hopeless imbecility. "In the beginning of the month of October, the year of our Lord 1470, the Bishop of Winchester, by the assent of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, went to the Tower of London, where King Henry was in prison by King Edward's commandment, and there took him from his keepers, which was not worshipfully arrayed as a prince, and not so cleanly kept as should seem such a prince; they had him out, and new arrayed him and brought him to the palace of Westminster, and so he was restored to the crown again." — *Warkworth's Chron.*, p. 11.

[4] That this might not appear the act of faction, but the universal

that their acts might receive legitimate sanction without waiting for the arrival of the queen, as had been stipulated by her. In this assembly Henry of Lancaster was again acknowledged King; Edward IV. was proclaimed an usurper, and both himself and his brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, were attainted and outlawed. All fresh statutes were repealed, and the long-exiled supporters of the House of Lancaster were restored to their honours and estates; while the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence were empowered to act as regents during the minority of the Prince of Wales, and in default of issue to him, George Duke of Clarence was declared successor to the throne.[1] Thus did the Earl of Warwick fully prove the true cause of his gradual defection from Edward IV. An impartial review of the whole tenor of his conduct, from the period of Edward's marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Grey to his expulsion from the throne by Warwick's means, brings home the conviction that he destined his own offspring to share it, by allying them with whosoever swayed the sceptre. Mortified at his thwarted views in his kinsman of the house of York, he considered it would be as possible to dethrone him as it had been to unseat his predecessor. It is true that from this counter-revolution time would be necessary to mature his scheme; but his daughter was young, and the unparalleled success that had

consent of the kingdom, a parliament was summoned, wherein nothing was denied which the prevailing party thought fit to be authorised. — *Habington*, p. 70.

Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 191.

hitherto attended his projects, raising him as it had to the highest pinnacle of greatness, making him a king all but in title, and more than a king in arbitrary power, fed that insatiable ambition which perhaps nothing but a crown would altogether have satisfied. The Duke of Gloucester, however, young as he was, there can be little doubt from subsequent events, very early penetrated the earl's motives. He was of no temperament to be ensnared by the dangerous policy which had duped the unreflecting George of Clarence. Faithful to the interests of his family, and true to his sovereign, who was its head, he preferred, when affairs had reached so desperate a crisis, exile and poverty with his royal brother, to dishonourable elevation at the hands of his enemies. The sacrifice induced by such a decision can scarcely be understood at the present day; though its extent is made sufficiently apparent by reference to the chroniclers of those disastrous times. "I saw," says Philip de Comines, "the Duke of Exeter barefoot and ragged, begging his meate from door to door, in the Low Countries,"[1] and this, too, though that nobleman and the prince of the country had married two sisters, the sisters of Edward IV. and Richard of Gloucester. Neither was his brother-in-law the only appalling instance; for "with this so unfortunate lord the Somersets and others shared with him in misery,"[2] and Margaret Countess of Oxford, the graceful and accomplished sister of the Earl of Warwick, bred in the lap of luxury, embued with the haughty feelings of the age, and once possessed

[1] Comines, vol. i. p. 239. [2] Habington's Edw. IV., p. 42.

of enormous wealth, was compelled to support herself and her husband, after his attainder and imprisonment, "by working with her needle."[1] Yet did Gloucester voluntarily share Edward's privations in Burgundy, and serve him in his adversity with as much cheerfulness and fidelity as when he had accepted with grateful feelings, in days of prosperity, the high honours and wealthy endowments which that monarch so early bestowed upon him. A comparison cannot fail to be here drawn between the unworthy feelings that influenced Clarence to accelerate the downfal of so near a relative, one who had distinguished him in his youth by kindness little less than paternal, and that of the much-defamed Gloucester, who, traditionally reputed to be devoid of every kind and generous sentiment, was, nevertheless, the willing companion and friend in his adverse fortune of that brother who had so tenderly fostered him in childhood; and who, though elevated at this crisis to a degree of authority and importance far beyond that usual to a youth of seventeen, scrupled not to sacrifice all wealth, honours, independence, to become a houseless wanderer, and an outcast from his home, to participate in the attainder that deprived King Edward, and himself as his partizan, of every possession[2] whether hereditary or acquired.

[1] Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 340.

[2] "King Edward, therefore, and all his adherents were attainted of high treason, their lands and goods confiscated. He and his posterity for ever disabled to inherit not only the crown, but any other hereditary estate; his claim to the kingdom was rejected as a most unjust pretension, and his former government condemned as of a tyrannous usurper." —*Habington's Edward IV.*, p. 70.

CHAP. VI.

Edward IV. resolves on again contesting the crown. — He returns to England with the Duke of Gloucester. — They effect a landing in Yorkshire. — Perjury of King Edward.— Success of his scheme.— Clarence repents his desertion of his family. — Gloucester chiefly instrumental in effecting a final reconciliation between his brothers. — King Edward recovers the throne. — Henry VI. again a captive. Battle of Barnet. — The Earl of Warwick is slain. — Battle of Tewkesbury. — Death of Edward Prince of Wales. — Queen Margaret captured — committed to the Tower. — Insurrection of Falconbridge. — Sudden dissolution of Henry VI. — The Duke of Gloucester unjustly accused of his murder, tested by reference to contemporaries. — Origin of the imputation. — Gloucester receives the thanks of the Houses of Parliament. — His fidelity to the king rewarded by high honours and important trusts.

THE return to England of Queen Margaret and her son Edward Prince of Wales, with additional troops and subsidies from France, seemed alone wanting to complete and render decisive the extraordinary revolution which has been above alluded to.

In consequence of conflicting interests at the Burgundian and French courts, which it is unnecessary here to discuss, the disastrous position of Edward IV. seemed fully as deplorable out of England as his precipitate flight proved it to have been in his own dominions; and few other than minds so vigorously constituted as were those of the warlike sons of York, but would have sunk under the difficulties which from every quarter seemed to threaten the founder of that royal line

with death or imprisonment. But the deposed king and his brother of Gloucester were not of dispositions tamely to submit to a reverse of fortune as sudden as it was severe. They were young, active, courageous, and strongly imbued with the chivalric and daring spirit of the times. All the strong and violent passions of their irascible race were kindled by the treachery that had been practised towards them, and their education had fitted them rather for desperate deeds than the quiet virtues of domestic life. A combination, too, of those trivial events which, apparently unimportant in themselves, so frequently tend either to frustrate or ensure the accomplishment of the most important schemes, so favoured the success of their project, that it almost seemed as if the sun of York was never to be more than partially eclipsed, however dense the clouds or ominous the darkness that dimmed for a while its beams, and seemed to threaten the total extinction of its splendour. Although Margaret of Anjou and her noble son were supported by the entire power of Louis XI., yet the advanced season of the year, added to perpetual storms, and an accumulation of the most untoward casualties, retarded them month after month from landing.

Warwick was in despair. Clarence in the interval had time for reflection[1], and also for com-

[1] "When the king was in Holland, the Duke of Clarence, the king's second brother, considering the great inconvenience whereunto as well his brother the king, he, and his brother the Duke of Gloucester were fallen unto, through and by the division that was between them, whereunto, by the subtle compassing of the Earl of

munication with those true friends, who in all its degradation endeavoured to bring home to him the humiliating position in which he had placed himself, as the tool of his father-in-law and the betrayer of his brothers. Thus, by a variety of incidents, so remarkable and complicated that it would require too much space to enter here into a more particular examination of the details, Edward of York and his faithful companions had rallied their forces sufficiently to contemplate a return to England through the private aid of Charles of Burgundy, and before the heroic but ill-fated Margaret could complete her arrangements or fulfil any portion of her contract with the Earl of Warwick.

The promptitude and zeal of the Yorkists compensating for the superior advantages that were rendered futile to the Lancastrians by delays and disasters of various kinds[1], a counter-revolution was speedily brought about; and in a very brief period the rival sovereigns were again found fiercely contesting for the oft-disputed crown. With so small a body of troops, that they were more than once deterred from landing on the coasts, which Warwick's vigilance had so well guarded[2], King Edward at length effected his design at Ravenspur

Warwick and his complices, they were brought and reduced." — *Fleet. Chron.*, p. 9.

[1] "And Queen Margaret and Prince Edward her son, with other knights, squires, and other men of the King of France, had navy to bring them to England, which when they were shipped in France, the wind was so contrary unto them xvij days and nights, that they might not come from Normandy with unto England, which with a wind might have sailed it in xij hours." — *Warkworth's Chron.*, p. 17.

[2] Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 57.; also Fleetwood's Chron., p. 2.

in Yorkshire[1]; and the perjury there practised by the usurping Henry of Lancaster in the previous century[2], probably instigated the Yorkist monarch to attempt a like deception. Profiting by the example of Bolingbroke, and its heinousness being palliated by the baneful precedent of his father's duplicity at Ludlow[3], he approached the gates of York, not ostensibly as a sovereign[4], but merely a claimant, as he alleged, for his hereditary right of the duchy of York[5], bestowed on the Duke of Clarence after King Edward's attainder and expulsion from the throne. The means so cunningly devised were successful in their result, and the exiled representative of the house of York was

[1] "Upon the morn Wednesday and Thursday the xiiij day of March fell great storms, winds, and tempests upon the sea, so that the said xiiij day, in great torment, he (Edward) came to Humbrehede, where the other ships were dissevered from him. The king with his ship alone, wherein was the Lord Hastings, his chamberlain, and other, to the number of v^c well-chosen men, landed within Humber, on Holderness side, at a place called Ravenspoure. The king's brother, Richd Duke of Gloucester, and in his company iij^c men, landed at another place iiij mile from thence." — *Fleetwood's Chron.*, pp. 2, 3.

[2] "The same oath swore Henry of Bolingbrook, when, pretending to the duchy of Lancaster, he landed in the north, and armed against King Richard II.; which he broke, as Edward IV. after did, upon the like advantage." — *Habington's Edward IV.*, p. 75.

[3] See Chapter III. p. 101.

[4] "And he said to the mayor and alderman, that he never would claim no title, nor take upon hande to be king of England, nor would have done afore that time, but by the exciting of the Earl of Warwick; and thereto before all people he cried, "A King Henry! A King and Prince Edward!" and weared an ostrich feather, Prince Edward's livery; and after this, he was suffered to pass the city, and so held his way southward; and no man let him nor hurt him." — *Warkworth's Chron.*, p. 14.

[5] "The Duke of Clarence, that greater hopes might not invite him to return to his brother, was possest of the duchy of York." — *Habington's Edward IV.*, p. 71.

under these pretensions[1] welcomed to the city, and permitted to depart from it to his own lordship and demesnes, by many who would otherwise have disputed his reassumption of the regal prerogative, from the indignation which had been felt at his injudicious exercise of the kingly power. The leading cause, however, of that success which enabled King Edward to throw off the mask which he had assumed, and to avail himself of the good fortune which attended his promptitude and judicious measures after landing, was the indication given by the Duke of Clarence of defection from the rebellious standard of Warwick. It has been before stated, that great unanimity and strong affection for each other was a leading trait in the children of the family of York, the fickle and unsteady Clarence forming the only exception to this their peculiar and brightest characteristic. With him it appears to have been merely weakened, but not subdued, by the more overwhelming passions of jealousy and ambition: jealousy at the ill-judged elevation of the Wydville family; ambition at the prospect of being king, instead of the brother by whom he felt himself injured and aggrieved.

So long as these exciting causes were fomented by his father-in-law Warwick[2], so long did Clarence

[1] "All began to exclaim against the injustice of the last parliament in conferring the duchy of York, which by right of primogeniture belonged to Edward, upon his second brother, George Duke of Clarence; which act could not be imagined freely granted by the parliament, but extorted by the over great sway of Warwick." — *Habington*, p. 74.

[2] See Appendix X.

continue at enmity with his family; but when, by a depth and versatility of policy unsuspected and indeed incomprehensible to a mind so ill formed for penetration as was that of the unreflecting Clarence, he found that the rival of his house, the monarch of Lancaster, was to be substituted for his exiled brother,—that he had been the tool of Warwick, and that, in grasping at a vain shadow, he had in reality removed himself one degree farther from the possible possession of a crown which he had so laboured and so degraded himself for the purpose of attaining,—the now-repentant duke lamented his defection, and saw in its broad light the folly and weakness of his conduct. The shallow policy which he had pursued in becoming the dupe of Warwick, when fancying himself protesting solely against the undue influence of Edward's queen, was now apparent; and this conviction was brought more home to him by the remonstrance of the female portion of his family[1], whose kindly influence revived all the softer and better feelings of his nature. The Duchess of York, indeed, must have beheld with grief unutterable the ruin to their house which resulted from such unnatural rebellion in her son; and, co-operating with her daughters, the Duchesses of Exeter, Suffolk, and Burgundy, they commenced the most strenuous exertions to heal so disgraceful a rupture, and laboured unceasingly to win back

[1] "By right covert ways and means, were good mediators and mediatrix, the high and mighty princess my Lady their mother, my Lady of Exeter, my Lady Suffolk, their sisters, but most specially my Lady of Burgundy."—*Fleet. Chron.*, p. 9.

the misguided Clarence to his family and his faction.

This prince was the peculiarly beloved brother of his sister, the Princess of Burgundy; and by her untiring zeal, and by solemn promises of pardon and oblivion of the past, previously extorted by her[1] from Edward IV., Clarence, inconsistent and restless, ever hasty in action but weak in purpose, again changed sides, and secretly promised, if his royal brother could land and effect a junction with him, that he would aid him with his support towards his re-establishment on that throne from which he had been so active an agent in expelling him a few months previously.

By the most consummate generalship, and movements so well devised and ably executed, that Warwick himself was paralysed at the boldness of an undertaking which had baffled even his foresight and penetration, King Edward reached within three miles of the Duke of Clarence's encampment without a single conflict, or the slightest opposition being offered to his progress. The fate of the brothers, nay, of the kingdom at large, now hung on the final decision of this latter wavering prince; and Gloucester, the much-defamed but consistent Gloucester, firm in his allegiance to the one, yet feelingly alive to the degradation of the other, was the chief agent in finally effecting that reconcilia-

[1] "Great and diligent labour with all effect was continually made by the high and mighty princess the Duchess of Burgundy, which at no time ceased to send her servants and messengers to the king where he was, and to my said Lord of Clarence into England." — *Fleet. Chron.*, p. 9.

tion — that re-union of interests, which, in a few hours, overthrew the deep policy of France, the long-laboured schemes of Warwick, and the sanguine hopes of the Lancastrian queen, founded as they were on the apparent annihilation of the Yorkist dynasty. The Duke of Gloucester "and other lords, past often formally between the brothers, and urged them in all respects, both religious and politick, to prevent a quarrel so ruinous and so scandalous to both, wherein the triumph could not be but almost destruction to the conqueror."[1] Surely this fact must invalidate the unmitigated charge of fraternal hatred and jealous malignity so universally ascribed to Richard of Gloucester; surely this anxious desire to restore one brother to the crown, and to reclaim the other from dishonour, must at least serve to qualify the opposing statements of a subsequent age, and throw discredit on the tradition that makes him destitute of every kindly sentiment.[2]

Satisfactorily, too, does it explain the nature of "the gratuitous, laudable, and honourable services," "the innate probity and other virtues," which King Edward publicly recorded in the letters patent which perpetuated alike the merits and the

[1] Habington, Life of Edward IV. Bishop Kennet speaks in very high terms of Dr. Habington's biography of Edward IV., in the preface affixed to his valuable work the "Complete History of England." — See vol. i.

[2] "I have no brother, I am like no brother:
And this word — love, which greybeards call divine,
Be resident in men like one another,
And not in me; — I am myself alone."
Shakspeare's Hen. VI., 3d Part, act v. sc. 6.

rewards which he considered it fitting to bestow on the Duke of Gloucester.

The meeting between the brothers — so important to the future destinies of England — is thus simply, but feelingly, narrated by an eye-witness, in a MS. preserved in the Harleian collection, little known until within the last few years: — "The king, upon an afternoon, issued out of Warwick with all his fellowship, by the space of three miles, into a fair field, towards Banbury, where he saw the duke, his brother in fair array, come towards him with a great fellowship; and when they were together within less than half a mile, the king set his people in array, the banners displayed, and left them standing still, taking with him his *brother of Gloucester*, the Lord Rivers, Lord Hastings, and a few others, and went towards his brother of Clarence. And in likewise the duke, for his part, taking with him a few noblemen, and leaving his host in good order, departed from them towards the king: and so they met betwixt both hosts, where was right kind and loving language betwixt them two." . . . "And then in likewise spake together the two Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and after the other noblemen being there with them, whereof all the people there that loved them were right glad and joyous, and thanked God highly of that joyous meeting, unity, and accord, hoping that thereby should grow unto them prosperous fortune in all that they should after that have to do." . . . "And so with great gladness both hosts, with their princes, together went to

Warwick (city), and there lodged, and in the country near adjoining."[1]

Strong efforts were made to induce the rebellious Neville Earl of Warwick to return to his allegiance, but in vain. King Edward, therefore, by the advice of his brethren Clarence and Gloucester, and accompanied by them, continued his march to London with all possible despatch, where he was joyfully received by the citizens; and, taking possession of the Tower, and of the person of the unhappy Henry VI., he found himself once more established on the English throne, exactly six months after his abdication and expulsion, and within one month of his landing at Ravenspur, under circumstances the most unfavourable and unpropitious that could well be conceived.

King Edward's queen, with her infant daughters, had fled to the Sanctuary at Westminster for refuge, immediately on her husband's expulsion from the throne; and in that melancholy abode, as if to render still more striking the important events that were crowded into the brief period of her royal consort's absence, she gave birth to their eldest son, afterwards Edward V.; a circumstance, there is little doubt, that added weight to his royal parent's restoration, as giving promise of legitimate succession in the line of York, without reason to fear the evils attendant upon a minority, King Edward being in the prime of life, and naturally of

[1] Collected from a MS. in the Harleian Library, entitled "Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV. in England, and final Recoverye of his Kingdom," sometimes entitled "Fleetwood's Chronicle," and recently edited and published by J. Bruce, Esq. for the Camden Society, p. 11.

a robust constitution. Edward IV. reached London the 9th April, 1471; and on the 11th, having entire possession of the city, he proceeded first to St. Paul's, to render thanks to Heaven for his triumph, and thence to the Sanctuary at Westminster, to "comforte" his queen, who "presentyd hym at his comyne," with a "fayre son a prince, to his hert's singular comforte and gladness."[1] Releasing the royal Elizabeth from her gloomy asylum, the king returned the same evening to London; and carrying her to Baynard's Castle, "they lodged at the lodgynge of my ladye his mother, where they heard divine service that night and upon the morn, Good Friday."[2] Once more, then, were the members of the house of York, in the fulness of prosperity, re-assembled under the roof of the Lady Cecily; once more that severely tried princess had the happiness of seeing her offspring re-united in peace and in joy: for that she was herself present to welcome the exiles, to bless the re-union of the brothers, and to join in the religious services that hallowed a reconciliation she had so earnestly and devoutly laboured to effect, is apparent from the peculiar wording of the passage quoted, "at the lodgynge of my ladye his mother." Under her maternal charge, too, there is little doubt that the king left his royal consort and infant progeny when following up the triumph which he had so unexpectedly obtained; for the Earl of Warwick, though at first paralysed at Edward's rapid movements, and subsequently dismayed at the desertion

[1] Fleet. Chron., p. 17. [2] Ibid.

of Clarence, was too firmly pledged to Queen Margaret, and his honour was altogether too deeply involved, to desert a cause which he had so warmly and strenuously undertaken. In the midst of his domestic rejoicing, tidings were communicated to Edward IV. of his opponents' approach to the capital. The partisans of the house of York, who had emerged from their sanctuaries[1], were speedily assembled, and, after resting in the metropolis for the remainder of the above-named sacred day, to refresh[2] his wearied troops, he placed himself the following morning at the head of his army, and quitting London, met the Lancastrian leaders on a plain near Barnet, about ten miles north of the capital, where, on Easter even, the hostile forces encamped, preparatory to the approaching conflict, which took place on Easter Sunday, 14th April 1471.[3] No battle on our warlike annals was more terrible[4], more characterised by the worst passions of humanity, than that which in this year marked a festival peculiarly consecrated throughout the Christian world, to advocating the heavenly doctrines of the holy Founder of our religion, and designed to commemorate "on earth peace, good-will towards men." No hosannas ushered in the dawn of this most holy day; but, on the contrary, vows of extermination, of hatred, of revenge. Oh how truly may it be said that there are no battles like the battles of the hearth — no conflicts so fierce, so devoid of all that can soften

[1] Chron. Croyl., p. 554.
[2] Warkworth's Chron., p. 15.
[3] Fleetwood's Chron., p. 18.
[4] Warkworth, p. 16.

man's savage nature, as those which arm "the father against the son, the son against the father," and which quench all natural affection in every relation of life.[1]

King Edward showed, in the arrangement of his forces, the different opinions which he entertained of the good faith and fidelity of his two brothers: the "vaward was commanded by the Duke of Gloucester; the rear, by the Lord Hastings; the main battle, by himself; but George Duke of Clarence commanded not in any way in chief that day:"[2]—so difficult was it for the king to banish suspicion, so expedient to guard against treachery, or the possibility of defection to the enemy. Perhaps, too, he may have had more cogent reasons for such precaution than have been made apparent; for it is very clear that the heart of the wavering duke was divided in affection between his noble father-in-law and his royal brother.[3] Prior to the battle, he is said to have most earnestly desired a reconciliation, and would gladly have lent his services as a pacificator; but Warwick was no mere time-server, he was no agent to second the views of others, but the powerful machine which influenced the workings of humbler operations. "Go, tell your master," he said, in reply to Clarence's emis-

[1] Most touchingly has our great dramatist portrayed this, in the bitter lamentation of the unhappy parent who slew his only child in one of these direful feuds —

> "What stratagems, how fell, how butcherly,
> Erroneous, mutinous, and unnatural,
> This deadly quarrel daily doth beget!"
>
> *Third Part of Henry VI.*, act ii. sc. 5.

[2] Habington's Edw. IV., p. 81. [3] Fleetwood's Chron., p. 12.

saries, "that Warwick, true to his word, is a better man than the false and perjured Clarence."[1]

From the hour of four in the morning until ten in the forenoon[2], both parties fought with a fury almost unexampled; prodigies of valour were performed, but by none more than the young Duke of Gloucester, who, by an accidental circumstance in the arrangement of the contending army, was immediately opposed to the Earl of Warwick himself.[3] If any presumptive proof could invalidate the fabulous traditions of this prince's mis-shapen form and nerveless arm, his conduct in this battle may well be considered an adequate test. It was the first in which he had been engaged; but though he numbered but eighteen years, he bore down all before him, and "entred so farre and boldly into the ennemies' army, that two of his esquires[4], Thomas Parr and John Milewater, being nearest to him, were slain; yet by his owne valour he quit himselfe, and put most part of the enemies to flight." The Earl of Warwick, after a time, dismounted, and fought on foot. He urged on his followers with the determination of his character, and with all the energy of desperation; but in vain. Surrounded by his enemies, and prevented by a thick mist from discerning the situation of his friends, he fell — a victim to his misplaced zeal, to his ungovernable pride and fatal ambition. The death of their valiant leader decided the fate of the day. King Edward's foes fled in all directions, and

[1] Lingard, vol. v. p. 208. [2] Warkworth, p. 16.
[3] Turner's Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 319.
[4] Buck's Life of Rich. III., lib. i. p. 9.

many, who had remained neuter until then, joined his victorious banner, willing to share in the triumph which attended their sovereign's return to the metropolis, and to participate in the acclamations which greeted his final re-assumption of the throne, as he offered up at St. Paul's, "at even song the same day, his own standard and that of the Earl of Warwick," trophies alike of his signal victory, and of the utter discomfiture of his enemies. The hapless Henry VI., from infancy the sport of fortune, once more a captive, was again consigned to his apartments in the Tower, whence he had been withdrawn two days previously, not as a few months back, to be arrayed "in purple,"[1] and with "great reverence" brought to his palace of Westminster as a king, but, in outrage of those strong religious feelings with which he was innately imbued, to be taken on Easter even[2] to meet the hostile armies, and to be placed on Easter Sunday[3] in front of the battle, as a mark "to be shot at." The arrows, however, that decided the fate of Warwick, and his brother the Lord Montague, fell harmless round the Lancastrian monarch — the political victim, in fighting for whose cause the mighty Nevilles were numbered with the illustrious dead.

"King Henry, being in the forward during the battle, was not hurt, but he was brought again to the Tower of London, there to be kept."[4] He was, indeed, too meek, too powerless an adversary to be

[1] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, vol. ii. p. 324.
[2] Warkworth's Chron., p. 15. [3] Fleetwood's Chron., p. 18.
[4] Warkworth's Chron., p. 17.

dreaded as such, or to occasion either anxiety or alarm in King Edward's mind: other and far more formidable opponents were yet living to stimulate the valour and to excite the energies of the royal House of York. Margaret of Anjou, and her young son the Prince of Wales, were rallying points for many who had fled from the field of Barnet; and the restored king felt that he must not risk the scattering of his faithful followers, so long as his rivals had footing in his dominions.

Dispersing, therefore, small bands in various directions to watch their movements, but keeping himself close to the metropolis, where his cause was most popular, Edward wisely devoted his attention to conciliate the mass of the people; and his good feeling as well as policy was evinced, by innumerable proclamations of amnesty to all such as would voluntarily submit to him.

The respectful love and tender affection cherished in early days for his kinsmen Warwick and Montague[1], which not even their treachery and defalcation in after time could utterly efface, is forcibly displayed by his conduct observed towards them after their decease. In accordance with the usage of the times, the bodies of the illustrious dead were exposed to public view "two or three days bare-

[1] "The author of the contemporary Fragment published by Hearne in speaking of the Marquis Montague, states that Edward "entirely loved him;" and the writer of the coeval work, which has been so frequently referred to in these pages under the designation of "Fleetwood's Chronicle," testifies that during King Edward's march toward the metropolis, after he had effected a landing at Ravenspur, "the Marquis Montague in no wise troubled him, ne none of his fellowship, but suffered him to pass in peaceable wise."—See *Hearne's Fragment*, p. 306.; *Bruce's Arrival of King Edw. IV.*, p. 6.

faced in St. Paul's Church,"[1] that all who beheld them might be satisfied of their death[2], and none make their pretended escape a deceptive plea for re-union; after which "they were carried down to the priory of Bisham[3], where, among their ancestors by the mother's side, Earls of Salisbury, the two unquiet brothers rest in one tombe."

The ex-queen and her son, the youthful heir of his father's contested crown, landed at Weymouth[4] on the very day that Warwick's fate was sealed on Barnet field. Sad, indeed, was the disastrous intelligence conveyed to the royal fugitives; but though, from sudden terror and on the impulse of the moment, they fled for safety to the sanctuary[5] of Beaulieu Abbey[6] in Hants, yet were their spirits not altogether broken. King Henry still lived,

[1] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, vol. ii. p. 333.

[2] Fleetwood's Chron., p. 21. [3] Habington's Edw. IV., p. 88.

[4] Warkworth's Chron., p. 17.

[5] "Desperation forced her (Queen Margaret) to the common poor refuge of sanctuary. And in Bewlye, in Hampshire, a monastery of Cistercian monks, she registered herself, her son, and followers, for persons privileged. To her, in this agonie of soul, came Edmond Duke of Somerset, with his brother John Lord Beaufort, John Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, John Lord Prior of St. John's, and John Lord Wenlock. These noble personages laboured what they could by their comfort and presence to raise up the queen, sunk with the weight of her misfortunes." — *Habington*, p. 89.

[6] The small round tower said to have been appropriated to the use of Margaret of Anjou and Edward Prince of Wales is still in perfect preservation, and Beaulieu Abbey itself, to which the tradition of this tower affords so great an object of interest; although no longer realising the description in Fleetwood's Chronicle (p. 22.), of being as "ample and as large as the franchesse of Westminster, or of St. Martin's at London," is, in point of situation, extent of ruin, and romantic scenery, one of the most attractive spots of the innumerable sites in the New Forest hallowed by historical associations.

although again a captive; and Edward of York filled a throne which they felt to be theirs by right, and by the inheritance of three generations. Each party consequently prepared for another trial of strength. Hope on the one side, desperation on the other, induced the most determined efforts; and a fortnight was spent in untiring zeal and strenuous exertions suited to the great cause which they had at stake.

At the termination of this brief period, a considerable army had assembled near the town of Tewkesbury. All the chivalry of England were there arrayed, either under the banner of the Red Rose, again unfurled by the intrepid queen and her princely son, or drawn thither to uphold the restoration of the gallant monarch who had made the paler Rose so much more popular by his persuasive manners and the brilliancy that characterised his court.

Only twenty days elapsed before the antagonists of Barnet were once more placed in hostile position against each other; and the disastrous events of that recent contest stimulated almost to phrenzy the passions of the contending parties, feeling as did each that this battle would be the great climax of their fate, and would decide the destiny of England as well as of its rival monarchs.

One circumstance rendered this action more than ordinarily important, which was, that Edward of Lancaster, the young Prince of Wales, then in his eighteenth year,—about a twelvemonth younger than Richard of Gloucester, — took the command of his father's army; and after personally addressing

the soldiery, and animating their zeal in conjunction with and aided by his mother, the persevering Margaret[1], he himself headed those faithful adherents[2] which at the last fatal conflict had been led on to battle by the desperate and exasperated Warwick.

No better fortune, however, awaited the promising heir of the line of Lancaster than had attended the mighty "king maker" before. Equal prodigies of valour were performed, equal efforts made to ensure success; but a spell seemed to be set over the house of Lancaster, and an almost supernatural fortune to attend that of York. King Edward again intrusted the post of honour and of peril to his young brother the Duke of Gloucester. Animated by former success, Richard aimed at this distinguished position; and the monarch, in placing his "vaward in the rule of the Duke of Gloucester,"[3] and in directing this gallant prince to commence the attack, evinced alike the confidence he felt in his fidelity, his zeal, and his military skill. He was immediately opposed to the Duke of Somerset, the chief of the Lancastrian leaders, to whom had been assigned the "vaward" of King Henry's forces. The trust reposed in Richard was not misplaced, and Edward's judicious arrangement was demonstrated by the result: for it is generally acknowledged, that to the cool determination and able generalship of Gloucester may, in a great mea-

[1] Harl. MSS., No. 543.

[2] In the main battle was the prince, under the direction of the Lord Prior and the Lord Wenlock."— *Habington's Edw. IV.*, p. 98.

[3] Fleetwood's Chron., p. 30.

sure, be ascribed the success of the battle of Tewkesbury.

In addition to the courage which was displayed by him at Barnet, he on this occasion manifested that keen foresight which formed so prominent a feature in his character. By a feigned retreat[1], which only a mature policy could have suggested, he withdrew his adversaries from their strongest position[2], and availed himself of the confusion which followed—when the latter too late discovered their error—to follow up his success, and reap the full measure of his acute penetration and bravery. This, together with the rash and precipitate conduct of the Lancastrian leaders[3], decided the fate of the day, and together with it that of their hapless cause.

The queen's army was entirely routed, and the Yorkist monarch gained a complete victory. No conquest, indeed, could be more decisive: thousands were left dead on the field; Queen Margaret herself was captured within a few days; and

[1] "The Duke of Somerset, seeing Glocester retire with some appearance of flight (an appearance indeed it was, only to betray the enemy), ran after so farre in the pursute, that there was no safety in the retreat. Then did Glocester on the sudden turne backe upon him, and having by this deceit enticed him from his trenches, hee cut all the vanguard in pieces."—*Habington's Edw. IV.*, p. 94.

[2] "The Duke of Somerset entrencht his camp round so high and so strong, that the enemy could on no side force it."—*Ibid.* p. 92.

[3] "The Duke of Somerset, enraged with his discomfiture, and having Lord Wenlock's faith in some jealosie, upon his escape backe obrayded him with the most ignomineous termes of cowardize and treason; and, transported by the heat of passion, with an axe hee had in his hand strooke out his braines. This outrage begot nothing but disorder in the queen's camp; and so great grew the confusion, that no man knew whom to obey, or how or where to make resistance against the assaulting enemy."—*Ibid.* p. 94.

Edward Prince of Wales, the young, the noble, and the brave, forfeited his life in the first battle in which he had unsheathed the sword in defence of his royal parents, his inheritance, and his crown. He was "taken fleeinge to the townwards, and slain in the field;"[1] but whether in the heat of battle, or in cold blood as a prisoner, it seems almost impossible at this distant period to decide, so ambiguous and conflicting are the contemporary accounts.

As the mode of his death, however, involves one of the most serious accusations which tradition has imputed to Richard Duke of Gloucester, a minute examination of the circumstances, as far as this prince is concerned, is indispensable in these pages. Nearly the whole of what may be termed the popular and standard histories of England, from the earliest printed chronicles of the sixteenth to the abler productions that closed the eighteenth century, represent the Lancastrian prince as brought before Edward IV. after the battle a prisoner, and as incurring the resentment of that king by his bold and dauntless assumption to his face of right to the throne; and after stating this, and that he was struck by the irritated monarch with his gauntlet, as a signal of defiance, it is farther represented that he was finally despatched by the sword of Richard of Gloucester. Whence, however, is this information obtained? and from what source springs the accusation? Not, certainly, from eye-witnesses of the event, neither from contemporary chroniclers. These reports emanated from the

[1] Fleetwood's Chron., p. 30.

annalists of the Tudor times; and in tracing the authority on which were based the statements of our great historian Hume, as also the immortal dramatist Shakspeare, both of which centre in Holinshed[1], the most popular writer of that period, it affords but one out of innumerable instances which might be adduced of the prejudiced and corrupt source whence accusations of such weighty import to the character and reputation of Richard III. were originally derived and have been since perpetuated.

Sir George Buck, as previously observed, was the first who ventured by reference to early and contemporary writers to dispute the legendary tales of a subsequent period; and he, though adopting the view of the prince being slain in cold blood, most expressly asserts, on the testimony of a "faithful MS. Chronicle of those times,"[2] that the Duke of Gloucester "only, of all the great persons present, stood still and drew not his sword."[3]

Lord Orford, in after years, though admitting that the style of Buck's writing laid him open to criticism, yet most ably and philosophically follows

[1] "Shakspeare follows Holinshed" (see *Courtenay's Commentaries on Shakspeare's Historical Plays*, vol. ii. p. 27.); so also did Hume, and most implicitly; it being reserved for later times to that in which the philosophical historian penned his imperishable work to seek from the original documents the events narrated by him. It is, however, a well-known and admitted fact, that Holinshed copied Hall, and Hall (with his own additions) Polydore Virgil, who was not only a staunch Lancastrian, but virtually employed by Henry VII. to compile the history and the reports of his period.

[2] "Chron. in quarto, MS. apud Dom. Regis. Rob. Cotton."

[3] Buck, lib. iii. p. 81.

up his views when based on well-attested facts[1]; and, by reference to the earlier historical records of this battle, he gives force to Sir George's assertions by pointing out how each succeeding chronicler added to the report, and how "much the story had gained from the time of Fabyan," the oldest historian[2] subsequent to the age of printing, who simply states, that the prince "was by the king's servants incontinently slain;" to the later Tudor annalists[3], who, by substituting for the king's "servants" the names of his royal brothers, have been the means of fixing the entire odium, with still greater injustice, on Richard Duke of Gloucester.[4] Much difference of opinion has, notwithstanding, ever prevailed on this point, arising chiefly from the contradictory accounts of the above-named chroniclers, and the manner in which they qualify their statements, by imputing them "to reporte;" but recent researches have at length proved how tenable were the grounds of objection taken by the apologists of Richard III., and how well founded were the "doubts" which they entertained, arising from the evidently corrupt source from whence the charges were originally derived and afterwards propagated. It must be admitted by all who are in any degree conversant with the early literature of this country, that the documents of the fifteenth century are most de-

[1] Historic Doubts, p. 20. [2] Fabyan, p. 662.
[3] Polydore Virgil, p. 336.; Hall, p. 301.
[4] See Guthrie, p. 314. "Whom Edward's brother, the Duke of Gloucester, murdered in cold blood, as he is said (though with no great show of probability) to have done his father, Henry VI.

ficient and meagre in detail: this resulted from the large portion of official records which were sacrificed to the jealous rivalry of the Roses, as each faction gained the ascendency and destroyed the edicts of his predecessor. The long lamented deficiency is now, however, being almost daily supplied by the keen search after truth which at the present time so laudably prevails, and which has led to the publication of a number of interesting manuscripts and diaries written by men who themselves lived in those troubled times, and, in some instances, witnessed the things which they detailed.[1]

Of this description are two very remarkable narratives as regards the subject now under discussion; because they were both penned about the same period, and, without doubt, by contemporary writers[2]; although a broad distinction separates their views, inasmuch as one author was on the side of the house of York, — a servant who personally attended upon Edward IV. during his

[1] Amongst the most valuable of these may be enumerated, the Paston Letters, the Plumpton Correspondence, the manuscript papers published in the Archæologia, together with Sir Harris Nicolas's Testamenta Vetusta and Privy-purse Expenses; Sir Henry Ellis's Original Letters, and the publication of the Record Commissioners. These, and very many more of great value, local, municipal, and collegiate, furnished by members of the Camden, Percy, and Antiquarian Societies, have materially aided to dispel the mystery and ambiguity which so long prevailed, arising from the borrowed details of early and incompetent writers.

[2] "Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV. in England, and finall Recoverage of his Kingdomes from Henry VI., A. D. 1471." Printed by the Camden Society from the Harl. MSS. No. 543; and "A Chronicle of the first thirteen Years of Edward IV.," by John Warkworth, D.D., Master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, published by the same society from the MS. now in the library of that college.

exile and on his restoration; the other a staunch and violent Lancastrian, who in his party zeal minutely enumerates every evil trait that could in any degree sully the fame of the enemies of his own faction. These brief chronicles, which have been frequently quoted in these pages, were carelessly written; and, moreover, from the rapidity with which events of vast national import followed on each other, there can be no doubt they are often chronologically incorrect, certainly at all times compiled with partiality or prejudice to the cause which they espouse: yet, when they can be tested with other and standard authors, or with contemporaries of undoubted credit, the corroborating evidence which they afford, as living writers and eye-witnesses, is most valuable.[1]

In the point now under consideration, these two coeval diaries may truly be said to invalidate, if

[1] Particularly Fleetwood's Chronicle, which appears to have been written with the express view of making known to foreign countries the incidents of King Edward's restoration: for three days only after the termination of that narrative so designated, Edward IV., being then at Canterbury, addressed a letter in French to the nobles and burgomasters of Bruges thanking them for the courteous hospitality which he had received from them during his exile, apprising them of the great success which had attended his expedition, and referring them to the bearer of the letter for further particulars of his victories. Those "further particulars" were contained in a very brief French abridgment of Fleetwood's Chronicle; and in the public library at Ghent there is a quarto MS. volume in vellum, which contains a contemporary MS. of the abridgment, and of the king's letter, all written with great care, and ornamented with four illuminations, representing the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, the execution of the Duke of Somerset, and the attack of the bastard Falconbridge upon London. The identity of the Ghent MS. (see *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 11.) as an abridgment of the narrative recently published by the Camden Society is unquestionable. — See *Bruce's Introduction*, pp. vi. vii.

not to absolutely refute, the charge of Gloucester's participation in the murder of the young Prince of Wales; and they add force to the neutral position, if such a term may be permitted, of later writers[1], who, uninfluenced by party feeling, were silent upon an accusation for which there appears no solid or sufficient foundation, and which took its rise a full century after the battle of Tewkesbury, and long subsequent to the decease of those who were present, or who narrated at the time the events of that fearful day.

The Yorkist narrative above alluded to, and commonly termed "Fleetwood's Chronicle," simply states that "Edward, called Prince, was taken fleeing to the townwards, and slain in the field,"[2] and "there was also slain Thos. the Earl of Devon, with many others." Warkworth, the Lancastrian authority, says, "and there was slain in the field Prince Edward, which cried for succour to his brother-in-law the Duke of Clarence."[3]

This latter testimony adds great weight to the assertion of the Yorkist chronicler, because not only do both use precisely the same expression, "slain in the field," but the latter writer, when adding the sentence "crying for help to Clarence," couples with the name of the Lancastrian prince, as does the other writer also, that of Courtney Earl of Devon," who is well known to have been, in its most literal sense, "slain in the battle-field."[4]

[1] See Rapin's Hist. of England, p. 615.; also Carte, Henry, Sharon Turner, and others; all of whom have doubted or impugned the veracity of the Lancastrian tales.

[2] Fleetwood's Chron., p. 30. [3] Warkworth's Chron., p. 18.

[4] Leland's Collect., p. 506.

But the circumstance that speaks most forcibly for the truth of the above statements is, that though emanating from the pen of men who were violently opposed to each other, from the respective parties which they espoused, yet is their account nevertheless substantially supported by the chronicler of Croyland; a man of education, high in the church, learned in the law, and, without any exception, the most impartial and able authority of the times. He says, "At last King Edward gained a signal victory, there being slain on the part of the queen, as well in the field as afterwards, by the revengeful hands of certain persons, the Prince Edward, the only son of King Henry, the defeated Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Devon, and other lords universally well remembered."[1] Here he corroborates, as much as could be expected from authors who did not mutually compare their writings, the statements contained in the diaries above quoted, viz. that Prince Edward and the Earl of Devon were slain in the field; and there can be little doubt, from certain well-attested facts afterwards occurring, that the somewhat ambiguously worded sentence which followed had reference to the revengeful execution of Somerset and others, whom King Edward by perjury withdrew from a sanctuary and most unworthily caused to be publicly beheaded a few days after the battle.[2]

In addition to the above positive exculpation, perhaps the next most valuable evidence in defence of Gloucester is that of a wholly negative charac-

[1] Chron. Croy., p. 555.

[2] Warkworth, p. 18.

ter; namely, the striking fact, that Sir Thomas More and Lord Bacon[1], both violently opposed to Richard III., although recounting with bitterness his alleged vices and reputed crimes, make no mention whatever of the death of Edward Prince of Wales, or even hint at any report having implicated the Duke of Gloucester in an event that there can be little doubt resulted from the fearful carnage of the battle, and not from the vindictive and unmanly indulgence of vengeance exercised on a powerless captive.

But, admitting the truth of the long-received tradition, that Edward of Lancaster was taken a prisoner; nay, even more, that he was brought into the king's tent, and therefore, if massacred, may still be said, by a flower of speech, to have been "slain in the field;" there yet remains not a shadow of proof for fixing so foul an act on the young Richard of Gloucester.

Fabyan, the earliest authority for the young prince being assassinated, makes no mention of the perpetrator of the crime being Richard of Gloucester. His version of the tale is, that the king "there strake him with his gauntlet upon the face, after which stroke by him received, he was by the king's servants incontinently slain."[2] Neither of the royal dukes is named by him even as present at the time, although the monarch would of course be surrounded by his military retinue. If the vanquished and unhappy prince boldly defied and

[1] See More's Rycharde III., p. 9.; and Bacon's Hen. VII., p. 2.
[2] Fabyan, p. 662.

proudly rebuked the king, Edward the Fourth's well known impetuosity of temper and vindictive conduct to his enemies would most probably induce the stroke in the fury of the moment, and the king's servants would as promptly obey the signal it implied for despatching so formidable a rival; but there is no pretence for making either of the royal dukes the agent of so murderous a deed, and least of all Richard Duke of Gloucester. The chivalric education of the times, although it did not inculcate the sparing the life of an opponent, most undoubtedly made it a blot on a knightly escutcheon to despatch a fallen and unarmed foe; and up to this period Richard's conduct had been singularly consistent and noble; nor was it likely that he would tarnish the renown he had so recently sought and won, by slaying in cold blood a prostrate and defenceless enemy.

Other and valuable modern testimony might be adduced to demonstrate the groundless nature of the charge which has been so long associated with Gloucester's memory; but reference to his own times, to the precise period when the calumnies arose, and to the cause that led to an accusation so wholly unsupported by contemporaneous accounts, whether Yorkist or Lancastrian, is of itself the best and most substantial proof that the odium incurred by King Richard III. towards the close of his life, or rather the prejudices that prevailed against him after death, inclined the chroniclers of the succeeding age to associate his name indiscriminately with every unworthy act which was committed during his lifetime, rather than from having

solid authority for such charges, or testimony to support them based on any valid source.

"There is little in reason," observes the late lamented Mr. Courtney, who, in his "Commentaries on Shakspeare's Historical Plays," has bestowed infinite labour and research in seeking the earliest original authorities, "for believing any part of the story."..."It is quite clear," he adds, "that there is nothing like evidence either of Prince Edward's smart reply to the king, or of his assassination by anybody; and there is not even the report *of one who lived near to the time*, of the participation of either of the king's brothers in the assassination, *if it* occurred." Truly, if the commentator of our great dramatic bard could afford to make this admission of the corrupt source whence the poet drew the material for one of his most admirable and striking scenes, and found sufficient cause to hazard an opinion so decided, arising from a conviction of its truth, the historian, professing to discard romance, and to be guided alone by plain, simple, and well-authenticated facts, may well be content to divest his mind of long-received impressions, if they rest on no firmer basis than the legendary tales that reduce the important records of our country to the same level with the fables of early days and the traditions of later but even more dark and uncivilised times. How far King Edward himself was concerned in the massacre of the Lancastrian prince, it is not essential to this memoir to inquire[1]; but his revengeful conduct to

[1] Amongst the most prevalent rumours connected with this mysterious and tragical event, is one, on the authority of Hall (p. 301.),

his foes is unhappily made but too apparent in the occurrence which followed up his victory, and which not only darkened his own military fame, but casts a shade over that of his young brother, whom the king appointed his viceroy to carry into effect his faithless and cruel condemnation of those brave knights who had trusted to his royal pledge of safety and forgiveness.[1]

Such of the defeated Lancastrians as were enabled to effect their escape, sought refuge in a religious asylum at Tewkesbury, whither King Edward proceeded, sword in hand, to complete the fearful carnage of the day; but his progress was stayed by the Abbot, at whose solemn intercession he was induced to respect the holy privilege of a sanctuary[2], and to conclude his victory by promising that the lives should be spared of all such as were

stating that Prince Edward was taken on the field by Sir Richard Croft, and delivered a prisoner to the king, in consequence of a proclamation offering a reward of 100*l.* per annum to whosoever should yield up the prince, dead or alive, accompanied by an assurance that his life should be spared.

Habington, who relates the same tale, adds (p. 96.), that upon the assassination of the royal captive, "the good knight repented what he had done, and openly professed his service abused and his faith deluded."

This Sir Richard Croft was the same individual respecting whom King Edward wrote in his boyhood, complaining to his father of his "odious rule and governance." Certain it is, that the knight devoted himself to the interests of the house of York so long as they held the sceptre, and that his services were estimated and rewarded by the monarchs of that race; for after the accession of Edward IV. he was appointed general receiver of the earldom of March; and upon the elevation of King Richard to the throne, he granted "to Richard Croft, Knight, an annuity of 20*l.* of the lordships and manors of the earldom of March, within the county of Hereford." —*Retrospective Review*, second series, vol. i. p. 472.; *Harl. MSS.* 433., p. 665.

[1] Fleetwood's Chron., p. 31. [2] Habington, p. 95.

sheltered within the Abbey: but, speedily repenting him of his lenity, he delegated the Duke of Gloucester as high constable, in conjunction with the Duke of Norfolk as lord marshal of England, a military tribunal[1]; and commanding, as was ever his wont, that the soldiery should be spared, he enjoined the execution of their leaders[2], the Lord Somerset, the Prior of St. John's, and fourteen other of the noble partizans and chief supporters of the ex-queen and her princely son; who were consequently beheaded in the market-place of Tewkesbury on the Monday following the battle. Tranquillity, however, was not yet ensured to King Edward or the line of York. Leaving as competent judges two of the highest officers of the realm in the persons of the Lords of Gloucester and Norfolk, to decide the doom of his victims at Tewkesbury, the monarch proceeded with speed to Coventry, in order to quell the farther progress of the insurgents in the north. There, Margaret of Anjou was delivered into his hands a prisoner, having been captured in a church adjoining Tewkesbury, with the ladies of her suite, shortly after the engagement[3]; but before she could be conveyed by Edward's command a captive to the Tower, such intelligence reached the victorious monarch as compelled him in all haste to proceed in person to the metropolis[4], whither the bereaved queen was conveyed in triumph as part of his train — alike the

[1] Fleetwood's Chron., p. 31. [2] Warkworth's Chron., p. 65.
[3] Tewks. Chron., Harl. MS. 545. p. 102.
[4] Habington, p. 94.

sport of fortune and the victim of the disastrous period in which she lived.

During the brief restoration of Henry VI., and upon the attainder of Richard Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Warwick had nominated as vice admiral of the English Channel, his near kinsman, Thomas Neville, the illegitimate son of his uncle, Lord Falconberg, and consequently known in history as "the bastard of Falconbridge." [1]

The turbulent spirit of the "king maker," unaccompanied, however, with his nobleness of character, was inherited by this corrupt scion of the house of Neville; and feeling that his distinguished command was forfeited by the decisive battle of Barnet, and the restoration of the line of York, Falconbridge forthwith turned freebooter and pirate [2], and directed his attention to change the face of affairs by boldly attempting to surprise London, and release Henry VI. from captivity [3], whilst Edward IV. was opposing his heroic queen and quelling the Lancastrian insurrection in the western and northern districts of the kingdom. The battle of Tewkesbury took place on the 4th of May, 1471, on the 11th of which month the ex-queen was delivered by Sir William Stanley a prisoner to the king at Coventry.[4] On the 12th instant, Falconbridge attacked London [5]; and on the 16th, the king, changing his purposed course to the north, quitted Coventry [6] without delay, and summoning to his aid Richard of Gloucester, and car-

[1] Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 75. [2] Hab. Ed. IV., p. 101.
[3] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, vol. iv. p. 329.
[4] Fleetwood, p. 32. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid.

rying with him the desolate and childless Margaret, the two brothers on the 21st instant entered the metropolis in triumph.[1] So rapid were the movements, so momentous the events, that were crowded into the brief space of seventeen days!

After consigning their illustrious captive to the Tower, there to be immured a prisoner, under the same walls which had so long held in thraldom her hapless consort, the royal Edward and his young brother, resting but one day in the metropolis, left it again on the 23rd for Canterbury; the rebel and his lawless adherents having retired to Sandwich on hearing of the king's approach to oppose them.

Finding he had no chance of success in his wild and desperate project, Falconbridge made overtures for submission; offering to surrender up his vessels and his forces, if pardon were extended towards him. The Duke of Gloucester, ever firm to his allegiance, and ever at the king's right hand ready to aid him by his courage or his counsels, saw the policy of converting into an ally so formidable and powerful a foe[2]—one who had at his command forty-seven ships, and was at the head of 17,000 men. "Wherefore," says the chronicler, "the king sent thither his brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, to receive them in his name, and all the ships[3]; as he so did the 26th day of the same month (May 1471), the king that time being at Canterbury." This embassy brings to notice another of those unsupported charges which have been directed against and weigh so heavily upon the reputation of Richard, heaping on his devoted

[1] Fleetwood, p. 32. [2] Ibid. p. 33. [3] Ibid. p. 39.

head every unworthy deed and suspected treachery of the king his brother.

Falconbridge was pardoned, and permitted even to depart for the feudatory demesnes of the house of Neville in the north; but in the Michaelmas following it appears that he was put to death, and "his head set on London Bridge looking into Kentward."

This act has been fixed as a stigma on the Duke of Gloucester, because, in the month of May, by command of the king, he bore to the rebels his sovereign's forgiveness; and in the September following, no doubt for some fresh delinquency, enforced the subsequent order for his execution in the north. No consideration has been bestowed on the length of time which elapsed between the two decrees; neither has another point ever been noticed, namely, the utter absence of all power possessed by the prince to nullify any after and requisite severity of the reigning monarch, or to cancel the mandate which was decided upon by the king and his council. If perjury was exercised towards Falconbridge, it rests with King Edward, and not with an agent so powerless as regards actual authority as was his young brother.

Some light is thrown on this matter by the Paston Correspondence, in which passages occur clearly implying that King Edward was the aggrieved party, and not his rebellious and unworthy kinsman[2], whose pardon was followed up

[1] Paston Letters, vol. ii, p. 82.

[2] Falconbridge was first cousin to King Edward, and own nephew (although ignobly born) to the Lady Cecily, being the natural son of her second brother.

by such special marks of favour, as thoroughly to controvert the long-received tradition of perfidious cruelty, imputed chiefly, and most unwarrantably, to Richard Duke of Gloucester. "Falconbridge," says Sir John Fenn[1], "after he had submitted, was not only pardoned, but knighted, and again appointed vice-admiral. This happened in May, 1471, but was of short continuance; for between the 13th and 29th of September following he was beheaded, though whether for a fresh crime or not, is uncertain." Here is evidence — derived from a contemporary source — which is utterly at variance with the hearsay reports of later times: and when the conduct of Falconbridge is considered, — that he was "a man of loose character," the leader of "mischievous persons,"[2] and that consideration is bestowed likewise on the desperate spirit that marked every branch of the proud, unbending, and restless Nevilles, — little doubt can remain of some fresh crime having been committed, some rebellious feeling manifested, by the same delinquent who was pardoned in the spring of the year in Kent, but afterwards beheaded in the autumn of the same year in Yorkshire.[3] The distant period, indeed, of his execution itself removes all just charge of participation in the act from the Duke of Gloucester, who by the records of the time is only named in the first instance as the bearer of a general amnesty from his sovereign to the rebels, because, as stated by Habington, "his wisdom and valour had wrought him high in the opinion of the king."

[1] Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 75. [2] Ibid.
[3] Wark. Chron., p. 20.

Can it be reasonably doubted, then, that the same qualifications induced Edward to despatch Gloucester to the north, if any fresh rise was threatened, or new conspiracy discovered, in one to whom so much lenity had been shown, but who was now to receive condemnation at his hands through the medium of the same agent, the high constable of England, if abuse of that pardon so recently bestowed had now rendered him unworthy of further consideration?

During the interval, however, which elapsed between the battle of Tewkesbury and the quelling of the insurrection of Falconbridge at Sandwich, an event occurred of far darker import—that, indeed, which, with one exception, has contributed more than all others to sully the reputation of the Duke of Gloucester, and which has handed down his name with horror and detestation to posterity: this event is the mysterious death of the unhappy and care-worn Henry VI.

The decease of this monarch, like that of many of his royal predecessors, and indeed of almost every public character of those direful times, was alleged to have been accelerated by violence. The poisoned bowl, the secret assassin, or the more cool and calculating murderer, are each by turns brought forward to account for the death of every remarkable person that flourished in this or the preceding century. Necromancy and magic were fitting accompaniments to these dark times; and superstition cast a veil over the whole by spreading reports and inducing belief in tales unworthy the notice of history, as incompatible both with the laws of nature and of reason.

On how much or how little truth the reports of these violent deaths generally are founded, it is at this distant period utterly impossible to ascertain; but the lawless spirit of the age, it must be acknowledged, admits of little doubt as regards the greater proportion of them, and perhaps of none more so than that at present under consideration.

On the morning after King Edward the Fourth's triumphant entry into the metropolis, Henry VI., his meek and suffering rival, was found lifeless in the Tower; and towards the close of the same day —that which preceded the departure of the victorious monarch into Kent—the corpse of Henry of Lancaster "upon a bier, and about the bier more glaives and staves than torches,"[1] was brought from the Tower to St. Paul's, and there publicly exposed to view preparatory to being conveyed to Chertsey for interment.

There were too many political motives for the expediency of the royal captive's death, not to favour the suspicion that it was hastened by violence; and a very cursory view of the leading crimes and miseries of those fearful times will show that political expediency was in fact the foundation of almost all the dark and daring deeds that sullied that degenerate era. Every malevolent and ireful feeling was doubtless re-kindled in Edward's heart, by the attempt of Falconbridge[2] to release the Lan-

[1] Cott. MSS., Vitell. A. xvi. fol. 133.

[2] "So that, right in a short time the said bastard and his fellowship had assembled to the number of xvj or xvij M men, as they accounted themselves. Which came afore London the xij day of May, in the quarrel of King Henry, whom they said they would have out

castrian monarch; and also by his setting[1] fire to the metropolis. To the ill-timed insurrection, then, of this daring character, there is strong reason to conclude may, at least in a great degree, be ascribed the sudden and premature death of Henry VI. Warwick, the king-maker, was slain, and Margaret of Anjou was a prisoner and childless; the young Prince of Wales was numbered with the dead, and the ex-king himself was not only in close confinement, but alike incapable of active measures, whether in mind or body. Yet Falconbridge had proved, within eight days of the battle of Barnet, and almost before Warwick's unquiet spirit rested in the silent tomb, that the daring temperament of this mighty chief yet lived in his kinsman, and that King Henry's name alone was sufficient to render Edward's throne unstable.[2]

The vindictive feeling which influenced this sovereign's military conduct to those opponents who thwarted his views or opposed his ambition, when coupled with such palpable cause for indignation[3], affords the strongest ground for believing that the

of the Tower of London, as they pretended."—*Fleetwood's Chron.*, p. 334.

1 In "three places were fires burning all at once."—*Ibid.* p. 37.

2 "The commons entering thus upon every slight invitation into rebellion, when the preservation of King Henry was but mentioned, made the king begin to consider how dangerous his life was to the state, and that his death would disarm even the hope of his faction for ever reflecting more upon the wars."—*Habington*, p. 103.

3 "Wherefore the bastard loosed his guns into the city, and burnt at Aldgate and at London Bridge; for the which burning the commons of London were sore wroth and greatly moved against them; for and they had not burnt, the commons of the city would have let them in, maugre of the Lord Scale's head, the mayor and all his brethren."—*Warkworth's Chron.*, p. 19.

death of his unhappy rival was a matter previously determined upon by the Yorkist monarch, even if, as was alleged, nature, worn out and exhausted, had really anticipated the decree by a tranquil and natural dissolution.[1]

But the fate of the hapless Henry—whatever it may have been—and the character and policy of the ruthless Edward, are not subjects for discussion in these pages; it is the part which is said to have been acted by Richard Duke of Gloucester to which attention is to be directed, he having been unsparingly vilified as the actual murderer of the inoffensive monarch, without any one single document being extant to warrant the imputation, or even to afford reasonable ground of belief for so hateful, indeed so altogether unnecessary, a crime.

It is not, as was before observed, by reference to later chroniclers, or from the positive assertions of after ages, that this important question should be tried; because in this case, as in the reputed massacre by Gloucester of Edward Prince of Wales, the implication, commencing at first with the ambiguous terms "it is said," or "as the fame ranne," and ending at last in decided and positive assertion of the fact, can be gradually and clearly traced. Much as these inaccuracies in our national annals are to be deplored, yet it is an evil well known and acknowledged; and so imperfect and contradictory are the statements, as relates to this period of history, by such as are termed the "Tudor historians," that on many matters of vast import scarcely two agree, from the mania that prevailed of inserting

[1] Fleet. Chron., p. 38.

mere hearsay evidence, and thus adding without competent authority to the original manuscripts from which they professed to copy.

It is from annalists who were living at the period when the event occurred that the truth can alone be elicited, and these resolve themselves into three: viz. the two small fragments already quoted, under the title of Fleetwood's and Warkworth's Narrative, and the able ecclesiastical historian, the Chronicler of Croyland. These three writers penned the events which they record before the persecuted Henry for his piety and moral virtues was looked upon by the multitude as a martyr and sought to be canonized as a saint, and also before Richard III. for the indulgence of political spleen was held up to unqualified execration, alike to gratify the reigning sovereign as to extenuate his seizure of the crown. The statements of these three coeval writers are as follows: — The Yorkist narrative, after detailing the imprisonment of Queen Margaret, the death of the young prince, and the total discomfiture of the Lancastrians, thus describes the death of the unhappy monarch: — "The certainty of all which came to the knowledge of the said Henry, late called king, being in the Tower of London: not having afore that knowledge of the said matters, he took it to so great despite, ire, and indignation, that of pure melancholy he died, the 23d day of the month of May." [1]

Now nothing could be more probable than such a result, considering the revulsion of fortune which had agitated the infirm and feeble monarch [2] during

[1] Fleet. Chron., p. 38. [2] See Appendix Y.

the recent six months; the more so when it is also remembered that throughout the vicissitudes of his troubled life, affection to his wife and love for his child were leading features in his amiable character, and amongst the earliest indications which he gave on a former occasion of returning reason after months of hopeless and distressing imbecility.

But, plausible as is the account just narrated of his decease, the circumstance of his being discovered dead on the only day that King Edward was in London[1], united to the fact of that monarch having so recently placed Henry in a position of such peril at Barnet that his preservation seemed little less than miraculous[2], and of his having written to the Duke of Clarence (even when uncertain of the result of that engagement) "to keep King Henry out of sanctuary,"[3] affords, to say the least, more than ordinary ground of suspicion that the death of the captive sovereign was hastened by unfair and violent means. It also induces strong presumptive proof that the Lancastrian account, thus related by Warkworth, approaches nearest to the truth:—"And the same night," says that writer, "that King Edward came to London, King Henry, being inward in prison in the Tower of London, was put to death, the 21st day of May, on a Tuesday night betwixt 11 and 12 of the clock."[4]

The extraordinary minuteness with which the murder is here described renders this opposite

[1] "The king, incontinent after his coming to London, tarried but one day, and went with his whole army after his said traitors into Kent." — *Fleet. Chronicle*, p. 38.

[2] Warkworth, p. 17.

[3] Leland, Collect., vol. ii. p. 108.

[4] Warkworth, p. 21.

account almost as suspicious as did the entire suppression by the Yorkist chronicler of the popular reports connected with the suspected murder, unless indeed Dr. Habington's clear and explicit statement in his Life of King Edward IV. is received as the true version of this mysterious event, in which case the discrepancies of the opposing chroniclers may be completely reconciled. "It was therefore resolved in King Edward's cabinet council, that to take away all title from future insurrections, King Henry should be sacrificed."[1] This resolution, incredible as it appears, would hardly have been asserted by the biographer of the Yorkist monarch, unless he had positive proof of an accusation so prejudicial to the character of Edward IV.

But, however well authenticated the fact, such an avowal would have been very unsafe in an acknowledged follower of the house of York[2] during the life of King Edward, although it was imperative on him and the contemporary writers to furnish some cause for the sudden death of Henry VI. Hence the specious account given in Fleetwood's Chronicle of this appalling act; hence the veil scrupulously drawn over the harrowing facts which Warkworth, uninfluenced by fear of the populace, and unrestrained by the patronage of the king, so minutely details: for it can scarcely be imagined, excepting it had been a decree of the

[1] Habington, p. 103.

[2] The author of Fleetwood's Chronicle says of himself, that he was a servant of Edward IV., and that he "presently saw in effect a great part of his exploytes, and the residewe knew by true relation of them that were present at every tyme."—Page 1.

state, that any individual but the actual assassin could be in possession of such accurate information as that above given by the Lancastrian chronicler; nor does it seem natural that, if in possession of the entire truth, he should in a mere private diary have disclosed so much, and yet have withheld the name of the murderer, unless, indeed, he knew it to have been commanded by the king himself.[1] Here the additional evidence of the third contemporary, the Prior of Croyland, becomes most important; for his description not only confirms the fact of Henry's death having been accelerated by violence, but his guarded expression gives but too much ground for believing that he considered it was the act of King Edward. "During this interval of time," he says, "the body of King Henry was found lifeless in the Tower: may God pardon and give time for repentance to that man, whoever he was, that dared to lay his sacrilegious hands upon the Lord's anointed! The *doer* may obtain the name of a tyrant; the *sufferer*, of a glorious martyr."[2]

Surely the very circumstance of the prominent actors being brought into such juxta-position would show that the learned ecclesiastic alluded to the

[1] From such a source there might have arisen danger in an alleged imputation; but as regards the Duke of Gloucester, he was far too powerless at this time for such a matter to have been concealed, if he perpetrated it so publicly and undisguisedly as to be known in all its particulars to the principal of a college at Cambridge; for the learned doctor, the author of the above-quoted Chronicle, was no courtier, no statesman, but the quiet, unpretending, but studious master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, from 1473 to 1478.—See Introduction to his Diary, by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., p. xxi.

[2] Chron. Croyl., p. 557.

rival monarchs themselves, designating one as the "tyrant," the other as the "glorious martyr."

But this able writer, though evidently favouring the belief of foul treatment to the helpless captive, gives no opening whatever for imputing the murder to Richard Duke of Gloucester; neither can any such accusation be gathered from the other two chroniclers, or from Habington's admission of the horrible fact. This latter historian, indeed, although generally inimical to Gloucester, bestows great pains in showing the utter improbability of his being in any way connected with the transaction. "For however some, either to clear the memory of the king, or by after cruelties, guessing at precedents, will have this murder to be the sole act of the Duke of Gloucester, I cannot believe a man so cunning in declining envy, and winning honour to his name, would have taken such a business of his own counsel and executed it with his own hands; neither did this concern Gloucester so particularly as to engage him alone in the cruelty, nor was the king so scrupulous, having commanded more unnecessary slaughters, and from his youth been never any stranger to such executions."[1]

Strong language this for the biographer of Edward IV., the more so as it was penned long after Richard's political enemies had distinctly charged him with the crime, and that Shakspeare[2] had made his perpetration of the murder the subject of two of the most powerful scenes in his tragedies

[1] Habington, p. 103.
[2] See Courtenay's Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 72.

of Henry VI. and Richard III.[1] A passage in Warkworth[2], which, if rightly interpreted, is altogether unconnected with King Henry's death, will probably explain the origin of this crime having been laid to the charge of the Duke of Gloucester. After describing the murder in the words recently quoted, he adds, "being then at the Tower, the Duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward, and many other."[3] But why was Richard there? and who were the "many other" then at the Tower? No less illustrious personages than the whole of the royal family, the court, and the council[4] who are said to have decreed King Henry's murder! Fleetwood's Chronicle — written, be it

[1] See Third Part of Henry VI., act v. scene 6.; and Richard III., act i. scene 2.

[2] Leland in his Collectanea, published at the commencement of the 16th century, quoted extensively from Warkworth's Chronilce. He narrated the circumstances of Henry's death as detailed in that manuscript, and inserted the passage here alluded to. — See *Lel. Collect.*, vol. ii. p. 507. Now Leland was contemporary with Polydore Virgil, Sir Thomas More, Hall, and other writers unfriendly to Richard's memory; and his works were published at the precise period that report began to implicate Richard of Gloucester as the murderer of Henry VI. The circumstance, therefore, of this prince being named in a coeval manuscript as at the Tower, where the monarch was discovered lifeless, afforded a fair ground for his enemies to assert as a fact that which had hitherto been reported without a shadow of proof.

[3] "And the same night that King Edward came to London, King Henry, being inward in prison in the Tower of London, was put to death, the 21st day of May, on a Tuesday night, betwixt eleven and twelve of the clock, being then at the Tower the Duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward, and many other; and on the morrow he was chested and brought to Paul's, and his face open that every man might see him." — *Wark. Chron.*, p. 21.

[4] "The Lord Scales," more properly designated in Fleetwood's Chronicle as the Lord Rivers, from his having succeeded to his father's title before this insurrection, "and divers other of King Edward's council that were in London." — *Warkworth*, p. 20.

remembered, upon the spot, immediately after the events to which it relates, by some person possessed of full means of knowledge[1]—affords this important information:—"Over came from London," he states, when narrating the particulars of Falconbridge's insurrection, "fresh tidings to the king from the lords and the citizens, which with great instance moved the king in all possible haste to approach and come to the city to the defence of the queen, then being in the Tower of London, my lord prince and my ladies his daughters, and of the lords, and of the city, which, as they all wrote, was likely to stand in the greatest jeopardy that ever they stood."[2]

If King Edward, as is known to be the case, rested in London but one clear day[3]; if his royal consort, his infant progeny, and trusty friends were so perilously situated that he was summoned instantly to their aid, and felt it necessary to

[1] Bruce's Introd., p. 5. [2] Fleet. Chron., p. 34.

[3] There is a slight discrepancy as to date in the Yorkist and Lancastrian chroniclers; Fleetwood fixing the date of King Henry's death on the 23d May, Warkworth on the 22d. But as both these writers agree that Edward remained in London but one clear day, the which was the festival of the Ascension, and that the unhappy monarch was found lifeless at the dawn and exhibited as dead to the populace at St. Paul's towards the close of the same holy festival, the inaccuracy can only be ascribed to the carelessness, as regards dates, which characterised those early chroniclers; for Fabyan, who is very accurate respecting matters which occurred in London, corroborates the assertion of Warkworth, that the corpse of Henry VI. was exhibited to public view at St. Paul's on Ascension eve. The Croyland continuator gives no distinct date; but the commencement of his mysterious and ambiguous account—"I *forbear* to say that at this time the body of King Henry the VI. was found lifeless in the Tower,"—strengthens considerably the inference that his forbearance had reference to Edward IV.

despatch "a chosen fellowship out of his host afore his coming, to the number of xv^c^. men, well besene for the comfort of the queen," can it be doubted that the Tower of London, in which she was abiding, would be the place to which King Edward would naturally direct his own footsteps; and that, limited to a few hours, wherein to recruit his strength, to dispense rewards to his faithful citizens[1], and to arrange his movements prior to marching into Kent the following day, the national fortress, where the queen and the court were assembled, would be the abiding place of Edward IV., although it might have been hazardous to couple his name more closely with so suspicious and revolting a transaction as the murder of Henry VI? The Tower of London was not, at this period, merely a state prison; it was the metropolitan palace[2], the ordinary residence of our monarchs at periods of insurrection and danger[3]: and King Edward IV. is most particularly instanced as holding his court here with truly regal splendour, and as choosing it for the

[1] "On the morrow that the king was come to London, for the good service that London had done him, he made knights of the aldermen Sir John Stokston, Sir Rauf Verney, Sir Richard Lee, Sir John Young, Sir Wm. Tayliow, Sir Geo. Ireland, Sir John Stoker, Sir Matthew Philip, Sir Wm. Hampton, Sir Thos. Stalbroke, Sir John Crosby, Sir Thomas Urswicke, recorder of London."—*Warkworth*, p. 21.

[2] "The buildings of the palace were then in a perfect state, and frequently inhabited by the royal family."—*Bayley's Hist. Tower*, Part I. p. 262.

[3] "During the insurrection of Wat Tyler, King Richard II. took refuge here with all his court, and the principal nobility and gentry, to the amount of 600 persons."—*Brayley's Londoniana*, vol. i. p. 94.

abode of his royal consort, during the memorable events that led to their painful separation.[1]

The Duke of Gloucester appears at this period to have had no distinct residence in the metropolis, but to have been altogether domesticated with King Edward and his court, both prior to his exile, and up to that monarch's restoration to the throne.[2] Consequently there was nothing remarkable in the young prince being associated with the rest of the royal family at the Tower during the solitary day in which he halted in town, prior to marching into Kent on the "morrow,"[3] to aid his royal brother in quelling the revolt that had so suddenly called them from the west. Nay, the very safeguard of the queen and her infants, the security of the king and his council, would point it out as the place, under any circumstances, which would naturally have been appropriated to Gloucester and a chosen band of faithful followers, apart from every political plot or scheme secretly devised by Edward IV.

There is also another and an important circumstance which ought not to be overlooked. Richard of Gloucester had no command within the Tower, no power over its inmates: so far from it, the governorship was held at that period by the Lord Rivers[4]; and owing to the jealousy which existed

[1] "Edward IV. frequently kept his court in the Tower with great magnificence; and in 1470, during the temporary subversion of his power, it formed the chief residence of his queen." — *Bray. Lond.*, vol. i. p. 94.

[2] See various brief but conclusive notices in Hearne's Fragment, the Paston Correspondence, and other contemporary sources.

[3] Wark. Chron., p. 21.

[4] "The Earl Rivers, that was with the queen in the Tower of London." — *Fleetwood's Chron.*, p. 37.

between the queen's connections and the king's family, the Duke of Gloucester had perhaps even less means of access to the royal prisoner than the "many other," whoever they might be, who are named by Warkworth as "being then at the Tower" in conjunction with himself; setting aside the publicity that must have been given to any forcible or violent intruders upon the imprisoned monarch, by reason of his being personally attended by two esquires[1], Robert Ratcliffe and William Sayer, there placed with eleven other attendants equally to guard so important a captive, as ostensibly to pay him the respect which was due to his former regal state.

King Edward, indeed, was deeply interested in the death of Henry VI., for the Lancastrian monarch alone stood between him and undisputed possession of the sceptre of England.[2] Not so his young brother of Gloucester: the one had almost regained the object of his ambition; the other had only just entered upon his public career. In addition to this, since King Edward's expulsion from the throne, Richard was altogether removed from succession to the

[1] Fœdera, pp. 212, 213.

[2] "But that the world might not suspect King Henry lived still, and thereupon lean to new designs, he was no sooner dead, but with show of funeral rites, his body was brought into St. Paul's church, where, upon Ascension day, his face uncovered, he was exposed to the curiosity of every eye. For the king was resolved rather to endure the scandal of his murder, than to hazard the question of his life, which continually gave life to new seditions." — *Habington's Edward IV.*, p. 104.

The above recital, in all its minuteness, is confirmed by the three contemporary chroniclers; and Fleetwood strengthens the surmise of the king's co-operation in the murder by expressly stating that his funeral obsequies were solemnized under the direction and by the express command of Edward IV. — *Fleetwood*, p. 38.

crown, a direct male heir to the house of which he was the youngest member having been born to King Edward during his brief exile in Burgundy.

Thus the ambitious views which made later writers ascribe the murder to Gloucester, arising from the prejudice which attached to him in consequence of subsequent events, indicate most clearly that this prince was judged of in this matter rather by the odium that attached to Richard III. in his character as a king, than from any reports contemporary with his career as Duke of Gloucester.

In short, the accusations against this prince do not rest upon any imputation of the unhallowed deed propagated at the time by contemporary writers, or upon any substantial basis on which to fix the accusation, beyond this simple fact, that he, in common with "many other" were then at the Tower: but this fact, as justly observed by Mr. Courtenay, "affords no proof of the murder."[1]

Rous, the earliest historian that propagates the rumour of the crime being attributed to the Duke of Gloucester, writes evidently in entire ignorance of the circumstance. "He killed by others," he states, "or, as many believe, with his own hand, that most sacred man King Henry VI."[2] But it should be remembered that Rous wrote his work for a Lancastrian prince, the very monarch who vanquished Richard III., and who sought to canonize the king whom Gloucester's enemies had accused him of murdering. Fabyan speaks less vaguely of the popular report: but let it not be forgotten that

[1] Courtenay's Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 54.
[2] Hist. Reg. Ang., p. 215.

his chronicle was not published until upwards of thirty years after the events in question, and most probably was not even compiled until prejudice had long held the ascendant, so far as relates to the circumstance under consideration. Yet even Fabyan, who was termed the "city chronicler," from his intimate acquaintance with matters occurring in London, where he lived and held office under Henry VII.,—even he, the father of the Tudor chroniclers, goes no farther than to say, "that of the death of the prince (Henry VI.) divers tales were told, but the most common fame went that he was stikked with a dagger by the hands of Richard of Gloucester."[1] "Common fame," as even the most unreflecting must admit, is no evidence of guilt: yet a bad name, once acquired, is an apology for every imputation; and there can be no doubt but that Richard's alleged agency in this odious transaction was laid to his charge, both by Fabyan and later writers, more in consequence of the impression which they had received of him after death had closed his brief career, than from any authenticated deed that could tarnish the honour or detract from the nobleness of the youthful career of Richard Duke of Gloucester.

Polydore Virgil, who is the next historian in chronological order to Fabyan, only certifies, when repeating the tale, that "the common report" implicated the Duke of Gloucester. Philip de Comines adds but little to confirm this in prefacing the same report by the words, "if what was told me be true:" and the MS. London Chronicle,

[1] Fabyan, p. 662.

preserved in the Cotton MSS., expressly adds, that "how he was dead, nobody knew."[1]

In all these quotations no one single allegation is brought home to the young prince beyond that of mere suspicion; and even this, unsatisfactory as it is, implies merely that suspicion rested on him, rather from his known fidelity to his brother and attachment to his cause, than from any alleged malignity of purpose either covertly or openly pursued by Richard towards the rival of the line of York.[2] The probable truth seems to have been given by Habington in his before-mentioned history of King Edward (from whence an extract has recently been given), who sums up his narrative by saying that "the death of King Henry was acted in the dark, so that it cannot be affirmed who was the executioner; only it is probable it was a resolution of the state[3]; the care of the king's safety and the public quiet in some sort making it, however cruel, yet necessary." This view is farther confirmed by two very early MSS.[4] quoted by the editor of Warkworth's Chronicle[5]; and is also adopted, to a certain degree at least, by all historians whose works are based, not on hear-

[1] Cotton. MSS., Vitell A. xvi. fol. 133.

[2] "Poor King Henry VI.," observes Holinshed (who copied Hall, the follower of Polydore Virgil, and was the authority selected by Shakspeare for his historical plays), "a little before deprived (as we have heard) of his realm and imperial crown, was now in the Tower, despoiled of his life by Richard Duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame ran) who to the intent that his brother Edward might reign in more surety, murdered the King Henry with a dagger."—*Holing. Chron.*, p. 324.

[3] Life of Edw. IV., p. 104.

[4] Sloane MSS., 3479. fol. 6.; Arundel MSS., 325. fol. 28.

[5] See Introduction, note to p. xvii.

say or traditional evidence, but upon a full and impartial examination of original documents. It is from reasonings such as these that the truth can alone be elicited. Difference of opinion has existed from the time when doubts were first hazarded by Sir George Buck to that in which they were so ingeniously followed up by Lord Orford[1]; and from the remote and turbulent period in which Richard III. flourished, many points of his history must still rest upon reasoning and conjecture alone. Not a few particulars, however, which in the time of Buck and Walpole were matters of mere speculation, have since been distinctly verified; and, in spite of the opposition of Kennet to Buck, and of that of Hume to Lord Orford, together with the host of adversaries who violently opposed the views of this last most strenuous defender of King

[1] In perusing Walpole's "Historic Doubts," it is indispensable to take into consideration the prejudice and preconceived opinions with which he had to combat. The conviction of this, as he himself says in the supplement to his work, was the cause of his bestowing the appellation "Historic Doubts" on his first Essay; hoping that some able writer would take up the subject, so as to prevent the reign of Richard III. from disgracing our annals, by an intrusion of childish improbabilities that place that reign on a level with the story of "Jack the Giant-killer." Buck was the first historian who wrote in defence of Richard; he was hence called a lover of paradoxes, and certainly he injured his cause by seeking to palliate the monarch's imputed crimes by parallel instances. But Sir George Buck agrees with Philip de Comines, and with the rolls of Parliament; and the research which has of late years been made into our ancient records, state papers, and parliamentary history, places Buck's history in a far more credible light than would have been allowed to it some years since, and fixes both him and Lord Orford as higher authority than those historians who wrote professedly to please the Tudor dynasty. — See *Walpole's Supplement* to his *Historic Doubts*, pp. 185. 194.; also his Reply to Hume, to Dr. Masters, and to the learned Dean Mills, published in Lord Orford's works, vol. ii. p. 215.

Richard, several very startling opinions, advanced both by Buck and Horace Walpole, have since been substantiated by examination of the public records[1] of those times; and from annalists whose manuscript diaries were wholly unknown to the above-mentioned writers, and have only very recently been published. These latter works, considering that the greater proportion were not designed for the public eye, and that they have remained in MS. until within the last few years, are far truer guides than those chroniclers[2] who made their elaborate narratives the vehicle of their own prejudices rather than the means of perpetuating the truth.

Let every contemporary writer be investigated, as also the source examined from whence later historians have drawn their conclusions, and it must be apparent that no proof, presumptive or circumstantial, can be adduced to fix the murder of Henry VI., or that of his young and gallant heir, on the Duke of Gloucester. The co-existent diaries, indeed, will all prove that George of Clarence was treacherous to his kindred, false to his colleagues, faithless in principle and in action. To him, however, individually, the crimes under discussion have never been imputed, scarcely indeed asso-

[1] See Appendix Z.

[2] Mr. Bruce, in his Introduction to Fleetwood's Chronicle (p. v.), after stating that the original MS. was adopted by Edward IV. as an accurate relation of his achievements, adds, "All the other narratives either emanated from partizans of the adverse faction, or were written after the subsequent triumph of the house of Lancaster; when it would not have been prudent, perhaps not safe, to publish any thing which tended to relieve the Yorkists from the weight of popular odium which attached to the real or supposed crimes of their leaders."

ciated with his name; and why? because his evil deeds were visited by an early and violent death, and by such death he obtained pity and compassion. Richard of Gloucester, on the contrary, faithful in conduct, firm in allegiance, consistent, upright, honourable, is selected as the victim to bear each and every crime that resulted from the unnatural dissensions, the unrestrained ambition, or the restless jealousy of his elder brothers: and, were it not that among the many brief and transient notices of this troubled period some few recently discovered documents act as beacons to illuminate the almost impenetrable obscurity in which their lives are involved, the last monarch of the Plantagenet race might have remained a monument equally of moral turpitude as of unnatural personal deformity. Fortunately, however, for this much-maligned prince, the honour of our national representatives is concerned in the refutation of both charges; for it can scarcely be supposed that the aristocracy of England, that her proud barons, and her lordly peers, could have conveyed the thanks of the houses of parliament to a perjured prince, a convicted regicide, an avowed murderer—one who, although a minor in age, had been singularly exposed to temptation owing to his youth and his perilous position, but who, in spite of the errors to be expected from the inexperience of a prince of eighteen, had sufficiently distinguished himself to merit honourable notice from the king, and also from the highest authorities of the state. For it appears that after Edward IV. was finally re-established on the throne, only eleven weeks

from his landing as an attainted fugitive, Richard Duke of Gloucester, in presence of "His most royal Majesty, having before him his lords spiritual and temporal," received the thanks of the House of Commons, through their speaker, William Allington[1], for his "knightly demeaning," and for his "constant faith," with divers other nobles and yeomen being with the king beyond the sea.[2]

The opinion entertained by his sovereign of his disinterested conduct will be most effectually portrayed in the words of the letters patent[3] yet extant that publicly recorded these his sentiments: "The king, especially considering the gratuitous, laudable, and honourable services in many wise rendered to him by his most dear brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, his propinquity in blood, his innate probity, and other deserts of man-

[1] Journal of the Lord of Granthan. See Archæologia for 1836.

[2] It is true that the Duke of Clarence was included in the thanks voted for the "knightly demeaning of the king's brethren;" but it must not be forgotten that Clarence, by his timely defalcation, was chiefly instrumental in securing the restoration of King Edward to the throne. In addition to which, the innate jealousy of disposition which formed so leading a feature in George of Clarence would have rendered it an impolitic measure for the conduct of Richard of Gloucester to have been publicly opposed to his own, in face of the nobles and commonalty of his own country, and also of a distinguished foreigner, purposely present by invitation to be invested with regal marks of gratitude and esteem. Clarence was thanked for his "knightly demeaning;" those present knew such thanks had reference to his conduct at Barnet and Tewkesbury; but the assembled peers, the Seigneur de la Greythuse, the king, the queen, nay, the realm at large, could well distinguish between the tardy allegiance rendered by the capricious Clarence, and the "constant faith," unselfish affection, and disinterested zeal shown by Richard of Gloucester, "with other nobles and yeomen being beyond sea" with the king.

[3] By patent 4th December, 11 Edw. IV., 1471.

ners and virtues, and willing therefore to provide him a competent reward and remuneration, to the end that he might the better maintain his rank, and the burthens incumbent thereupon, granted to him the forfeited estates of Sir Thomas Dymoke, Sir Thomas de la Laund, John Truthall, and John Davy, all of whom had been convicted of treason."[1] In further reward he was created lord high chamberlain of England for life, void upon the decease of the Earl of Warwick at Barnet, and invested with the manors of Middleham, Sheriff-Hutton, Penrith, and various lordships belonging to the house of Neville[2], or appertaining to the estates of other nobles who were slain or had been attainted after the battle of Barnet, or in the final contest at Tewkesbury; both which important victories the young prince had been greatly instrumental in achieving by his military skill and cool judgment, as well as by his determined bravery.

[1] Cottonian MSS., Julius B. xii. fol. 111.
[2] By patent, in July, 11 Edw. IV., 1471.

CHAP. VII.

Distinguished position of Richard Duke of Gloucester. — He takes the oath of allegiance to the infant Prince of Wales. — Probability of an early attachment having subsisted between Gloucester and his cousin, the Lady Anne Neville. — Betrothment of the Lady Anne to Prince Edward of Lancaster. — Gloucester seeks the hand of his cousin after the death of the young prince, and upon King Edward's restoration to the throne. — Probable date of Gloucester's marriage with the Lady Anne Neville. — He fixes his abode at Pomfret Castle on being appointed chief seneschal of the duchy of Lancaster.

RICHARD of Gloucester was now in the plenitude of his greatness. He had numbered scarcely nineteen years; yet had he signalised himself by his military prowess to a degree almost unprecedented, having within the brief space of three weeks, as already detailed, commanded the foremost ranks of King Edward's army in two of the most important and fiercely contested battles of that or perhaps any other age; the triumphant result of which was fully as much owing to his able generalship and deep policy, as to the determined bravery and undaunted courage that marked his conduct in both actions. Truly has it been said of him by his biographer Hutton[1], "There are but few instances upon record of a military character rising to fame with the rapidity of Richard of Gloucester;" and with equal justice the same writer adds, "that Edward had given Richard much, but not more than he deserved;" for it has been already shown

[1] Hutton's Bosworth Field, p. xliv.

that this young prince, from his political ability[1], was equally fitted to aid his brother in the affairs of civil life, as to espouse his cause with the sword; he having voluntarily mediated between King Edward and the time-serving Clarence, and having been also selected by that monarch to treat with the rebel Falconbridge: both which affairs being brought to a happy conclusion, marked as it were the crisis of Edward's fate.

Richard was in truth at this period the second personage in the kingdom; not, indeed, by order of birth, for, independent of the infant Prince of Wales, Clarence intervened between him and the monarch: but this latter prince had forfeited the respect of both factions; he first betrayed his brother, and he then perfidiously deserted his father-in-law; and however rash and turbulent the English multitude may prove when excited by great political contests, treachery in domestic life and breach of faith in public engagements will sooner or later be followed by the detestation even of those persons who were in the first instance benefited by the fraud.

Richard, young as he was, possessed in a strong degree, and had nobly exercised, those qualities which are peculiarly estimated by the really great —undeviating fidelity, fraternal affection, and firm unshaken gratitude. And he gained his reward; for it is evident from the brief records that have been transmitted to posterity[2], that he was hence-

[1] "The Duke of Glocester, whose wisdom and valour had wrought him high in the opinion of the king." —*Habington's Edw. IV.*, p. 108.

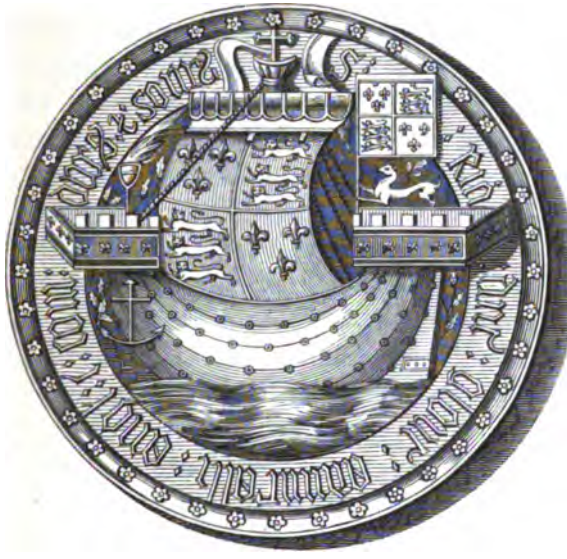
[2] Cott. MSS., Julius B. xii. fol. iii.

forth considered fitting to be invested with military authority of the greatest importance, and had civil powers delegated to him that attest, beyond even the reach of calumny, the high consideration in which he was held by his sovereign and by the nation at large.

This point has been rendered more apparent by the discovery, a few years since, of a rare and very interesting relic belonging to this prince, viz. the original seal fabricated for him, at this period of his history, as lord high admiral of England.[1] The inscription that encircles this official signet proves that Richard of Gloucester was not only nominated a second time to that important office upon the death of the Earl of Warwick, who had been created admiral of England during the brief restoration of King Henry VI., but also that he was invested with the earldoms of Dorset and Somerset, which had become extinct in the Beaufort family by the death of the Duke of Somerset, to whom Gloucester was so directly opposed at Tewkesbury; with which forfeited titles he was probably rewarded in consequence of the principal share he had in the victory there obtained by Edward IV. This seal, which is delineated in the following engraving, is in the most perfect state of preservation. It represents "the admiral's ship with the mainsail filled, bearing the arms of France and England quarterly, with a label of three points ermine, each charged with a canton gules — a distinction borne by Richard as a younger branch of the Plantagenet

[1] See Appendix AA.

family. On the forecastle, which is embattled and adorned with fleur de lys, stands a beacon, and under it hangs the anchor.[1] On the square stern-



castle, which is adorned in the same manner, stands a dragon supporting the admiral's flag with the same coat armour."[2] The inscription round the margin of the seal is as follows: —

[1] "The anchor-argent gorged in the arm with a coronet, and a cable through the ring, and fretted in true love's knot with the ends pendant Or, is the badge of the lorde admiral of England, as he is commander-in-chiefe over all the king's naval forces.

"The Earl of Southampton, lord high admiral in the reign of Henry VIII., used the badge of an anchor; so likewise did the Duke of Orkney, hereditary lord high admiral of Scotland, as his official badge. Edward Earl of Lincoln, lord high admiral in 1556; George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, 1619; and James Duke of York, brother to Charles II., used it as the achievement of the lord high admiral." — *Retros. Review*, 2d Series, vol. i. p. 302.

[2] Archæologia, vol. vii. p. 69.

S. Ric'i Duc' Glouc' Admiralli Angl' & Com' Dors' & Soms'.

[Sigillum Ricardi Ducis Gloucestriæ Admiralli Angliæ & Comitis Dorset & Somerset.]

High, however, as was his position at King Edward's court, and dangerous as was that position to one so young, there is no one record extant, either private or public, no historical document, no contemporary statement, to detract from the well-earned fame, or to tarnish the justly-acquired laurels which encircled the brow of Richard Duke of Gloucester before he had entered his twentieth year. In all acts of public duty, as well as in the private exercise of fraternal affection, Gloucester's name at this period is ever found conspicuous: but, by a singular coincidence, the earliest legal instrument extant that bears his signature, and in which it occupies a leading and prominent place, is a solemn vow[1], the cancelling of which in after years hurled this prince from the greatness to which he so early attained, and plunged him into the deepest abyss of popular odium. "On the 3d of July, 1471, the eleventh year of Edward IV., Gloucester, amongst other peers and prelates, acknowledged Edward Prince of Wales, eldest son of King Edward IV., to be very and undoubted heir to our said sovereign lord, as to the crowns and realms of England and of France, and lordship of Ireland;"[2] and took oath that in case he survived the

[1] Fœdera, vol. xi. p. 714.

[2] The kings of England were simply styled "lords of Ireland" until the reign of King Henry VIII., when that monarch was declared "king of Ireland" by the states of that realm assembled in parliament. — *Camden's Brit.*, vol. ii. p. 1300.

king his father, he would "take and accept him for very and righteous king of England."[1] How far subsequent events led Richard to tread in the dangerous path that afforded to his view a tempting prospect as leading to that crown, the eager desire of possessing which had proved the destruction equally of his father as of his grandsire, it is not here the fitting time to inquire; but the oath of allegiance taken by the Duke of Gloucester to his infant nephew, on his being created "Prince of Wales," immediately after King Edward's re-assumption of his sovereign power, affords proof that the uncontrollable ambition which has led later writers to ascribe wholly to the Duke of Gloucester the murder of Prince Edward of Lancaster, and of his parent, King Henry VI., as paving his way to the throne, is as entirely without foundation as the acts themselves have been shown to be unjustifiably attributed to him in the absence of all positive proof, or even rational traditionary evidence.

"What's in a name?" is a question that has been mooted by many a philosophical reasoner: Richard of Gloucester is at least a proof that an ill name extinguishes all belief in the possibility of a single good or redeeming quality. There is scarcely a reign in the annals of English history which exhibits so remarkable an instance of the uncertain tenure of popular favour as that of Richard III.; and few private lives afford instances of such striking contrasts as may be deduced from the extraordinary incidents of his career, while he was yet a prince, and after he assumed the regal

[1] See Appendix BB. for Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 227.

diadem. Gloucester, however, was far from being so devoid of the kindlier feelings of human nature, or so callous to warm and affectionate sympathies, as he has hitherto and is indeed invariably represented: and at the very time when he was exerting almost superhuman powers in defence and in support of his brother's life and royal prerogative, there is ground, from subsequent results, for believing that he had a two-fold purpose in view; the recovery of the realm for King Edward, and the rendering himself worthy the possession of the early object of his chivalric and youthful attachment, in case a change in the aspect of the times should render void the betrothment of the Lady Anne Neville to the princely young Edward of Lancaster. In a preceding chapter it has been shown that there are strong reasons for supposing that Richard, when emerging from childhood, was placed under the military guardianship of his mother's nephew, the renowned Earl of Warwick; and that he remained altogether under his control for some years. The ambition also of that powerful chieftain, added to the custom that prevailed at the period under consideration of family intermarriages and infantine betrothments, adds weight to the inference previously suggested, that the Duke of Gloucester early fixed his affection on Warwick's younger daughter, and was in all likelihood encouraged by her aspiring parent to consider her as his future bride.

She was sufficiently young[1] on his return from

[1] The Lady Anne Neville was two years younger than her cousin, the young Duke of Gloucester; she was born at Warwick Castle in the year 1454; Richard, as already stated, in October 1452.

Utrecht, to have been the playmate and companion of his boyish years; yet it seems from her evident superiority, either of mind or person, made known by Sir George Buck[1], under the quaint expression, "Anne, although the younger sister, was the better woman," she was likely to have made a strong impression on the young prince, before the expiration of that probationary period, when he passed from boyhood to man's estate.

That the Lady Anne Neville and her cousin of Gloucester were thus intimately associated in childhood rests not on mere surmise, but is proved, in one very striking instance, on the testimony of a narrative of historical value appended to Leland's[2] Collectanea, the genuineness of the authorities connected with which have never been disputed. The circumstance here alluded to is the appearance in public of the youthful co-heiresses of the Earl of Warwick with their royal kinsman the young Duke of Gloucester, at the costly feast which celebrated the installation, as archbishop of York, of their uncle, George Neville, lord chancellor of England.[3] That Richard came there with

[1] Buck's Richard III., lib. i. p. 8.

[2] John Leland, the learned historian, was chaplain and librarian to King Henry VIII., who appointed him his antiquary, with a commission to examine all the libraries of the cathedrals, abbeys, colleges, and priories throughout the realm. He spent six years in travelling through the kingdom, and was the means of rescuing an infinity of valuable records from oblivion and destruction. His Collectanea and Itinerary, published by Hearne, the MSS. of which are preserved in the Bodleian Library, have afforded most copious materials of antiquity, biography, and history to succeeding writers. — See *Huddesford's Life of Leland*, and *Granger's Biog. Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 98.

[3] A very minute and curious detail of this magnificent entertain-

Warwick's family as a visitor to the archbishop's palace, and not in state as a prince of the blood royal, is inferred from his extreme youth, and from no mention being made of any other near members of the reigning family: likewise because his young cousins, as if in compliment to the youthful prince, were placed in a more honourable position than they would otherwise have been entitled to occupy; "sitting in the chief chamber," with the king's brother, although the name of their mother the Countess of Warwick occurs with "the estates sitting in the second chamber."[1]

Here, then, positive proof appears of their intimacy in childhood; and presumptive proof also of a more marked association, at a great public ceremony, than was warranted by their rank, or justified by the ties of consanguinity that connected "the Lord of Warwick's daughters" with "the king's brother;" unless, indeed, some project

ment may be found in Leland's Collectanea, copied, as it is stated, "out of an old paper roll," and entitled "The great Feast at the Enthronization of the Rev. Father in God, George Neville, Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England." The narrative first recites "the goodly provision made for the same," and then gives the names of the great officers officiating, specifying the Earl of Warwick as steward. It proceeds to describe the "estates" or order in precedency that was observed at the feast, viz. "Estates sitting at the high table in the hall; estates sitting in the chief chamber, where, under a canopy, as prince of the blood royal, and upon the dais — a raised platform separating those entitled to such distinction from the rest of the guests — was seated the Duke of Gloucester, the king's brother; on his right hand, the Duchess of Suffolk, on his left hand the Countess of Westmoreland, and the Countess of Northumberland, and two of the Lord of Warwick's daughters."— *Leland's Collect.*, vol. ii. p. 503.; vol. vi. p. 2.

[1] Proceeding forthwith to enumerate the names of the "estates sitting in the second chamber," the document then gives that of "the Countess of Warwick and others."— *Ib.*

was entertained of one of them being affianced to him.

In tracing the early career of kings and princes who flourished at a distant period, the materials of their biography become more and more concise, as length of time separates their era from that enlightened age in which the art of printing, by diminishing the manual labour attached to diffuse narrative, induced more clear and connected details. But, although remote historical notices may thus be limited in quantity, incidental or local circumstances bearing on the period, often complete the chain requisite towards establishing fair and justifiable inference. So in the present case; for the payment in the exchequer roll[1], that implies Gloucester's abode under Warwick's roof in boyhood, receives corroboration from the account in Leland's Collectanea[2] of Warwick's family and their relative positions on the occasion of his brother's installation, since both documents correspond fully as regards date, which is a material point: the Archbishop of York having been translated to that see in June 1465[3]; at the close of which year it was, that payment for the costs and expenses incurred by the earl on behalf of the king's brother was liquidated. The feeling of attachment entertained by Warwick's daughters towards the house of York is distinctly stated by Habington in his Life of Edward IV., when, in speaking of the sentiments that influenced Isabel Duchess of Cla-

[1] Issue Roll, anno 5 Edw. IV. [2] Leland's Collec., vol. vi. p. 3.
[3] Warkworth Chron., p. 36.

rence during that monarch's expulsion from the throne, he says, "she having in her childhood, and those impressions are ever deepest, been instructed to affect the house of York, and approve its title:"[1] indeed, the close intimacy which united the two families, setting aside their near relationship, is farther shown by the fact of the Lady Cecily having stood godmother for her niece, the elder of Warwick's co-heiresses.[2] But the chief evidence on this point is furnished by Sir George Buck, who quotes an ancient MS. in Sir Robert Cotton's possession[3], and brings forward likewise the testimony of a contemporary Flemish historian[4], to show that Gloucester's neutral conduct on the capture of Edward Prince of Wales at Tewkesbury was occasioned by deep-rooted attachment to the Lady Anne, "to whom," says the chronicler, "the duke was also very affectionate, though secretly, which he soon after demonstrated in marrying her." The affection here named must have been formed in their youthful days, for Gloucester could have had no recent opportunity of becoming attached to his cousin, since the Lady Anne is known to have resided at Calais with her mother during the troubled years that preceded King Edward's expulsion from the throne; and after her betrothment she was placed in the hands of Margaret of Anjou, as an hostage for her father's fidelity. Richard, during the whole of that time, was altogether associated with his royal bro-

[1] Habington's Edw. IV., p. 60. [2] Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 162.
[3] Lib. iii. p. 81. Chron. in quarto MS. apud Dom. Regis. Rob. Cotton.
[4] Joan Majerus, in Annal. Flandr., lib. xvii.

ther. He was his companion at Lynn, in Norfolk, when he escaped into Holland [1]; he shared his exile in Flanders, and returned with him to England, taking a most active part in the battles that decided Warwick's fate, and which re-established King Edward on the throne. Nor let it be forgotten, as regards the statements of Sir George Buck, that Horace Walpole [2], whose great aim was well-substantiated facts in Richard's career, in speaking of this historian, a full century after his decease, says that Buck "gains new credit the deeper this dark scene is fathomed;" and also, that many of Buck's assertions having been corroborated by subsequent discoveries, leave little doubt of his authority. [3]

It is true the memorials here given are few and concise, embracing distant intervals; nevertheless they are conclusive, and all bear very strongly on one of the most important points in Richard's mysterious career. The brief notices of the early years of this prince are indeed so scattered, and have been so distorted, that every link that helps to connect his boyish days with the acts of his manhood is invaluable to the historian; for the records of past ages not only become rare in proportion to the distance of time at which they occurred, but domestic feuds, by suppressing some facts and perverting others, add confusion to the scanty details which have happened to escape destruction. Here,

[1] "Edward IV. embarked on the 3d October, 1470, from Lynn, accompanied only by his brother the Duke of Gloucester, the Lord Scales, brother of the queen, the Lord Hastings his chamberlain, and a few hundred followers." — *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 263.

[2] Historic Doubts, p. 20. [3] Ibid. p. 129.

however, is proof far removed from all doubt that the Lady Anne and Richard of Gloucester were intimately associated in childhood; and their marriage ultimately, in spite of their separation and the innumerable obstacles that were opposed to it from all quarters, warrants the assumption that Richard at least was early attached to his future bride, and justifies the inference likewise that the attachment was mutual. In addition to the facts above adduced, there are also many connecting circumstances which may be brought forward, tending to unravel the mystery which hitherto has seemed to attach to Gloucester's marriage with his cousin. It appears from Sandford, that Warwick began to tamper with both brothers[1] shortly after King Edward's marriage, but failed with the younger prince, although he succeeded in corrupting the elder; for Hall asserts that Clarence, in a conference with Warwick, swore by St. George, "if my brother of Gloucester would join me, I would make Edward know we were all one man's sons, which should be nearer to him than strangers of his wife's blood."[2] That Gloucester continued firm in resisting such arguments, is proved equally by his subsequent conduct, as also by that of the unsteady and irritable Clarence: but, notwithstanding the result of this "tampering" ended in the union by marriage of the latter prince with Warwick's eldest co-heiress, and precluded all probability of continued intercourse between Gloucester and his younger daughter, there is no proof of the actual betrothment of either of the sisters to the royal princes in

[1] Geneal. Hist., book. v. p. 384. [2] Hall's Chron., p. 271.

childhood, although there is all but proof to show that the overbearing Warwick, aware of the attachment of both brothers to his daughters, promoted the marriage of his eldest child with the discontented Clarence as a seal to the treacherous and rebellious designs which he had successfully fomented in his young kinsman; and also that he discouraged all growing attachment between Gloucester and the Lady Anne, because he was unable to detach him from the interest of his royal brother, or make him the passive tool of his own mortified ambition.

If the mind could be divested of impressions which have been so long received that prejudice becomes too strong even to be shaken by facts, it could not fail to be perceived that the ruin which eventually overwhelmed the house of York, and the foundation of all the crimes imputed to Edward IV. and his brothers of Clarence and Gloucester, may be traced to this one all-absorbing passion of Warwick; a passion that made him seek to accomplish its end, first by fomenting fraternal discord, and afterwards by instilling into the minds of all three brothers every vindictive and hateful feeling that jealousy, anger, and injuries received could engender in the breast of an insulted sovereign, and of young and irascible princes. With his keen-sighted sagacity of character, Warwick soon perceived the instability of Clarence, although it suited his purpose as the next male heir of the line of York to bestow upon him his eldest daughter; and circumstances are not wanting to induce the belief that he did not discourage in childhood the attachment of his other daughter to the more firm-minded and

resolute Gloucester. But, unable to mould to his views this latter prince, who was scarcely less keen-sighted than his more experienced kinsman, he abandoned all idea of a double alliance with the ruling house of York, and kept his youngest child in reserve, as the instrument for compassing any ulterior views, which his pride or ambition might suggest. It was most probably the tendency to disaffection gradually evinced by Warwick that led to Gloucester's removal from the feudatory abode of that proud chieftain, and to his being admitted at so early an age to the confidence of his royal brother; for the public association above mentioned of Richard with Warwick's co-heiresses at York occurred in the summer of 1465, when this young prince had entered his fourteenth, and the Lady Anne the twelfth year of her age; and the payment made to Warwick for Gloucester's expenses occurred at the close of the same year, that which immediately followed the king's marriage, and marked his undue and unwise elevation of the queen's kindred.

In the succeeding spring (February, 1466), when Richard was created a knight of the Garter, he was evidently firmly established at court, and high in favour with his royal brother; for, as already narrated, he was employed in the ensuing month (April 1466) on some mission in the north, either military or diplomatic; and is again to be found, a few months afterwards (June 1466), by express command of the king, attending his father's state funeral as chief mourner, until the sovereign himself assumed that leading position at the entrance of the church where the royal remains were deposited.

From that epoch, Gloucester is constantly associated with his royal brother, both in his state progresses and on other public and political occasions, until Edward was driven from the throne by Clarence and Warwick, in October, 1470. This embraces a period of just four years; during which time the Lady Isabel was united to the Duke of Clarence, and her younger sister was betrothed to the heir of King Henry VI., which betrothment, by placing her entirely in the hands of the Lancastrian queen, must effectually have precluded all communication between the cousins; neither could Richard again have met the Lady Anne until she was the reputed "widow" of the gallant young prince, slain at the battle of Tewkesbury. By all the Tudor chroniclers she is represented as having been actually married to Edward of Lancaster; but the far more valuable testimony of contemporary writers completely invalidates this long-received and popular tradition. The error most probably arose from the degree of importance which was attached to betrothments at the period under consideration; when, indeed, they may almost be said to have constituted a portion of the marriage ceremony — so sacred was the pledge that bound the persons affianced to each other.[1] In the present day, the term, in its ordinary acceptation as a mere promise not binding in law, more especially when entered into, as it then was, by others, and frequently completed without even consulting the parties themselves until their consent was required, would by no means justify the view

[1] Sharon Turner, vol. iii. p. 457.

formerly entertained of its being an irrevocable and binding vow; but when considered with reference to the fifteenth century, a betrothment entered into by both parties with their full and free consent, was as binding and valid as a marriage solemnised before the Church; for marriage, according to the doctrine of the ancient canon law, held good, however informally administered, provided the consent of the parties concerned was previously obtained.

Margaret of Anjou, however, well knew that if Warwick failed in his solemn pledge "on the Gospels," to restore the Lancastrian line, and which pledge alone made her reluctantly consent to allying her only child with the daughter of the bitterest enemy of her house, a papal dispensation could absolve her also from fulfilling, in its extreme sense, the marriage contract that was to cement by a domestic alliance her political league with the earl. When, in addition to this fact, consideration is bestowed on the deadly hatred which existed between the much-injured queen and the aspiring Warwick, and that Margaret so mistrusted her former persecutor, that, even after he had engaged to restore her husband to the throne, she so restricted his power that in the event of success he could neither dispense rewards to his companions in arms, appropriate any portion of the crown revenues on his own responsibility, or effect any permanent change in the government whatsoever, until after the arrival of herself and the prince in England[1], there can exist but little doubt

[1] Harl. MSS., No. 543. fol. 168.

that the implacable consort of the insulted Henry VI.[1] would sanction no closer union between her youthful heir and Warwick's co-heiress — the one aged but sixteen, the other only entering his seventeenth year—than the betrothment usual at the period in which they flourished.

The binding nature of so solemn a contract fully explains the origin of that reputed marriage which all modern historians have narrated, and which gained credence possibly from the honours paid to the Lady Anne at the French court[2], after the contract, by order of the scheming and crafty Louis XI., who had effected the treaty solely to suit his own subtle policy, and also by the conduct of the noble partizans of the house of Lancaster, who, hailing her as the accepted bride of their beloved prince, prematurely paid her the respectful

[1] Severe as were the reverses of fortune which befell the Lancastrian monarch, they were bitterly aggravated by the insults offered by Warwick to his meek and unoffending victim. After the battle of Hexham, the unhappy Henry was concealed for nearly a twelvemonth by the fidelity of his Lancastrian subjects; but being at length betrayed by a monk of Abingdon, when seated at dinner in Waddington Hall, he was conveyed to Islington, near London, where the royal captive was met by the Earl Warwick, "who ordered by proclamation that no one should show him any respect, tied his feet to the stirrups as a prisoner, led him thrice round the pillory, and conducted him to the Tower." — *Lingard*, vol. v. p. 181. See also *Warkworth's Chron.*, p. 5.; *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 548.

[2] The Lady Anne Neville, receiving the courtesies due to Princess of Wales by command of Louis IX., as stated by Monstrellet (*Nouvelles Chroniques*, p. 35.), affords no proof of her marriage to Edward of Lancaster; for Elizabeth of York, the eldest daughter of King Edward IV., who was in after years affianced to the son of Louis XI., was, after the contract, invariably styled at the French court, "Madame la Dauphine." — *Sandford, Geneal. Hist.*, book v. p. 395. Yet it is well known that she was never united to this prince, Louis having perfidiously broken the contract to unite his heir to Mary of Burgundy.

deference that would have been her due as consort to the heir apparent of the throne. But no instrument exists to show that the parties were actually united by marriage.

That final ceremony, it is evident, was not designed to be solemnised until the political treaty that led to their betrothment was fully completed, —not until the Earl of Warwick had purchased the proud position which he coveted for his daughter, by restoring the crown to the line of Lancaster, and by constituting his future son-in-law Prince of Wales actually, and not merely from an empty and an attainted title.

Such is the view which appears most natural and most reasonable, when the relative position of both parties is considered, and when the importance of the result is calmly and dispassionately weighed. It is satisfactory, however, upon a point so important, that mere surmise is uncalled for, the fact itself being substantiated by the most conclusive evidence — that of a contemporary writer, who has given a clear, minute, and circumstantial detail "of the manner and guiding of the Earl of Warwick at Aungers, from the 15th day of July to the 4th day of August, 1470, which day he departed from Aungers, the French town where the contract was made."[1] After describing the efforts used by the insidious Louis XI. to purchase Warwick's pardon of the queen and the young prince, and detailing the difficulty which he experienced in inducing Margaret to extend forgiveness to the author of all their misery, he proceeds

[1] Harl. MSS. 543. fol. 168.

to narrate the particulars connected with the treaty of marriage urged upon her by the French king as the price of her political alliance with Warwick, and also the qualified assent at length extorted from her. "Touching the second point, that is, of marriage, true it is that the queen would not in anywise consent thereto," says this contemporary writer[1]; "and so the queen persevered fifteen days, or she would any thing intend to the said treaty of marriage; the which finally by means and conduct of the King of France, and the councillors of the King of Sicily, being at Angers, the said marriage was agreed and promised."[2]

The different articles connected with the "treatie of marryage" are then separately and distinctly given[3]; after which the annalist adds this important and conclusive account of its nature and extent:—"Touching the time when the marriage shall be put in ure[4] [shall hap or happen], Item, that from thenceforth the said daughter of the Earl of Warwick shall be put and remain in the hands and keeping

[1] The chronicler twice alludes in his narrative to his being contemporary with the period in which he wrote.

[2] In the Cottonian MSS. (Vesp. F. p. 32.) may be found the original instrument by which the Duke de Guienne, brother to Louis XI., attests his approval of the treaty, which was made in his presence, and that of the French monarch, July 30th, 1470, at Angers. This document is very valuable, as corroborative of the statement preserved in the Harl. MSS.

[3] See Appendix CC.

[4] Bailey, quoting Chaucer, defines *ure* as "fate, destiny, HAP;" and *hap*, as "fortune, chance." He also gives another definition of the word *ure*, viz. "use and custom;" and "use and custom," he adds in his second volume, "in ancient law, is the ordinary method of acting or proceeding in any case, which by length of time has obtained the force of law."—See *Bailey's Etymological Dictionary*, vols. i. and ii.

of Queen Margaret, and also that the *said marriage shall not be perfyted* till the Earl of Warwick had been with an army over the sea into England, and that he *had recovered the realm of England* in the most partie thereof for the King Henry." . . . "Many other points were spoken of in the *treatie* of marriage, which were over long to put in writing."

This exceedingly curious and valuable narrative is preserved among the Harleian MSS.[1], and it is impossible that any account could be more clearly or concisely given; and its value as a contemporary statement[2] is increased by its being transcribed in the handwriting of Stow, so proverbial for his accuracy and his love of truth in historical research. But the testimony most important as corroborative of the fact given by the writer above quoted, viz. that the treaty was a betrothment only, and not a solemnised marriage, is the attestation of the Croyland historian, who was not merely contemporaneous with the chronicler of Angers, but, as a doctor of the canon law, was himself in a situation above all others to discriminate accurately upon this point.

Most decisive and expressive are his words:—"To make this promise more binding," says this valuable historian, in allusion to Warwick's league with the house of Lancaster, "a marriage *was contracted* between the said prince and Anne the youngest daughter of the Earl of Warwick; the

[1] It has likewise been published by Sir Henry Ellis in his Original Letters, 2d Series, vol. i. p. 132.

[2] Mr. Sharon Turner, who attentively examined this chronicler, considers that the writer must have been a person of eminence.—*Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 282.

Duke of Clarence having previously *married* Isabella, her eldest sister."[1] This author's testimony, as there has before been occasion to observe, is by far the highest on all matters connected with the period in which he wrote; and he was more likely to have become acquainted with the truth on this point, from his having been employed upon a mission to France by King Edward IV. the year following, 1471 — thus affording him every means of ascertaining the actual position of the respective parties: yet was he equally satisfied with the chronicler, whose circumstantial account has been given above, that the contract was simply a qualified betrothment. Throughout the entire of his narrative, the annalist at Angers terms this contract "a treatie of marriage;" and no reasonable doubt can remain in the unprejudiced mind that it was a mere treaty, dependent for its ratification on the political scheme that was to ensure its ultimate fulfilment; and this, not implying the mere release of the royal captive from prison, not comprehending his nominal restoration to regal power, but, as explicitly stated by the writer, "recovering the *realm* of England in the *most partie thereof* for the King Henry;" thus enabling Anne of Warwick to carry a throne as her marriage portion, in exchange for the crown which her father's prowess was to win for her affianced consort.

This great political scheme, however, was never destined to be fulfilled. The Earl of Warwick fell at the battle of Barnet; the Lancastrian prince was slain a fortnight afterwards at Tewkesbury;

[1] Chron. Croy., p. 553.

and the Lady Anne, with the ill-fated Margaret of Anjou, were taken prisoners within a few days subsequent to that decisive conflict.[1] The bereaved queen, it is well known, was sent a captive to the Tower on the same day that marked King Edward's triumphal entry into the metropolis, and the evening of which terminated the earthly career of her feeble and care-worn consort.[2] But the precise situation of Warwick's daughter is not so clearly shown, with the exception of the fact of her having been captured with Queen Margaret[3] and their attendant ladies in a church adjoining the town of Tewkesbury.[4] There is no evidence, however, of her having been associated with the royal captive in the Tower[5]: but, from its being on record that within a few weeks of the fatal battle at Tewkesbury the Lady Anne was under the entire control of the Duke of Clarence, and judging from previous and corresponding precedents, it is probable that the widowed bride of

[1] Tewkesbury Chron. in Harl. MSS. 543. p. 102.

[2] Habington, p. 98.

[3] "And afterwards these ladyes were taken: Queen Margaret, Prynce Edward's wyf, the secunde dowghtere of the Earl of Warwyckes, the Countesse of Devynshire, Dame Kateryne Vaux." — *Warkworth's Chron.*, p. 19.

[4] Fleetwood's Chron., p. 31.

[5] The Flemish chronicler quoted by Sir George Buck (lib. iii. p. 81.), and Provost, the French biographer of Queen Margaret, state that the Lady Anne was present at Prince Edward's death; but the gross errors into which the latter author has fallen — of which one instance will suffice, that of his stating Queen Margaret was in England on her husband's restoration in 1470 — render his testimony of little value in doubtful points, except when he can be tested by other and more authentic writers. The Chronicle of Tewkesbury, contained in Stow's Collections (*Harl. MSS.* 545. p. 102.), is in all probability the most genuine and faithful record of the events of this battle.

the gallant heir of Lancaster, the victim equally with himself of political expediency, and the tool of restless and ambitious parents, was consigned to the custody of her sister the Duchess of Clarence[1], precisely in the same manner as Cecily Duchess of York was committed by Henry VI. to that of her sister of Buckingham, when almost similarly situated after the sacking of Ludlow. There is no doubt that she was included in the attainder that was issued against Queen Margaret and her own mother, the Countess of Warwick, together with other leading personages connected with the Lancastrian faction; and she appears to have remained a state prisoner under the charge of the Lady Isabel and Clarence during the absence of King Edward with his brother of Gloucester, when occupied in quelling the insurrection of Falconbridge.

Whatever were the sentiments entertained by Richard towards his youthful companion, and however keenly his former affection for his cousin may have revived when she was no longer withheld from him as the affianced of another, yet was he too much occupied by his military duties, too much pledged in honour to aid the king, when summoned to accompany him against the insurgents in Kent, to have either means or opportunity of making known his intentions. But the result affords fair inference for surmising that the desolate position of his orphan kinswoman was not unobserved or unheeded by Gloucester, and warrants also the supposition that his early attachment to the Lady Anne was well known to the Duke of Clarence: for, before

[1] Leland's Collect., vol. ii. p. 495.

Richard returned from Kent, and clearly in anticipation of his brother's probable conduct towards his sister-in-law, he adopted the most strenuous but extraordinary means of frustrating all communication between them—that of concealing her under the disguise of a kitchen maid. This point, however, equally with that which invalidates the previous marriage of the Lady Anne with Prince Edward of Lancaster, is better narrated in the words of contemporary writers; because they confine themselves chiefly to such facts as come within their own knowledge and observation, and which are so indispensable towards forming a right judgment of the actual position of Richard of Gloucester and his youthful consort. "Let us now insert that dispute," says the Croyland chronicler[1], "with difficulty to be appeased, which happened during this Michaelmas term (1471) between the king's two brothers; for after, as is aforesaid, the son of King Henry, to whom the Lady Anne, younger daughter of the Earl of Warwick, was *betrothed*, fell in the battle of Tewkesbury, Richard Duke of Gloucester besought that the said Anne should be given to him *to wife*, which request was repugnant to the views of his brother the Duke of Clarence, who had previously married the earl's eldest daughter. He therefore caused the damsel to be concealed, lest it should become known to his brother where she was; fearing the division of the inheritance, which he wished to enjoy alone in right of his wife rather than undergo portion with any one. But the cunning of the said Duke of Gloucester so far pre-

[1] Chron. Croy., p. 557.

vailed, that, having discovered the maiden in the attire of a kitchen girl in London, he caused her to be placed in the sanctuary of St. Martin's; which having been done, great discord arose between the brothers."

Concise as is this account, it embraces innumerable points that cannot be misinterpreted, excepting indeed by the prejudiced, or by such warm advocates for tradition that even truth itself fails to induce conviction in their minds. Richard must have sought his persecuted kinswoman immediately he was released from his military duties, because it appears he "had discovered her retreat" before the Michaelmas term following the battle of Tewkesbury; that is to say, between the 4th of May and the beginning of the following October. Again, he besought that the said Anne should "be given to him to wife." No merely selfish motives could have induced this request, for the Lady Anne and her mother the Countess of Warwick, together with her deceased father, were all under a bill of attainder[1]; and, consequently, the riches to which she would have been entitled by birth as their co-heiress were now altogether in the gift of the king.

If, therefore, Warwick's forfeited and enormous possessions are supposed to have been the object which Gloucester alone coveted, they could have been bestowed by the monarch upon that prince,

[1] Anne Countess of Warwick, sole heir to the honors and possessions of the noble Beauchamps, after the battle of Barnet, took sanctuary in Beaulieu Abbey, in Hampshire, "where she continued some time in a very mean condition, and thence privately got into the north, where she abode in great streight."—*Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. i. p. 307.

without any necessity for his taking the Lady Anne to wife; in the same manner as the lands of the attainted Cliffords[1] had in early boyhood been made over to him. Of this there is ample proof, for Richard had actually been already invested by his royal brother with a portion of the identical lands which he is made so exclusively to desire; as it appears "by patent, 11th July 1471, the king, especially considering the gratuitous, laudable, and honourable services rendered to him by his most dear brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, and wishing to confer upon him some reward and remuneration for the same, granted to him the castles, manors[2], and lordships of Sheriff-Hutton, county of York, which lately belonged to Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick." Neither must it be forgotten that the Duke of Gloucester was now in the fulness of power, and had so distinguished himself by his gallant bearing, and was in so high a position at King Edward's court, that so far from any advantage accruing to him from a union with his impoverished and persecuted cousin, alliances must have been open to him at foreign courts, as well as with the most wealthy subjects in his brother's kingdom; the more so as he was but in the springtime of life, and that he was already endowed with princely possessions, dignified by the highest appointments that could be bestowed upon him, and invested with almost regal authority. Moreover, let it be asked, why did Clarence "cause the

[1] "Much of the Cliffords' land after the attainder of John Lord Clifford was held by Gloucester." — *Whitaker's Craven*, p. 67.
[2] Cott. MSS., Julius B. xiii. fol. 111.

damsel to be concealed," unless he suspected that the affection which had been early formed for her by Gloucester would lead him immediately to renew his vows of attachment, and incline her to listen to them? He evidently anticipated the fact, and acted upon it; for no mention is made by the chronicler of the Lady Anne's desire to be so concealed; no intimation is given of her repugnance to her cousin, or of her flying to avoid his overtures; but positive assertion is made by him that avarice—the coveting her share of riches that were her birthright, and which he trusted, perhaps, from her attainder, he should exclusively possess in right of her elder sister—alone influenced the unworthy prince, whose greedy desire for power and riches led him first to rebel against and dethrone his elder brother, and even to deprive him in his adversity of his patrimonial inheritance; and now instigated him to separate from his younger brother the object of his choice, and cruelly to persecute and degrade the unhappy victim whom he was bound by consanguinity and misfortune to protect, because, as distinctly alleged by the chronicler, "he feared the division of the inheritance he wished to enjoy alone."[1]

What, however, was the part pursued by Richard of Gloucester—that prince who for three generations has been held up to scorn and contempt for every base, unmanly, treacherous, and vindictive feeling? Let his conduct be once more contrasted with that of Clarence, who had betrayed and perfidiously deceived every near relative and connection, and who was indebted to the very brother

[1] Chron. Croy., p. 557.

whom he was now injuring for his reconciliation with the king, and for his restoration to his own forfeited honours and possessions. Gloucester, says the Croyland narrator, "discovered the maiden in the attire of a kitchen girl in London;" instead of conveying her secretly from her concealment, instead of compelling her by force or by stratagem to become his wife, instead of outraging her already wounded feelings and taking advantage of her powerless situation, he removes her immediately from the degrading garb under which Clarence had concealed her, and with the respect due to his mother's niece and to his own near kinswoman, "caused her to be placed in the sanctuary of St. Martin," while he openly and honourably seeks from the king his assent to their marriage.

The most imaginative mind could scarcely have desired a hero of romance to act a nobler and more chivalrous part, one more dignified towards the object of his attachment, one more honourable to himself, more straightforward, more worthy of his hitherto irreproachable career. The Lady Anne in her prosperity had been the playmate of his childhood, the companion of his boyish days, the object of his youthful affections. Before either party had passed the age of minority, she had drank to the very dregs of the cup of adversity; from being the affianced bride of the heir apparent to the throne, and receiving homage at the French court as Princess of Wales, she was degraded to assume the disguise of a kitchen-girl in London, reduced to utter poverty by the attainder of herself and parents,—a desolate orphan, discarded by

the relatives who should have protected her, and debased and persecuted by those to whom the law had consigned the custody of her life and person.

Such was the condition of Warwick's proud but destitute child — the ill-fated co-heiress of the Nevilles, the Beauchamps, the Despencers, and in whose veins flowed the blood of the highest and noblest in the land—when she was affectionately and unceasingly sought for by Richard Duke of Gloucester, at a time too when the sun of prosperity shone upon him so resplendently, and with such a cloudless aspect, that, had his actions been alone influenced by that all-engrossing ambition which has been imputed to him in after years, he would assuredly rather have coveted the daughter of some illustrious prince, or the hand of an heiress to a crown, than have exerted his well-earned influence with his sovereign to rescue his dejected kinswoman from her humiliating situation, and to restore her as his bride to the proud position which she had lost, and to which his own prosperous career now enabled him to elevate her. He placed her in the only asylum where she could feel secure from compulsion, and safe alike from his own importunities or his brother's persecution.

It is worthy of remark, that throughout the entire narrative of the Croyland historian, he not only speaks most explicitly of the "betrothment" as such, but designates the Lady Anne as "the damsel," "the maiden,"—which terms, by confirming his previous account of the qualified treaty made respecting her destined marriage with the Prince of Wales, exonerates Richard of Gloucester from

the unfounded charge of seeking the affection of "young Edward's bride," before the tears of "widowhood" had ceased to flow, and equally so of his outraging a custom most religiously and strictly observed in the fifteenth century, which rendered it an offence against the Church and society at large, for "a widow" to espouse a second time before the first year of mourning had expired.[1] As to the precise time or under what circumstances the cousins were at length united, there exists no document or satisfactory proof; but great and strenuous exertions appear to have been made by the Duke of Clarence to frustrate the wishes of Gloucester even after his appeal to the king. In consequence of this prince having placed the Lady Anne in sanctuary, "great discord arose," says the chronicler, "between the brothers," and "so many reasons were acutely alleged on both sides, in presence of the king sitting as umpire in the council chamber, that all bystanders, even those learned in the law, wondered that the said princes possessed so much talent in arguing their own cause." It is much to be regretted that the learned ecclesiastic who has recorded this dispute should not have more particularly narrated the points of contention. On this matter, however, he is altogether silent; but as an unmitigated charge of avarice against Clarence pervades his detail, while he advances nothing against Gloucester, it is probable that as Warwick settled upon the Lady Isabel half of her mother's rich inheritance as a

[1] See Appendix DD.

dower[1] on her union with Clarence, this latter prince considered that she was entitled to possess the remaining half by inheritance upon the decease of one parent, and the attainder of the survivor. Be this as it may, it is very clear that no just cause of opposition could be brought against the application of his younger brother, for the chronicler proceeds to say, that, "at length, by the mediation of the king, it was finally agreed that on Gloucester's marriage he should have such lands as should be decided upon by arbitrators, and that Clarence should have the remainder;" leaving little or nothing to the true heiress, the Countess of Warwick, to whom the noble inheritance of the Warwicks and Despencers rightly belonged, and at whose disposal it was altogether left. Hence it would appear that the act of attainder was not withdrawn from Warwick's ill-fated widow[2], although Gloucester must necessarily, to enable this arbitration to have been carried into effect, have procured its legal annulment as regards the case of his youthful daughter, his now affianced bride. The narrative of the Croyland historian is dated 1471; and by the expression, "it was finally agreed that on Gloucester's marriage he should have such lands as should be decided on by arbitrators," it is

[1] "In 9th Edward IV. the Earl of Warwick allured Clarence to his party, and the more firmly to knit him to his interest, offered him the Lady Isabel, his elder daughter, in marriage, with the one half of her mother's rich inheritance." —*Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 162.

[2] The Countess of Warwick, in her own and her husband's right, was possessed of 114 manors; her husband being killed at Barnet, all her land by act of parliament was settled on her two daughters.—*Ang. Spec.*, p. 569.

most probable that his marriage was solemnised within a few months of this decision; because the clause evidently implies that the arbitrators could not commence the proceedings on which they were to adjudicate until the young couple were indissolubly united in marriage. This decision, however, did not receive the sanction of parliament until the 14th Edw. IV. (1474)[1], when it appears the co-heiresses were adjudged to equal divisions of their parent's enormous possessions, reserving to both princes a life interest in such division: "if the said Isabel or Anne died, leaving her husband surviving, he was to enjoy her moiety during his life."[2]

A special and very remarkable clause, however, is contained in this act of parliament, that decided the long-contested question; it being provided "that if the Duke of Gloucester and Anne should be divorced, and afterwards marry again, the act should be as available as though no such divorce had taken place;" or, in case they should be divorced, and "after that he do his effectual diligence and continual devoir by all convenient and lawful means to be lawfully married to the said Anne the daughter, and during the lyfe of the same Anne be not married ne wedded to any other woman," he should have as much "of the premises as pertained to her during his lifetime."

The necessity of this singular passage may be explained in various ways. In the first place, the Duke of Gloucester and Warwick's daughter were related within the forbidden degree of consan-

[1] See Appendix EE.

[2] Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 100.

guinity; for at the marriage of the Duke of Clarence with her sister, the Lady Isabel, it is expressly stated that a dispensation from the pope was necessary to ensure the validity of their marriage.[1] Secondly, the Lady Anne had been solemnly betrothed to Prince Edward of Lancaster; and although her affianced husband was slain before she was united to him, yet marriage contracts at that age were so binding, that she equally required a dispensation to render any subsequent union valid in the sight of the ecclesiastical law.[2] Now, as it is quite evident that there could not have been time to procure from Rome these dispensations, arising from the peculiar position of Richard of Gloucester and his orphan cousin[3], it became essential that the arbitrators, in adjudging the division of property, should, for the sake of their offspring, guard against any informality of marriage. But no such clause was needful as regards Clarence, because in the one instance the dispensation had been obtained, and in the other none was required, as the Lady Isabel had been united to that prince for some years, and their offspring were richly provided for by that "half of the inheritance" which constituted her dowry.

[1] "The Duke of Clarence accordingly married her, in the church of Notre Dame, having obtained a dispensation from the pope, Paul III., by reason they stood allied in the second, third, and fourth degrees of consanguinity, as also in respect that the mother of the duke was godmother to her." — *Dugdale*, vol. ii. p. 162.

[2] See Appendix FF.

[3] The time required for such instruments may be judged from the legal dispensations requisite for the Duke of Clarence and the Lady Isabel having been applied for and dated in 1468, although they were not received by or available to him until the following year, 1469.

Nevertheless, although the portion of the remaining half thus awarded to Gloucester and the Lady Anne was secured to them against any captious legal disputation in future, it appears from the words of the act that immediately followed the clause, that the umpires considered the possibility of such separation likely to arise from impediments advanced by others rather than from any probability of change in the affections of the cousins themselves: "if the Duke of Gloucester and Anne should be divorced and afterwards marry again, the act should be as available as though no such divorce had taken place." In the ordinary acceptation of the term divorce, nothing could be more improbable, or less to be desired, than the parties marrying again; but if the possessions awarded to the Duke of Gloucester, in right of the Lady Anne, were untenable by themselves or their progeny, without such renewal of the marriage ceremony, arising from unavoidable irregularity in their nuptials, some protecting clause was not merely just, but absolutely imperative on the part of the umpires. Nothing can well be more clear than that such was the meaning of the judges, for the final words of the act state that even if a divorce is considered requisite, yet if Gloucester does his utmost "by all convenient and lawful means to be lawfully married again to the Lady Anne," he shall still enjoy her possessions for life; thus showing there was some unavoidable impediment to their alliance, either ecclesiastical or civil; but most clearly and explicitly inferring that no diminution of regard was anticipated, no division

of interests foreseen, although the property was justly and wisely secured against the contingency of another marriage later in life, if obstacles were brought forward to invalidate their first union. Despite, then, of all opposition, and in defiance of every impediment, either as regards the present or the future, the Duke of Gloucester and the Lady Anne Neville, within a brief period of the discussion above narrated, were irrevocably united; nor can any reasonable doubts be entertained respecting the unanimity which on both sides led to the alliance; for no letters are extant, as in the case of King Edward, expressing the disapprobation of his venerable mother; no clandestine measures were resorted to by Gloucester, as in the case of the Duke of Clarence and the Lady Isabel; no protest is made by the Lady Anne herself, which, had such been entertained, she could have followed up from being protected by the church in the holiness of sanctuary, and of which protest Clarence would gladly have availed himself in support of his unjust and unbrotherlike opposition. But having no such plea to advance, no reasonable objection to make[1], against a marriage equally consonant with the spirit of the times as with the warm affection that seems ever to have subsisted between the closely-allied houses

[1] "The slightest knowledge in the laws of equity," observes Hutton, when considering this quarrel, "will convince us that justice was on the side of Richard. If the ladies were joint heiresses, they were each entitled to a joint share; besides which, Warwick's promise of half, might have convinced Clarence he had no right to more." — *Hutton's Preface to Bosworth*, p. lxv.

of York and Neville[1], Clarence unblushingly avowed even to the monarch himself, his unworthy and avaricious motives, when Edward personally appealed to him in behalf of Richard; for, to quote the words of a contemporary writer, "the King entreateth my Lord of Clarence for my Lord of Gloucester, and he saith he may well have my lady his sister-in-law, but they shall part no livelihood."[2] This threat, however, was rendered void by the fact of the king himself sitting as umpire in the case, and by his justice not only in leaving to his privy council, who were competent arbitrators, the final division of property, but also in securing the validity of their decision by a decree of parliament.

Some historians consider that the marriage of Richard and the Lady Anne was not solemnised until the year 1473; and others have even given a later date, being influenced probably by the act of parliament above cited, which ratified the award of the Lady Anne's possession; not taking into consideration the fact stated by the Croyland writer, that the solemnization of the marriage was to precede such award. It is, however, apparent that the cousins must have been united in the spring of 1472; first, because Sandford[3] expressly states that their eldest son was born in 1473, and likewise from its being affirmed by competent authority that the young prince was ten years of age when he walked in procession at his parent's coronation at York in September, 1483. This view of the case is still farther confirmed by two letters con-

[1] Paston Letters, vol. iv. [2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 92.
[3] Geneal. Hist., book v. p. 410.

tained in the Paston Correspondence; the one[1] from Sir John Paston to his brother, proving that the prince was not married on the 17th February, 1472; the other[2] bearing date the 15th April 1473[3], in which, though speaking of "their late marriage," the writer by no means seems to imply that it was a recent event.

The young couple are said to have been married at Westminster[4], and the ceremony was most probably performed by the Archbishop of York, since it appears that after Gloucester had publicly sought the king's sanction to the alliance, the Lady Anne was removed from her sanctuary at St. Martin's le Grand and placed under the care of her only surviving uncle, George Neville[5], the prelate of that see.

On the 29th February in the same year 1472, the Duke of Gloucester was a second time appointed to the important office of high constable of England[6], which had become vacant by the death of Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, who had been beheaded during the brief restoration of King Henry VI.[7]; and this was followed shortly after by his royal brother

[1] Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 90. [2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 131.

[3] Sir John Fenn in a note appended to the above letters says, "These brothers had been for some time at variance, and most probably their disputes were heightened at this time by the late marriage of the latter [Richard] with Anne, the widow of Prince Edward, Henry the Sixth's son, daughter and co-heir of the Earl of Warwick, sister to the Duchess of Clarence, whose possessions the duke was unwilling to divide with his sister, now his brother's wife." — *Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 131.

[4] Hearne's Frag., p. 283.

[5] Strickland's Queens, vol. iii. p. 366.

[6] Sandford, book v. p. 406. [7] Fœdera, vol. xi. p. 654.

nominating him to the lucrative situation of "keeper of all the king's forests beyond Trent for life," and justiciary of North Wales.[1]

From this period the Duke of Gloucester seems to have retired from the court, and to have altogether fixed his abode in the north of England; for, on the 20th of May, it appears that he resigned the office of great chamberlain into his brother's hands[2]; and he is shown by contemporary papers in the Plumpton Correspondence to have been resident in great state at Pomfret about the same time, in virtue of his office as chief seneschal[3] of the duchy of Lancaster in the northern parts. Amongst other valuable documents contained in the above-named very curious collection of papers is an official letter[4] from Richard Duke of Gloucester to Sir William Plumpton, dated "at Pomfret, 13th October, anno. circ. 1472;"[5] and the almost

[1] Pat. 12 Ed. IV., p. 1. m. 10.; Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 317.

[2] In the first volume of "Collections made by Rymer for the reign of King Edward IV." it is stated, that the king, by patent 20th May, 12 Ed. IV., had on the 18th May in the preceding year granted to his brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, the office of great chamberlain of England for life; that he had resigned the office, and that his Majesty had conferred the same on the Duke of Clarence.—*Rymer, Add. MSS.*, fo. 4614. art. 70.

[3] The Duke of Gloucester was made high constable of England 29th February, 1472; and resided at Pomfret, as chief seneschal of the duchy of Lancaster in the north parts. — See *Plumpton Correspondence*, published by the Camden Society, 4to. 1839.

[4] Plumpton Papers, p. 26.

[5] Entitled "Letter from Richard Duke of Gloucester to Sir William Plumpton, Stewart of the Lordship of Spofford, directing him to restore certain stolen cattle to the owener;" or rather to aid in effecting its restoration as bailiff of the borough of Knaresborough. By virtue of his high office, this prince leased certain farms to Sir William Plumpton, together with the office of bailiff of Knaresborough. The stewardship of Spofford he derived from the Earl of Northumberland, Lord of Spofford, in which parish Plumpton lay.

regal power which he evidently possessed and exercised by virtue of his high offices in the north, may be gathered from the same contemporary records, by the style in which he is designated in certain legal claims, which were referred to his arbitration; viz. that they should "abide the award of the pre-potent prince and lord, the Lord Richard Duke of Gloucester."[1]

Thus, after a season of severe trial and reverses almost unparelleled, considering the youthful ages of the respective parties, did Richard and his young bride find that repose which had so long and so painfully been denied to them. Although he was now scarcely nineteen years of age, while his cousin had but just entered her seventeenth year,—for only four years had elapsed since their youthful companionship at York,—yet during that interval their lives had been forfeited by attainder, and liberty only preserved to the one by flight to a distant land, and to the other by the privilege of sanctuary in her own country. Both had been exiles, both had been outlawed; the one for fidelity to his brother and sovereign, the other as the passive instrument of a rebellious and ambitious parent. Both, within the short space of two years, had been reduced to utter penury by confiscation of lands and possessions; and both, from being houseless wanderers, had, though widely separated and under far different circumstances, experienced also the highest degree of prosperity which could be contrasted with adversity equally poignant and unmitigated.

[1] Plumpton Corresp., p. lxxxix.

The Lady Anne, during the period, had received the homage of peers and peeresses at the court of France as the affianced of King Henry's son, and the instrument of restoring the line of Lancaster to the throne; and Richard, the thanks of the English houses of parliament as the faithful and best-beloved brother of Edward of York, whom he had effectually aided to restore to his kingdom and his crown. Both had lost their natural protectors by a violent and premature death in the miserable feuds that numbered their fathers amongst the illustrious dead; and both had suffered the most severe persecution in the eyes of the whole land, when seeking to unite their destinies in marriage; arising from the avarice and cupidity which made Clarence desire the entire possession of the young heiresses' wealth, and even to threaten them by hostile preparations[1], after the sovereign, in gratitude to Richard for his services, had waived in his behalf his undeniable right to the lands and lordships of Warwick's bereaved and friendless child forfeited to the crown. But fortune upheld them throughout their trials, and smiled favourably on their attachment. To a district endeared to them both by the unfading recollections of childhood[2], did Richard convey his young bride, when their destinies were at length indissolubly interwoven; and amidst the bold and wild scenery of the home

[1] Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 127.

[2] Richard's father and brother were both buried at Pontefract, and so likewise was the Lady Anne's grandfather, the Earl of Salisbury, who shared the fate of his above-named illustrious kinsmen after the battle of Wakefield.

of their ancestors[1], did the Lady Anne and her princely consort pass the early days of their married life, when, young in age, although experienced in trial, they were thus enabled to share in those halcyon days of peace that once more dawned upon the land of their birth.

Few places were better in accordance with the vice-regal powers intrusted to Gloucester in the northern districts, than was the noble pile in which their bridal days were most probably passed.

Rearing its embattled towers among scenes fraught with the most stirring national associations; built on a rock whose rugged surface seemed fully in keeping with the impregnable stronghold that crowned its summit, the Castle of Pontefract, or Pomfret, as it is usually called, the patrimonial inheritance of the royal house of Lancaster, soared high above the surrounding lands; a fitting abode for the princely seneschals and hereditary high stewards of England.[2]

[1] Pontefract Castle was in the same county with Middleham, Warwick's baronial hall, and it also adjoined the patrimonial inheritance of Richard's ancestors; it being in the immediate vicinity of Sendal Castle and the town of Wakefield, both of which lordships appertained to his father, the Duke of York, whose unhappy fate was perpetuated by a beautiful little chapel erected by Edward IV. on the bridge of Wakefield; while a stone cross, raised on the greensward between this latter town and Sendal Castle, marked the precise spot where the battle was fought in which the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, and the unoffending Rutland met a violent death.

[2] King Henry III. bestowed the earldom of Leicester, with the seneschalcy or stewardship of England, upon Edmond Earl of Lancaster, his second son, on the attainder of Simon Monfort, Earl of Leicester, slain at the battle of Evesham, in the year 1264. Thomas Earl of Lancaster, his heir, beheaded at Pontefract in 1322, bore upon his seal the superscription: — "Sigillum Thome Comitis Lancastrie et Leicestrie, Senescalli Anglie." The same high office

Though dating its origin from the Norman conquest, it had been from time to time enlarged and beautified by the powerful and magnificent Earls of Lancaster[1], in those palmy days of feudal splendour, when each lordly chief played the part of sovereign in his extensive demesnes, and each proud baron was in truth a petty prince in his innumerable lordships and estates.

In this celebrated fortress, then — scarcely more remarkable for its imposing appearance, its strength, and baronial splendour, than for the dark and terrible deeds inseparably interwoven with its name[2]

was enjoyed successively by the Earl and Dukes of Lancaster (for so were they created 25 Edward III.) until the county palatine of Lancaster, with all the lands and honours belonging to the duchy of Lancaster, was carried to the crown in the person of Henry IV.; during whose reign, however, as well as under all the monarchs of that race, it still continued to be governed as a separate estate by its proper officers. On the accession of the house of York, King Edward IV. dissolved the former government; but although he appropriated the revenue exclusively to the crown, yet under certain modifications he sanctioned both the privileges and appointments which rendered it an estate apart from ordinary jurisdiction. The superintendence of these offices and powers were those that were now intrusted to Richard Duke of Gloucester.

[1] Pomfret Castle was the ancestral abode of the Earls of Lancaster, who shine so conspicuously in the early annals of English history. In the reign of Edward II. this splendid fortress became the property of the crown, on the attainder and execution of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, after the celebrated battle of Burrough-Brigg, 15 Edward II. It was, however, restored to his heir by that ill-fated monarch, and continued to be occupied by his descendants until conveyed to the crown with the rest of the duchy of Lancaster by Henry IV., the founder of that royal line. The above-named Thomas, as stated in a note at an earlier period of these memoirs, was the first peer of England who was executed on the scaffold. King Edward himself sate in judgment upon this princely noble, who was sentenced to be "hanged, drawn, and quartered; but, in regard of his regal blood, the extreme rigour of his doom was softened," and he was publicly beheaded, "before his own castle" of Pomfract, in the year 1322. — *Sandford*, book iii. p. 148.

[2] The miserable fate of the unhappy Richard II., said to have

—Gloucester and his gentle consort, the Lady Anne, appear, as far at least as can be gathered from the brief historical and local records of the period, to have enjoyed a peaceful termination to their recent persecutions[1]; and here, in the spring-time of their lives, and in the fulness of their happiness, they sought, and for a brief interval enjoyed, that rest and tranquillity which Richard had fully earned by his fidelity and zeal, and which Warwick's daughter must have been well contented to find after her sad reverses, and the calamitous scenes in which she had lately been called upon to participate.

been murdered at Pomfret Castle 1399, where, says the old chronicler (*Walsingham*, p. 363.), "he was served with costly meats, but not suffered to eate, and dyed of forced famine in the 34th year of his age," is too well known to need recapitulation.

[1] The Duke of Gloucester evinced his attachment to Pontefract in after years, by granting to the town the charter of incorporation immediately after his elevation to the throne.—*Rous*, p. 215.

CHAP. VIII.

The character of Richard Duke of Gloucester considered with reference to Shakspeare's tragedy of Richard III.—Gloucester's career as dramatically represented contrasted with historical records.—Shakspeare misled by the corrupt authorities of his age.—The fables of the early chroniclers furnished him with his descriptions.—The greater part of the charges brought against Richard of Gloucester by the dramatist disproved by the actual career of that prince, as verified by contemporary documents.

THE marriage of Richard Duke of Gloucester with the affianced bride of Prince Edward of Lancaster appears the most appropriate time that could be selected for contrasting their relative positions; as also for considering the character of the duke, as it is ordinarily received through the works of the immortal Shakspeare, with that of the less attractive but less erring evidence of historical records.

With great justice has it been observed by the learned author of the History of Durham[1]—a county in which, from his long residence, the Duke of Gloucester was judged by his own actions, rather than by the perverted statements of later times—that the "magic powers of Shakspeare have struck more terror to the soul of Richard, than fifty Mores or Bacons armed in proof."[2]

No individual who has bestowed attention on the

[1] Surtees's Hist. of Durham, p. lx.

[2] Sir Thomas More, and Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, wrote the history of the reigns of Richard III. and of his successor Henry VII.

subject can doubt the accuracy of this assertion; for the human mind is so constituted that pictorial representations, whether conveyed through the medium of the pen or the pencil, remain indelibly impressed on the imagination, to the utter exclusion of graver details, if chronology and antiquarian lore are essential to test their validity, and to displace the more pleasing impressions which have been received in childhood through the medium of dramatic scenes.

A few years since, it would have been thought little less than sacrilege to impugn the statements of England's mighty dramatist, although truth itself had presided at the inquiry. Even now, when the spirit of research has so weakened the influence of mere tradition as to afford encouragement to the humblest votary of historical studies to seek and elucidate facts, whatever may be the consequences of their publication; yet is the lofty position of the Bard of Avon so inseparably interwoven with national pride and national affection, that the necessity of making apparent how much his masterly pen was misled by corrupt authorities is a task from which a daring hand might shrink, and the delicacy and difficulty of which cannot but be felt by the author of these memoirs.

The hardihood of the undertaking, however, has been considerably lessened by the researches of those able commentators who have lately bestowed attention and labour upon the subject; while it should also be borne in mind that the beauty and power of Shakspeare's dramas are wholly independent of the perverted statements of which he

availed himself in their composition. "The youth of England," observes a late lamented writer, "have been said to take their religion from Milton, and their history from Shakspeare;"[1] and he illustrates the latter remark by the authority of Coleridge, who instanced the great Duke of Marlborough[2], Lord Chatham, and Southey[3] the poet laureate; all of whom, he says, have acknowledged that their principal acquaintance with English history was derived in boyhood from Shakspeare's historical dramas.

Surely then, if the important historical discoveries of late years have made apparent in several of these plays, inaccuracies and errors so striking, that, embracing as they do some of the leading events of our national annals, they can no longer escape observation, it behoves every admirer of Shakspeare, every individual who can appreciate the incomparable genius of the glory of the English drama, to add their feeble efforts towards clearing him from that imputation of chronological and historical error which really belongs only to the productions of those authors on whose testimony he rested his fame as an historical dramatic writer.

Independent of the justice of this measure towards one who has perpetuated some of the most glorious epochs in British history, it is moreover due to the bard as a debt of gratitude; for, by his unrivalled powers, he has given life to scenes, and

[1] See Commentaries on the Historical Plays of Shakespeare, by the Rt. Hon. Peregrine Courtenay. Preface, p. iv.
[2] Coleridge's Literary Remains, vol. ii. p. 166.
[3] Southey's Works, vol. i. p. viii.

importance to events, which otherwise, from their distant occurrence, would scarcely have been noticed in historical detail.

If Shakspeare has been the chief means of promulgating the erroneous traditions of the Tudor chroniclers, he has also been the leading instrument of making those errors known, by inducing a taste for historical knowledge, and creating such a lively interest for the periods which he so glowingly describes, that the intelligent mind seeks to perpetuate the pleasure derived from his writings by more minutely examining the sources from which he derived his graphic and affecting scenes. No one can peruse the works of Shakspeare without feeling the dignity and beauty of his productions; no one imbued with judgment to discern and taste to appreciate the bright inspirations of his genius, can fail of being an enthusiastic admirer both of the poet and the man. In all that relates to powerful imagery, to keen conception of human character, and deep knowledge of the workings of the human heart, the Bard of Avon reigns triumphant: in all that relates to the embodying, as it were, of virtue and vice, of fear, of love, of ambition, of hatred and revenge, every strong passion, in a word, that wars with frail mortality, the inimitable Shakspeare stands alone and unrivalled.

But the time has passed away when the dramatist would be sought as historic authority also[1]; and this not arising, it is scarcely necessary to say,

[1] "In the reign of King James I. the middling classes were familiarly acquainted with Shakspeare's plays, and referred to them for English history." — *Coleridge,* quoted by Courtenay.

from any defect in his composition, or weakness in delineating the events which he borrows from other writers, for in all such passages he improves and refines on the descriptions which he thought it fit to adopt, but because the periods of history from which the subjects selected by Shakspeare for his historical plays were taken "are such as at the best can be depended on only for some principal facts, and not for the minute detail by which characters are unravelled;"[1] some being too distant to be particular; others, "that of Richard for example, too full of discord and animosity to be true;"[2] while, throughout the whole series, supernatural causes are so intermingled, in accordance with the licence of the poetry and the belief of the age, that although these fables add, and were intended to add, force to dramatic effect, they can no longer pass current for history.

The fabulous traditions transmitted by the early chroniclers are now well understood as such; and although historical writing lost much of its poetical character where fiction was separated from fact, and the charm of legendary lore discarded to make room for simple but well-authenticated truths; yet such truths are far more desirable in the narration of national events, than the imagery of the poet or the embellishments of the dramatist.

In the tragedy about to be considered, the facts will best speak for themselves disrobed of their attractive dramatic garb, but not divested of their touching scenes, and such romantic incidents as

[1] Whately on Shakspeare, p. 28. [2] Ibid.

can be well substantiated; the union of which with the more harrowing details of darker ages gives so peculiar a charm to our early national history.

The actual career of Richard of Gloucester has been so perverted, to suit ulterior views, that but for the aid of chronology, the handmaiden of history, it would almost baffle the most diligent to unravel the mystery which has concealed the truth for upwards of three centuries: but we "may contemplate great characters," says Sir Egerton Brydges, "with the lights we have, till we can form them into new portraits. The outlines must be the same; but the tints, colourings, and aspects may be new." Such is the case with the subject under consideration; and although the new portrait of Richard of Gloucester must necessarily be at variance with that produced by the keenest delineator of human character that has perhaps ever appeared, yet justice requires that this prince should be contemplated in connection with the later information which modern research has rendered available. The outline of his portrait may remain the same, but the altered colouring and tints produce an aspect so different, that the picture becomes as it were new, when contrasted with the extravagant misrepresentation that has for years been palmed upon the world.

With the exception of a brief introduction, which will be presently noticed, Shakspeare commences his tragedy of Richard III. with the representation of the Lady Anne accompanying, as chief mourner, the corpse of King Henry VI. to Chertsey Abbey for interment, followed by her meeting, apparently accidentally, the Duke of Gloucester on the road;

when, after much angry recrimination, founded on his alleged murder of the unhappy monarch and his princely son, he succeeds in winning for his bride the reputed relict of Prince Edward of Lancaster. Avoiding a renewal of the arguments which have been already fully discussed, when historically considering Richard's imputed share in the murder of those royal personages, it is apparent, from facts now fully substantiated[1], that this prince and Warwick's daughter could not under any circumstances have met at King Henry's funeral; for the corpse of the unhappy monarch was taken to its final resting place by water, and buried at midnight. "In a barge solemnly prepared with torches," says the Chronicler of Croyland[2], "the body of King Henry was conveyed by water to Chertsey, there to be buried." With foreign mercenaries to guard the sacred deposit, the corpse was removed, without interruption, from St. Paul's to its place of interment, and there with all possible respect[3], and with the customary solemnities of the age, it was "buryed in our Ladye Chapelle at the Abbey."

Neither could the cousins by any possibility have met until very long after the funeral of the unfortunate Henry; for the Duke of Gloucester was in Kent with his royal brother at the time of this king's interment, and the Lady Anne was taken prisoner

[1] Pell. Records, p. 495. [2] Cont. Croy., p. 556.

[3] The expenses attendant on the funeral of King Henry VI. have been preserved in the "Issue Rolls of the Exchequer," and completely refute the erroneous statements of Hall, Grafton, and Holinshed, that no decent respect was paid to the mortal remains of this unhappy and afflicted monarch. These, together with many interesting particulars connected with his interment, may be found inserted at length in *Bayley's History of the Tower*, vol. ii. p. 333.

with Queen Margaret a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury (4th May), and remained either in state custody, or in the charge of Clarence, by reason of her attainder, until she was discovered in the disguise of a kitchen-maid during the Michaelmas term following.

Equally, too, has the hideous and deformed appearance ascribed to Gloucester (with which the tragedy commences) been shown to have resulted from subsequent political malice; and although it is quite true that this prince sought Warwick's daughter in marriage after the House of Lancaster became extinct, yet the alliance was effected by open appeal to his sovereign and his brother, and not secured, as dramatically represented, either by stratagem, by violence, or the result of that demoniacal fascination —

> "And I no friends to back my suit withal,
> But the plain devil, and dissembling looks,"[1] —

which furnished the bard with so powerful a subject for his keen and masterly delineation. The extreme loveliness of the Lady Anne which Shakspeare commemorates, and which afforded him so effective a contrast to her mis-shapen lover, appears to be founded on fact: but instead of that beauty being unexpectedly forced upon Gloucester's observation, in the interesting and touching garb of youthful widowhood, and heightened too by outraged feelings, his very words —

> "Your beauty, which did haunt me in my sleep,
> To undertake the death of all the world,
> So I might live an hour in your sweet bosom,"[2] —

[1] Richard III., Act. I. Scene 2. [2] Act I. Scene 2.

confirm rather than invalidate the inference already deduced from historical documents, that Gloucester's attachment for his young kinswoman originated in early years, and had never been banished from his remembrance.

> "Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears,"

even establish, to a certain degree, the testimony of those chroniclers who, in making Richard present at Prince Edward's death, assert that he drew not his sword from "respect to the prince's wife[1]," to whom Richard "was affectionately, though secretly, attached."[2] And when at length, by the decease of Edward of Lancaster, he was enabled to make known to the Lady Anne his long-cherished attachment, how widely different is the poet's startling account of the manner in which he secured the object of his love from the actual fact of the case, as given in the clear and simple narrative of the contemporary historian already detailed; and which led Richard, in the height of his prosperity, to seek out in her misery his persecuted cousin, and, before applying to the king for sanction to their union, to place her in an asylum too hallowed to be violated even by a character so fiend-like as that which Richard Duke of Gloucester is made to glory in possessing.

> "I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
> Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,
> Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
> Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
> And that so lamely and unfashionable,
> That dogs bark at me as I halt by them;—
> Why I, in this weak piping time of peace,
> Have no delight to pass away the time,
> Unless to spy my shadow in the sun,
> And descant on mine own deformity;

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[1] Buck, lib. iii. p. 81. [2] Ibid.

And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover,
To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
I am determined to prove a villain,
And hate the idle pleasures of these days." [1]

Shakspeare, says another of that poet's able commentators[2], makes great use of the current stories of the times concerning the circumstances of Richard's birth, "to intimate that his actions proceeded not from the occasion, but from a savageness of nature." The dramatist makes him to rejoice that the signs given at his birth were verified in his actions, and he makes him also to revel and luxuriate in crime, from its proving his innate propensity to evil, because, as observes the above-quoted commentator, "the deformity of his body was supposed to indicate a similar depravity of mind."[3] The historian, discarding all tradition connected with supernatural appearances, finds no foundation for so hateful a picture; but, on the contrary, invalidates the fables which have been so long promulgated, by producing the records of Gloucester's inflexible probity, of various rewards bestowed upon him for his fidelity, undeniable proofs of his firm attachment to his brother, and other testimonies of his gallant and noble deeds. His allegiance to his sovereign, and his peaceful demeanour to the queen consort and her family, are equally well attested; nor is there a single document, diary, or contemporary narrative to warrant the accusations which have been poetically fixed on Richard Duke of Gloucester, of hypocrisy to his youthful bride,

[1] Richard III., Act I. Sc. 1.
[2] Whately on Shakspeare, p. 35.
[3] Ibid., p. 36.

execration of his venerable parent, and fiend-like hatred and detestation of his brothers and his kindred.

To examine separately every unfair charge brought against Richard III. would exceed the limits that can be devoted to the present inquiry; but it is essential to notice the imputation that pervades the drama of Shakspeare, relative to his cruel and contemptuous treatment of King Edward's queen and connections.

> "My Lord of Gloster, I have too long borne
> Your blunt upbraidings, and your bitter scoffs:
> By Heaven, I will acquaint his majesty
> Of those gross taunts I often have endured.
> I had rather be a country servant maid,
> Than a great queen, with this condition,
> To be so baited, scorn'd, and storm'd at."[1]

If the smallest importance is to be attached to the authorities adduced in these memoirs, as connected with the earlier days of this prince's career, it must be apparent, that although the Duke of Clarence, immediately after the marriage of King Edward, absented himself from court, and openly gave vent to the most violent and rebellious feelings — feelings, indeed, so vindictive, that they eventually led to his inhumanly ordering search to be made for the queen's father and brother in their retreat in the Forest of Dean[2], to his commanding their execution without trial, and to his

[1] Richard III., Act I. Scene 3.

[2] "And at that tyme was the Lord Ryvers taken, and one of his sons, in the Forest of Dean, and brought to Northampton; and the Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Richard Herbert his brother, were beheaded all at Northampton, all four; by the commandment of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick." — *Warkworth's Chron.*, p. 7.

forthwith depriving the king and his royal consort of their regal honours and their crown; yet it is not only recorded of Richard, that he was most peaceable and well-conducted towards the queen and her kindred, but that her only surviving brother, the Lord Rivers, was associated in all the confidence of friendship with the monarch and himself during their exile; and that Gloucester and that nobleman mutually co-operated in re-establishing King Edward on the throne, and in releasing the queen and her infant offspring from sanctuary.[1] His unanimity with his royal brother has been attested by various documents, and the imprisonment of the Duke of Clarence, which Shakspeare makes to precede Richard's union with the Lady Anne, not only occurred some years subsequent to it, but could not by any possibility have been even contemplated at the time; for Gloucester had not only, a few months previously to that event, been the chief agent in reconciling the rebellious and ungrateful Clarence to his offended sovereign, but the avaricious opposition of this prince to Richard's proposed marriage with his cousin was the origin of those angry feelings which rankled in Clarence's heart until his death, but which appear not to have dwelt beyond, the dispute in question, either upon King Edward's mind, or that of his younger and more generous brother.

This is apparent from the fact, that the same year in which the union of Richard with the Lady Anne was solemnised, Clarence was invested, as the husband of the eldest sister, with the title and

[1] See Fleetwood's Chron., pp. 2, 3. 11.

dignities appertaining to his deceased father-in-law, the "Earl of Warwick[1]," the heirship of which formed that source of contention which has been already detailed; and the royal favour which conferred on the faithful Gloucester the stewardship of England in the north, and restored to him his recently forfeited dignity of high constable of the realm, was, with self-denying impartiality on the part of the king, extended also to the perfidious Clarence, who was nominated to the high appointment of lord chamberlain of England for life, which had been voluntarily relinquished by Gloucester[2], on his fixing his abode in the northern parts of the kingdom.

Again: the desolate, broken-hearted Margaret of Anjou, who is made by Shakspeare[3] to wander unrestrained through palaces tenanted by her rival, Elizabeth Wydville, and to indulge in language little reconcilable either with her subdued spirit, or the portly and polished demeanour attributed to

[1] "In the 12th Edw. IV. (in consideration of that his marriage with Isabel, the eldest daughter and co-heiress to the before-mentioned Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury) he was, by special letters patent (*Rot. Pat.*, p. 4614. art. 70.), dated the 25th March, created 'Earl of Warwick and Salisbury;' and about two months after, viz. the 20th May, 1472, upon the surrender of his brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, he had the office of great chamberlain of England granted unto him for term of life; which high office had appertained to Richard Earl of Warwick before his decease at Barnet." — *Sandford*, book v. p. 413.

[2] By patent 20th May, 12th Edw. IV., — stating that the king had on the 18th May in the preceding year granted to his brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, the office of great chamberlain of England for life; that he had resigned the office, and that his majesty had conferred the same on the Duke of Clarence. — *Add. MSS. by Rymer for the Reign of Edw. IV.*, No. 4614. art. 70.

[3] Richard III., Act I. Sc. 3.

King Rene's accomplished daughter by her contemporaries[1], was at the same period closely incarcerated in the Tower, where she was imprisoned from the day preceding her husband's death until she was removed in custody, first to Windsor, and thence to Wallingford. She was afterwards ransomed, at the expiration of five years, by her father and the French king[2], into whose dominions she was conveyed, with little respect and no regal state; and where, bereft of all domestic ties, and with a heart seared by trials and withered by afflictions, the heroic Margaret of Lancaster ended her most calamitous career.

Many other scenes in this tragedy might be as strongly contrasted with contemporary documents, did the necessity of such a measure justify so long a digression. A few leading points, however, are alone sufficient to establish the object proposed—that of placing in juxta-position the character and career of Richard Duke of Gloucester, as perpetuated by Shakspeare, and such as it is proved to have been from authentic historical records. Before seeking for the causes that induced such discrepancy of detail and led to such conflicting statements, it is necessary, towards forming a right judgment on the subject, to consider further the imputations that are connected by Shakspeare with Richard's early childhood, as well as such calumnies as are heaped upon him in maturer years,—if, indeed, such a term is applicable at nineteen, his age at the period when the drama that

[1] Harl. MSS. No. 542. [2] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 89.

bears his name commences. Few persons, however, on perusing its opening scenes, would imagine that the two characters there introduced to their notice were young persons in the spring-time of life: a mis-shapen monster, if not hoary in age, at least advanced in years, and hardened in vice, is the association impressed by the description of Richard of Gloucester, instead of that of a youth distinguished by his gallantry, his prowess, and his noble achievements; while the sentiments and conduct of the Lady Anne, little in accordance with her youthful age of seventeen, leave the impression of one well accustomed to the arts of flattery, and easily entrapped by the prospect of worldly advancement, in however unseemly a form it may be conveyed. This total disregard of the ages of the chief parties concerned, appears to be one leading cause of the erroneous views which have been so long entertained relative to Richard of Gloucester. It explains the discrepancies in date which occur in Shakspeare when he introduces this prince in other of his historical plays[1]; and reconciles also many seeming inconsistencies connected with acts laid to the charge of Richard of Gloucester, both in them and in the tragedy which is more particularly commemorative of his career. Thus, when a mere infant in arms, nay, even before he was born, he is by the dramatist made to take part in the feuds of the times, and also to display his callous and hardened nature. Such, for example, is the memorable scene that follows the execution of Jack

[1] Second and Third Parts of Henry VI.

Cade, in which Richard, bearding the veteran Clifford in that well-known passage,—

> "Oft have I seen a hot o'erweening cur
> Run back and bite, because he was withheld,"[1]—

is thus rebuked by the warrior:—

> "Hence, heap of wrath, foul indigested lump,
> As crooked in thy manners as thy shape!"[2]

Now Iden, the sheriff of Kent, beheaded this rebel in July, 1450, just two years before Richard was born.[3] At the first battle of St. Alban's, Gloucester is not only named as slaying the Duke of Somerset, but is again displayed in the odious light that renders his name so detestable.

> "Sword, hold thy temper; heart, be wrathful still:
> Priests pray for enemies, but princes kill."[4]

And although little more than two years old at this very battle, the Duke of Gloucester is in addition represented as thrice saving the life of the valiant Earl of Salisbury.

> ——"My noble father,
> Three times to-day I holp him to his horse,
> Three times bestrid him, thrice I led him off,
> Persuaded him from any further act."[5]

At the battle of Wakefield, in the year 1460, when Richard was but eight years of age, and, as already mentioned, left under the charge of his mother, Cecily Duchess of York, in London, he is said to have been present in Sendal Castle, and there to have precociously displayed that depravity

[1] Second Part of Henry VI., Act. V. Scene 1. [2] Ibid.
[3] W. Wyr., p. 470.
[4] Act V. Scene 2. [5] Ibid., Scene 3.

and ambition, which forms the basis of the tragedy which has so contributed to blight this prince's fame: —

> "An oath is of no moment"[1] —

Again —

> ——— "And father, do but think,
> How sweet a thing it is to wear a crown."[2]

At the battle of Mortimer's Cross, and at that of Towten, both occurring after he had been sent by the Lady Cecily to Utrecht for safety, Richard is again represented, child as he then was, and far removed from the scene of action, as taking a leading part in the events of the day; singling out the boldest of their foes, and giving vent to those demoniacal sentiments which throughout these tragedies, by inducing the execrations which so abound against the "foul-mouthed crook-back," accustom the mind to invest him with such revolting characteristics and personal deformities, as fully to justify the yet more odious picture he is eventually to exhibit in the character of King Richard III. Moreover, although he was a mere youth, of such tender years that he is only historically named as the object of his widowed parent's anxiety and of his royal brother's bounty upon King Edward's accession to the crown, he is, notwithstanding, associated by the dramatist with the monarch from that period upon every occasion, and made to take part with him in every battle, as his equal in age, in experience, valour, and judgment: though King Edward himself was but eighteen

[1] Third Part of Hen. VI., Act I. Scene 2. [2] Ibid.

when he ascended the throne, and Richard an infant of eight years. It may also be observed, that there exists no document to prove his acting in any military capacity until ten years following that period; when the king was driven into exile, and Gloucester aided and fought to secure his brother's restoration.

These striking anomalies may be satisfactorily explained in two ways: partly, indeed, from the licence permitted to the dramatist, as relates to time, action, and embellishment of character[1]; but they are chiefly to be attributed to the incorrect source from whence Shakspeare derived his authority; not alone for his deformed portraiture both of Richard's mind and person, but also for most of the historical scenes connected with his career. That the poet succeeded in embodying to the life the leading features ascribed to Richard at the period when he wrote, and in making the crimes imputed to this prince seem the natural result of a temperament and form so hideous, is evinced not only by the popularity that has ever attended the representation of this tragedy, but would seem also to be particularly illustrated by the fact of the bust of Richard III. being one out of three selected to embellish the monument of Shakspeare pre-

[1] The historical events recorded in Shakspeare's tragedy of Richard III. occupy a space of about fourteen years, but are frequently confused for the purposes of dramatic representation. The second scene of the first act commences with the funeral of King Henry VI., who is said to have been murdered on the 21st of May, 1471, while the imprisonment of Clarence, which is represented previously in the first scene, did not take place till 1477-8. — *Shakspeare*, Valpy edition.

sented by Garrick to the poet's native town: thus indicating that in the estimation of one of his most skilful and ardent admirers a reference to this tragedy was considered one of the most appropriate emblems that could be chosen to perpetuate this poet's accurate display of the workings of the human heart.[1] As regards the source from whence he gleaned materials that called forth so brilliant a display of his genius and transcendant dramatic powers, no doubt exists of the bard having selected as his chief authority, Holinshed, the latest and the most prejudiced of the Tudor historians: and that he is admitted so to have done is demonstrated in the painting of Shakspeare, preserved in the Town Hall of Stratford upon Avon; in which, occupying a prominent position in the ground before him, lie Holinshed's Chronicles, mingled with such ancient writers and legendary tales as the dramatist is known to have consulted in his other productions.

Here lies the explanation of those long-perpetuated fables, which the historian cannot but deeply lament, and which, usurping the place of facts, have transformed the narrative of the life of Richard Duke of Gloucester into a wild unnatural romance, rather than embracing that intermixture of strength and weakness, which, when truth alone furnishes the tale, will be found on reference to our regal annals—with few exceptions at least—to

[1] Amongst the memorials of Shakspeare at Stratford-upon-Avon, the place of his birth, is the full-length figure of the bard, in a niche in front of the Town Hall; the pedestal supporting which is ornamented with three busts, viz. Henry V., Richard III., and Queen Elizabeth.

sum up the career of crowned heads, no less than of individuals in a humbler station of life. But history was not pursued in Shakspeare's time with the research and attention to chronological exactness which now characterise the study. The difficulty of procuring original documents, or of ascertaining if such records had been preserved, compelled the annalists of that early period to copy the works of preceding chroniclers, and thus perpetuate their erroneous statements, or even to increase the mischief of original inaccuracy by engrafting on hearsay reports the embellishments of a wonder-loving age.

It was, indeed, the almost utter impossibility of testing such contradictory reports, and the evident dearth of proper materials for the compilation of historical works, that first led to the foundation of those valuable libraries, which, under the names of the Cottonian[1], Harleian, Bodleian, and similar collections, have so deservedly commemorated their great founders[2], and which, open as they now are to the public, afford such rich sources of reference to all persons desirous of seeking truth, and of correcting the errors to which the annalists of such times were liable.

[1] Sir Robert Cotton, who was contemporary with Shakspeare, both having flourished during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had observed with regret that the history, laws, and constitution of Britain were in general very inefficiently understood; and in an expensive and indefatigable labour of upwards of forty years, he accumulated those numerous and inestimable treasures which compose the Cottonian Library. These valuable records are deposited in the British Museum, and open to public inspection. — See *Preface to the Catalogue of the Harl. MSS.*, p. 2.

[2] See Appendix GG.

The earliest printed chronicles relating to the period under consideration were not published until after the accession of the Tudor dynasty, when it was the interest of the writers to secure popularity by aspersing the characters of Richard III., and perpetuating every report that could strengthen the cause of the reigning sovereign and justify the deposal and death of his rival. "It is to Polydore Virgil," observes an able writer of the present day[1], "that we must look as the source whence the stream of succeeding historians chiefly borrowed their materials." This historian wrote his work by express command of King Henry VII., the successor and bitter enemy of Richard. Hall copied from him, but with his own additions, gleaned from the malignant reports of the times, which were then in full force; and Grafton and Holinshed copied Hall, giving as positive facts, however, much matter which Hall himself merely reported from hearsay or conjecture: and all these chroniclers, availing themselves largely of the graphic descriptions of Sir Thomas More, incorporated in their works his monstrous account of Richard Duke of Gloucester, without seeking to invalidate the inconsistencies of More's narrative by reference to contemporary writers or to early and unpublished authorities.

If, then, the best materials for compiling the historical records of this period, could alone be gleaned from the most corrupt and prejudiced

[1] See Sir Frederick Madden's documents relative to Perkin Warbeck, *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 153.

sources; and if Shakspeare selected as his guide the chronicler who had most fully incorporated every tradition, every surmise, and every marvellous or malicious report, connected with the last of the Plantagenet monarchs,—and this from believing it to be the most standard and true authority, as well as the latest and most popular account—sufficient foundation will appear for the odious picture which has so long been received as the exact representation of this much-calumniated prince. The Tudor historians themselves had either no means of access to contemporary documents, or were altogether unacquainted with the Croyland chronicler, and with those other more concise narratives connected with Richard's time which were afterwards collected by John Stow, and are now deposited in the Harleian library. These records were altogether unavailable to the poet, even had he been disposed for the laborious toil which was then incident to historical research: for let it not be forgotten that when the Bard of Avon flourished, the two university libraries were almost the only repositories of books of erudition in the kingdom, and that these were but scantily supplied; the Royal library, founded after the general dissolution of religious houses from manuscripts collected out of the spoils of the monasteries by the second monarch of the Tudor dynasty, being exclusively appropriated to the use of the royal family and their instructors.[1]

Shakspeare, however, did not profess to be an

[1] Preface to the Catalogue of the Harl. MSS.

historian: his vocation was that of a dramatist; his compositions were written from the creative fervour of his genius; and, unrestrained by history, he took the hint of his characters from the current fables of the day, and "adapted their depositions so as to give to such fictions a show of probability."[1] In his capacity of actor, manager, and poet, he had no time to seek out materials which were difficult of access; his object was emphatic recitation, distinction and preservation of character, and the production, through the medium of the outward senses, of such pictures as would rest on the mind.

Facts well substantiated and chronological exactness are indispensable to the historian. Not so to the dramatist: he is licensed to substitute the type for the reality, and is privileged to select only the most striking features in illustration of the scenes which he undertakes to pourtray. Like an historical painter, he must crowd into the small space allowed him the leading personages connected with that subject; and, although unfettered by the minute exactness which is required in more elaborate productions, he must grasp the entire outline of his design, and develope the plot through the medium of the characters themselves, by making each individual support the part which he was supposed to have enacted when living. Thus it is apparent, that however pleasing the representation of an historical play, yet, as in the case of an historical romance, it can scarcely be considered the most effective or the surest mode of conveying his-

[1] Whately on Shakspeare, p. 20.

torical instruction. Most unphilosophical, then, is it to form an estimate of the character of Richard of Gloucester from such a source; considering that the remarkable scenes connected with his chequered life not merely afforded the most fertile theme for the display of the poet's peculiar genius, but that, from the striking and varied points in his character as delineated by Shakspeare in accordance with the belief of the times, this tragedy has been invariably selected to develope the highest efforts of the histrionic art; and, by means of Garrick, Kemble, Cooke, Kean, and other great tragedians, has acquired a degree of popularity, and been invested with a spirit and appearance of truth, far beyond many other of this great dramatist's inimitable productions.

The leading events contained in the tragedy of Richard III., more especially such as are connected with the depravity of his mind and the deformity of his person, are either closely copied from Holinshed, or from his authority on such points—Sir Thomas More; so literally, indeed, that many passages are merely changed from the quaint prose version of the chroniclers themselves to the melodious verse of Shakspeare. But as these passages chiefly relate to portions of the monarch's life not yet considered in these memoirs, it would be premature here to extract the examples that might be adduced in corroboration of this acknowledged fact. Sufficient, it is hoped, has been advanced to render it apparent that the prejudices entertained against Richard of Gloucester in Shakspeare's time led to his being charged by the dramatist in his earlier

days with crimes in which, from his youthful age, he could by no possibility have participated; and those scenes in which he did take part, and which are considered to cast so dark a shade over his character, were rather incident to the period in which he lived, than to any savage ferocity peculiar to himself. For example[1], perjury then was common, and selfish ambition prevailed to an almost inconceivable degree; even bloodshed, also, was characteristic of the times[2], which was made up of events in which treasonable plots, personal malice, bitter revenge, and unblushing perfidy were the principal features. From the time of the Norman conquest to the close of the Plantagenet race—that is to say, through the entire of what is ordinarily termed "the middle ages," political expediency was the prevailing incentive to action. It may be alleged,

[1] In confirmation of this it will be sufficient to direct attention to the perjury of Edward IV., not only at York (*Warkworth's Chronicle*, p. 14.), but on two other memorable occasions: this unworthy act, conjoined to a spirit of revenge, having caused the murder of Lord Welles and Sir Thomas Dymock, before his expulsion from the throne (see *Excerpta Historica*, p. 282.), and led to the execution of the Duke of Somerset and fourteen other Lancastrian leaders after his restoration, and in the face of his solemn pledge of safety at Tewkesbury. — *Warkworth's Chronicle*, p. 19. The perfidiousness of the Duke of Burgundy to the Count St. Pol, whom, under the mask of friendship, he inveigled into his power by promises of safe conduct, merely at the end of his journey to deliver him up to his enemy, Louis XI., for execution, is equally well known (*Habington*, p. 179.); while the mercenary and selfish treachery displayed by the heads of so noble a family as the Talbots, who, in conjunction with Sir John Tempest, captured, by the aid of a renegade monk, their meek and afflicted monarch, Henry VI., solely for the reward, in which they conjointly shared (*Warkworth's Chronicle*, p. 41.), will sufficiently pourtray the moral turpitude of the age, and depict the abject state of society in that corrupt and lawless period.

[2] See Stow's Annals, p. 422.

and perhaps justly, that in the present, as in the former age, expediency is often substituted as a rule of action for the immutable moral standard. Admitting this to be the fact, it must, nevertheless, be allowed, that although we may not actually be less immoral or less vicious, yet our manners are more refined, and our understandings are more enlightened. Shakspeare flourished at the dawn of this more enlightened period; and the career of Richard Duke of Gloucester, whose death terminated the dark and corrupt era which ushered in so bright an order of things, was a theme too rich in variety of subject, too fertile in harrowing scenes, to be overlooked by the dramatist; the more so, as his royal mistress, who distinguished him with her favour and patronage[1], rejoiced at the public debasement of a monarch whose ruin had elevated her grandsire to the crown[2], and laid the foundation of that dynasty of which she was so bright an ornament.

[1] Queen Elizabeth distinguished him with her favour; and her successor, King James, with his own hand, honoured the great dramatist with a letter of thanks for the compliment paid in Macbeth to the royal family of the Stuarts. — *Symmon's Life of Shakspeare*, p. x.

[2] "It is evident from the conduct of Shakspeare," says Lord Orford in his philosophical inquiry connected with this point, "that the house of Tudor retained all their Lancastrian prejudices even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In his play of Richard III. the bard seems to deduce the woes of the house of York from the curses which Queen Margaret had vented against them; and he could not give that weight to her curses without supposing a right in her to utter them." — *Hist. Doubts*, p. 114. Malone also, in his comment upon this tragedy, says, "That the play was patronised by the queen on the throne, who probably was not a little pleased at seeing King Henry VII. placed in the only favourable light in which he could have been exhibited on the scene." — *Courtenay's Commentaries*, vol. ii. p. 116.

"Never had poet a better right to use freely the licence allowed to poets," observes one of his learned commentators[1], "or less necessity for drawing upon unpoetical stores for any portion of his fame;"[2] yet he adds, "either he or his more ancient author has taken such liberties with facts and dates, and has omissions so important, as to make the pieces, however admirable as a drama, quite unsuitable as a medium of instruction to the English youth." All farther investigation of this point, however, would greatly exceed the space that could be awarded to it in these memoirs. Suffice it to say, that the chronological errors of Shakspeare must be attributed to the dramatic spirit in which he wrote; and his misconception of events purely historical, to the difficulty of testing history with mere tradition, at the period when he produced his incomparable works. If the all-absorbing nature of his pursuits led Shakspeare in some instances to pursue it to the sacrifice alike of fact and justice, yet the insuperable obstacles that presented themselves, even to such as were willing and anxious to consult original authority, completely exonerates the bard from all imputation of intentionally misrepresenting persons or events; while it as fully exculpates the old chroniclers from wilful departure from truth, and also satisfactorily explains the cause of those contradictory, erroneous, and perverted statements which influenced Shakspeare in his historical details.

In truth, misled as the poet was by bad autho-

[1] Courtenay's Commentaries, vol. i. p. viii. [2] Ibid.

rities, but yet making a correct dramatic use of them, Shakspeare's tragedy of Richard III., so long considered as a just representation of that prince's mind, person, and actions, ought rather to be viewed in the light of a masterly delineation of the all-absorbing passion of ambition, when pursued in defiance of duty, both moral and religious, and regardless alike of all restraint imposed by divine or human laws.

It is, however, it should be distinctly observed, the materials used by Shakspeare in his play, and not his management of the character of Richard III. derived from them, that have formed the subject of the present inquiry; and it must be apparent to all who will calmly consider the point, that an imposing representation founded on the generally received story of this monarch, together with an eager desire to grasp the entire subject as a whole, was the main object of the bard, and not a close adherence to facts, or a chronological arrangement of such events as he considered fitting for scenic exhibition. He thought as a dramatist, and made mere matter of fact subservient to the powerful delineation of such characters as presented themselves to his comprehensive mind. He cast from him those bonds which would have fettered the antiquary and the historian; and many an admiring audience has thronged to revel on scenes which would have probably lived but for a brief period had they been less poetically, but more truly, depicted. Nevertheless, however winning and fascinating the productions of Shakspeare may be, as transporting his readers to the times which his graphic description

seems to revivify and people with living actors, it cannot fail to be lamented by the historian, and by all who desire that truth and not fiction should characterise the national archives of England, in the delineation of the lives and characters of British sovereigns, that Richard III., the last monarch of the chivalrous Plantagenets, should have been selected by their national bard as the individual on whom to exercise his fertile genius, and to display his transcendant powers as a dramatist, since the incorrect authorities to which alone he had access, and by which he was consequently misled, were the cause of his depicting Richard of Gloucester unfaithfully, according to genuine historical record. The "Lancastrian partialities of Shakspeare," Sir Walter Scott observes[1], "and a certain knack at embodying them, have turned history upside down, or rather inside out."

[1] Rob Roy, vol. i. p. 231.

CHAP. IX.

Popularity of Richard Duke of Gloucester in the northern counties. — Extensive powers with which he was invested in that district. — Edward Plantagenet, his eldest son, born at Middleham Castle. — Richard's honourable conduct and high character at this period of his career, shown by extracts from the northern historians. — He accompanies King Edward in his projected war with France. — Gloucester's indignation at the inglorious result of that enterprise. — Causes that led to the quarrel between the king and the Duke of Clarence. — Death of Clarence. — Gloucester exculpated from all participation either in the dispute or in the death of his brother. — Gloucester assists at the marriage of his infant nephew the Duke of York. — Obtains a licence to found and endow a collegiate church at Middleham. — Gloucester's eldest son created Earl of Salisbury.

FROM the period when Richard Duke of Gloucester assumed the vice-regal command of the northern parts of the kingdom, for such term may justly be applied to the extensive powers with which he was invested, he appears to have taken little or no part in political affairs, as far at least as relates immediately to his brother's court and general administration, but to have devoted himself, with the energy and zeal that formed so striking a feature in his character, to the wants of that district which was intrusted to his government. He directed his attention towards healing the divisions that had long distracted that part of King Edward's dominions,—the abode of the Cliffords, the Percys, the Nevilles, the Montagues, the rallying point indeed of the Lancastrian nobles, and of the most chivalrous yet

turbulent spirits in the kingdom, — and rendering his brother's government popular, and acceptable even to the very enemies of their house, by the justice, vigour, and clemency which characterised his proceedings during the period in which he presided over the northern division of the country. Setting aside many minor appointments, he was justiciary of North Wales, warden of the west marches of Scotland, keeper of all the king's forests beyond Trent, chief seneschal or steward of the duchy of Lancaster in the northern parts, lord admiral and lord high constable of England, and proprietor, in right of the Lady Anne Neville his wife, of half of the enormous possessions appertaining to her late father, which were increased ten-fold in value, as well as in extent, by the gifts of the king, and the rewards which he bestowed upon his brother, in that particular district with which his name will henceforth be chiefly associated.

Gloucester's career, then, from the probable period of his marriage in the year 1472, must be chiefly sought for through the medium of local historians ; and it is happy for this prince, towards rescuing his memory from the unqualified and sweeping charges that after times have brought against him, that documents still exist amongst the municipal and collegiate records of many ancient places and provincial towns that were immediately under his jurisdiction, associating his name and his acts altogether with those localities, and thus rendering untenable the tradition that fixed him without intermission about the person and

incorporated him with all the proceedings of his royal brother's court. These records exhibit not only his talents and his virtues in a clear and indisputable form, but also bear testimony to the wisdom and ability for government which even at this period gave such conclusive evidence of his vigorous mind, but which, from being so early and prominently called into action, fomented that passion for sovereign power which was inherent in his race, and which proved his bane in after life, although it led to the establishment of his fame at this the brightest period of his career.

The Castle of Pomfret was not the only abode of Richard Duke of Gloucester. This fortress, indeed, appears to have been his state residence in virtue of his extensive offices; but Middleham, which he is said to have ever regarded with such warm interest, was his domestic home.[1] This castle and lordship was bestowed upon him by King Edward IV., probably at his earnest request, shortly after the death and attainder of the Earl of Warwick; and its association with every leading point of interest connected with the spring-time of his life, and that of the Lady Anne, explains fully, when taken in conjunction with his energetic temperament, the cause of his predilection for the spot, and of its being selected after their marriage as their fixed home and private dwelling-place.

In the year 1473, their happiness was rendered more complete by the birth of an heir to their vast possessions. "Edward, the eldest son of Richard

[1] Whitaker's Hist. of Richmond, vol. i. p. 99.

Duke of Gloucester was born at Middleham near Richmond, 1473;"[1] and in that favourite abode of his parents—the scene of their youthful pleasures and early attachment — this infant scion of a noble race appears to have passed not merely his infancy but the chief portion of his life.

The final division of lands awarded to Warwick's co-heiresses was not decided until after the birth of this child, viz. 1474[2]; but the rich portion which became at length vested in Gloucester by right of his wife appears to have added fresh vigour to Richard's operations in the north of England, judging at least from his alternate residences after the decision, in so many and in such various places, and all apparently with the view of repairing the ruin which civil warfare had brought upon the castellated mansions which were now either under his government, or entailed upon himself and his offspring.

"The employment of this duke" (observes the historian of Durham[3]) "was for the most part in the north; and there lay his appanage and patrimony, with a great estate of the duchess his wife, of which the seignory of Penrith in Cumberland was part, where he much resided, and built or repaired most of the castles, all that northern side generally acknowledging and honouring his magnificent deportment." But it was not alone the restoration of castles and strongholds that occupied Gloucester's attention and called forth his zeal and munificence; to his honour let it be recorded, that

[1] King's Vale Royal, p. 33. [2] Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 100.
[3] Surtees's Hist. of Durham, p. 67.

religion and the worship of God in temples consecrated to His service was fully as much the object of his active zeal and attention, as the repair of those defensive fabrics that suited his warlike temperament. Whitaker states, in his most interesting History of Richmondshire, that that county abounds with memorials of this prince's bounty to chantries and religious houses.[1] "He seems," adds this able writer, "to have divided his residence for a considerable time between his castle here [Middleham] and that of Skipton. He bestowed liberally on the monks of Coverham and the parish of Skipton for the repair of their respective churches; but under the walls of his own castle, 'his favourite Middleham,' he meditated greater things."[2] And greater he did indeed accomplish; for although it may appear somewhat premature to anticipate the events of so lengthened a period as ten years, yet any evidence that can bear honourable testimony to the temperate conduct and peaceable character of Richard of Gloucester during that interval, and on a point so important as that of healing the domestic feuds which had so long distracted the kingdom, is invaluable towards rescuing his memory from the odious and hateful associations that have for ages been affixed to his name. One more quotation, then, in corroboration of this fact, must be permitted from the historian of Durham, who was so well qualified to judge, and to ascertain by diligent local research, the important truths which he asserts and substantiates by indisputable records

[1] Vol. i. p. 99. [2] Ibid. p. 335.

relative to this prince. "He was at least," says Surtees,[1] "whilst Duke of Gloucester, popular in the north, where he was best known." . . . "He followed the fortunes of his brother Edward with unshaken fidelity through many a bloody field; and when the title of York was established, his conduct won the affection of those northern counties in which, from the united influence of the great houses of Percy, Neville, and Clifford, the influence of the Lancastrian interest had been most prevalent."

How different is this portraiture of Richard Duke of Gloucester from that which is ordinarily given of him! How dissimilar was the active, useful, peaceable life which he really led, when reposing for a brief interval from the warlike duties of his martial profession, from that "malicious and wrathful" career which, unqualified by any one redeeming point, has been usually considered to have characterised the actions of this prince from the period of King Edward's restoration to the throne until the end of that monarch's reign!

Innumerable instances may be gathered from the local and provincial histories already referred to, as well as from other works connected with the northern counties, of Gloucester's attention to his domestic duties, his kindness to his attendants, his prudence and economy in the regulation of his household, and his bounty and munificence to the church; this, together with his justice to the poor and his hospitality to the rich, endeared him to all

[1] Hist. Durham, p. 66.

ranks throughout the extensive district which was intrusted to his charge. "It is plain," observes Drake[1] in his valuable History of York, "that Richard, represented as a monster of mankind by most, was not so esteemed in his lifetime in these northern parts;" and the very terms of the grant by which King Edward conveyed to his brother the castle and manor of Skipton, above named, adds force to the evidence of these northern historians, of the straightforward and highly honourable conduct pursued by the prince who was appointed to preside over their rights and their privileges:—"The king, in consideration of the laudable and commendable service of his dear brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, as for the encouragement of piety and virtue in the said duke, did give and grant to him, &c. &c. the honour, castle, manor, and demesnes of Skipton, with the manor of Marton."[2]

Clearly, however, as these facts pourtray his temperate and judicious policy as regards his public administration, there is a document extant which yet more strongly evinces his generosity and kindness of heart towards his kindred, and illustrates by a pleasing example the nature of that influence which he possessed over the king, and the manner in which he exercised it, to soften his royal brother's revengeful spirit, and to preserve for the male line of the house of Neville a remnant at least of that vast inheritance which had been by the attainder of their race alienated from them. On the 23d February, 1475, an act was passed which recites

[1] Drake's Eboracum, p. 123. [2] Parl. Rolls, 15 Ed. IV.

that the king, considering the treasons and other offences committed by John Neville, late Marquis Montague[1], had intended by the authority of the present parliament to have attainted him and his heirs for ever; "which to do, he, at the humble request and prayer of his right dear brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, and other lords of his blood, as of other his lords, spareth, and will no further proceed in that behalf." But to guard against the possibility of Gloucester's being himself, by reason of this act, dispossessed of any lands and possessions that the Lord Montague's son, from the abandonment of the attainder, might hereafter claim, as the heir at law to his late uncle, the Earl of Warwick, this same act most carefully secures Richard from any such contingency[2], the award to the Lord Montague being limited to such possessions only as had belonged to his father, and not such as would under other circumstances have accrued to him, as the heir at law, and head of the house of Neville.

This legislative enactment tends greatly to exonerate Gloucester from those mercenary feelings, and from that malicious and covetous disposition, which neither consanguinity, it was believed, could soften, or friendship qualify or subdue.

[1] Rot. Parl. vol. vi. p. 124.

[2] "The king, remembering the great and laudable services that his said right dear brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, hath dyvers tymes done to his highness, ordaineth and enacteth that his said brother shall have and hold to him and the heirs of his body so long as there should be any heir male of the said marquis' numerous honours, castles, lordships, and manors (which are enumerated) in the county of York, which lately belonged to Richard Neville, late Earl of Warwick." If the issue male of the said marquis died without issue male during the duke's lifetime, he was to hold the estate for his life. — *Rot. Parl.*, vol. vi. p. 124.

It likewise certainly weakens the imputation cast upon this prince by Rous[1], but evidently without authority[2], that he "imprisoned for life the Countess of Warwick, who had fled to him for refuge." The probability is rather that he aided to restore her to liberty, and to release her from the religious sanctuary which she had been compelled to adopt upon her own and her husband's attainder; for in the Paston Letters, bearing date 1473, it is stated that "the Countess of Warwick is out of Beaulieu sanctuary, and that Sir James Tyrrel conveyeth her northwards: men say, by the king's assent; whereto some men say, that the Duke of Clarence liketh it not."[3] Now, as she was removed to her native county and restored to her kindred by the "assent" of the king, although in avowed opposition to the wishes of the Duke of Clarence, the inference is, that a third party petitioned for her release: and who so likely to do so as Richard of Gloucester, who had recently been united to her youngest child, the companion and participator, nay, in one sense, the cause of all her parent's late trials and misfortunes? while the opposition made by Clarence to the restoration of his mother-in-law to freedom was only in accordance with the same ungenerous spirit that made him covet the whole of her vast possessions, and even rendered it necessary for his royal brother to strip the hapless countess altogether of her rich inheritance before the quarrel could be appeased between that avaricious prince and Richard Duke of Gloucester. There exists,

[1] Hist. Reg. Anglica, p. 215. [2] Historic Doubts, p. 111.
[3] Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 145.

indeed, not a single record to fix upon this latter prince either severity or persecution towards the unfortunate countess; neither could she by any possibility have "fled to him for refuge," as stated by Rous, for she was not at large at the period named; besides, the religious asylum which had protected her from the period of her husband's death was far greater security than any protection that could have been given her by Richard of Gloucester.

The division of her lands — if after attainder they could any longer be considered as hers — was commanded by the king in council in 1472.[1] She was not released from sanctuary until 1473, and then it was openly, not covertly done, and with the express consent of the sovereign. Suitable escort was also provided by the king to ensure her safety during her progress northwards: and this circumstance must not be overlooked; for it is essential to the exculpation of Gloucester, to call attention to the fact, that Sir James Tyrrel, though associated in after years with Richard, was at this time in the service of Edward IV., being master of the horse and a considerable officer of the crown[2], and not in the slightest degree under the control of the Duke of Gloucester, or connected with his household.

In 1474 the act of parliament specified that the Countess of Warwick was no more to be considered in the award of her inheritance than "if she were naturally dead;"[3] but this cruel decision, be it re-

[1] Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 90.
[2] See Horace Walpole's reply to the president of the Society of Antiquaries, published in the Archæologia for 1770.
[3] Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 100.

membered, was the act of the legislature, not that of Richard Duke of Gloucester. He had, indeed, no object after this decision for incarcerating the relict of the attainted Warwick; and no prison under his control is named as the scene of her captivity, no fortress has ever been associated with Richard's tyranny to his wife's mother, whilst his intercession for Montague's children affords ample ground, in conjunction with the above fact, to warrant the supposition that he also exerted himself to soften the condition of the venerable countess by restoring her to her kindred and to liberty, although he had no power to re-invest her either with lands or possessions.

Whatever motives may be attributed to Richard, either as connected with the acquisition of wealth for mere personal aggrandisement or authority, to forward his ambitious views, and increase his sway in the extensive district intrusted to his charge, one thing, at all events, is apparent, viz. that he exercised his vast power for the benefit of the community at large, and that he won universal popularity throughout a district embracing the most turbulent portion of King Edward's dominions, by the active zeal and well-tempered judgment that made him the defender of the oppressed[1], and the advocate of justice, without any respect to persons, and without recourse to those severities which were common to the fierce and unsettled times in which he lived. On this point all the northern historians are fully agreed, and their local testimony is amply corroborated by

[1] See Plumpton Correspondence, p. 26.

various public documents bearing on the period, and connected with the acts that thus tend to retrieve Gloucester's memory from the unjust and untenable imputations which have so long obtained respecting him. Nor were his acts of bounty and munificence confined wholly to the north; many other examples from various sources might be adduced, showing his zeal generally for the advancement of religion and learning. Of these, perhaps, no stronger instance could be selected than his founding, about this time, four fellowships at Queen's College, Cambridge, and his gift to the same academic institution of the rectory of Foulmire in Cambridgeshire, the great tithes to be appropriated to the use of the president.[1]

But peace, and its accompanying blessings, were not destined for any length of time to smile on Richard's career, or call forth such exercise of the powers of his energetic mind as have just been adduced. From his very childhood he was educated for war, and the royal Edward felt and duly appreciated his brother's peculiar talents for aiding him, either by policy or generalship, in the more stormy paths of life.

This monarch had never forgiven Louis XI. for supporting the Duke of Clarence, and aiding him and the Earl of Warwick in their too successful rebellion.

He felt that the insurrection, which drove him from his kingdom, and which had well nigh cost him his life, as it did his liberty, was fomented by

[1] Cooper's Ann. of Cambridge, p. 225.

the French king; and an exhausted treasury alone had kept Edward passive from the time when he was re-instated in his dominions, together indeed with a jealous apprehension of the Scottish monarch, arising from the open support this latter court had given to the Lancastrian fugitives. By means, however, of commissioners appointed in such cases to settle certain disputed Border claims, a more friendly feeling had been gradually induced between Scotland and the house of York; and King Edward, still brooding over the injuries which he had received from the French monarch, and thirsting for revenge, bestowed his anxious attention towards settling the quarrel between Clarence and Gloucester, "lest their disputes might interrupt his designs with regard to France."[1]

It was at this critical juncture, and immediately following the termination of his domestic troubles, that Edward was solicited by his brother-in-law, Charles Duke of Burgundy, to return in kind the assistance which he had formerly given him towards regaining the throne of England, by aiding him in making war on Louis XI., whose crafty policy had disgusted all the adjacent principalities, but especially those of Burgundy and Bretagne. Edward seized with avidity an occasion which he had so long desired of retaliating on the French monarch; and, cementing an amicable truce with Scotland, by the betrothment of the Princess Cecily of York, his second daughter, to the Duke of Rothsay, the heir apparent of that crown[2], he summoned the

[1] Chron. Croy., p. 557.
[2] Pinkerton's Hist. Scotland, vol. v. p. 1.

Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, as well as all the chivalry of England, to aid him in carrying warfare into France, under the plea of regaining the lost possessions in that kingdom.

The particulars connected with the extensive preparations that ensued, and the motives that actuated the different parties concerned in carrying into execution this romantic design, belong too exclusively to the reign of Edward IV. to permit of any farther notice in these pages, excepting only such points as bear on the career of Richard Duke of Gloucester. This prince, in common with the feudal lords of that period, held many of his estates by military tenure, and it would appear from subsequent payments[1] awarded to him, that he carried to his brother a force suited alike to his influence in the north and to the chivalrous spirit of the Plantagenet race. In June 1475, King Edward proceeded to Sandwich with the flower of the English nobility, and landed at Calais with an army consisting of 15,000 archers on horseback, and 1500 men at arms.[2] With the hardihood which was peculiarly his characteristic, he had, on his embarkation, despatched a herald to demand of Louis the crown of France: that monarch, however, with the keen subtlety that made him invariably overreach his enemies, by attacking them on their weak

[1] An. 15 Ed. IV., 1475. Paid to Richard Duke of Gloucester for the wages of 116 men at arms, including himself as duke, at 13*s.* 4*d.* per day, 60*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; six knights, at 2*s.* per diem each, 54*l.* 12*s.*; and to each of the remainder of the said 116 men at arms, 12*d.* per day, and 6*d.* per day as a reward, 743*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*; and to 950 archers in his retinue, to each of them 6*d.* per day. — *Issue Roll of the Exchequer*, p. 498.

[2] Philip de Comines, vol. i. p. 329.

points, being well aware of the impoverished state of the English treasury, first corrupted the herald[1], and then clandestinely bribed not only the immediate followers but the actual counsellors of the English monarch; who scrupled not to accept gifts and pensions, and to barter their own and their sovereign's high military fame for the treasure which Louis profusely distributed, and which he could better spare than risk a renewal of those fierce wars which had formerly devastated his country and driven his ancestors from the throne.

And who alone withstood this general defection from the hitherto proud and noble spirit of English knighthood? Not the king; for he preferred a return to luxurious ease, with a pension, and an uncertain treaty securing its payment, from an adversary who had so often deceived him[2], to realising the high hopes of his chivalrous warriors, and maintaining the lofty position which he had assumed when entering France a claimant for her crown. Not the ministers of England; for even the chan-

[1] King Edward sent before him his herald to demand the crown of the King of France, who having read his letters returned a plausible and courteous answer. "Commend me to thy master," said the wily monarch; which the herald promising to do, was with an honourable reward of 300 crowns and a rich piece of crimson velvet for himself, and a present of a stately horse, a wild boar, and a wolf for the king, graciously dismissed. — *Sandford's Geneal. Hist. of England*, book v. p. 389.

[2] Edward consented to withdraw his army from France, and forthwith to return to England, on the immediate payment of 75,000 crowns, and 50,000 crowns as an annual tribute: and to render more binding the treaty of peace between the two countries, it was ratified by an engagement entered into by the monarchs, that the Dauphin of France should espouse the Princess Royal of England, as soon as the parties were of age to fulfil this part of the contract. — *Rymer*, vol. xii. p. 14.

cellor of the realm, the master of the rolls, and the lord chamberlain scrupled not to accept that bribe, which the latter however refused to acknowledge by a written document.[1] Not the lordly peers and the proud barons, whose costly preparations for this renewal of the ancient wars with France had attracted the attention of all Europe; for the receipts for money and plate distributed to the most influential, says Philip de Comines, "is to be seen in the chamber of accounts at Paris!"[2]

It was Richard Duke of Gloucester alone! — the youngest prince of the Plantagenet race, and the one to whom, of all that race, covetousness and mercenary motives have been mostly imputed. He alone, of the three royal brothers, nay, of all the noble and the brave in King Edward's court, withstood the subtlety of Louis, and disdained the gold that was to sell the honour of his country[3], and to sacrifice at the shrine of bribery and corruption the renown and greatness of England's chivalry.

"Only the Duke of Gloucester stood aloof, off on the other side," observes the biographer of King

[1] See Appendix HH.

[2] Philip de Comines who was at this period confidentially employed in this negotiation by the French monarch, states, that 16,000 crowns were distributed to the chancellor, master of the rolls, lord chamberlain, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Lord Howard, Lord Cheney, Marquis of Dorset, &c. &c. To the Lord Howard the king gave 24,000 crowns in money and plate; to Lord Hastings, 1000 marks in plate; and he granted pensions to many of the highest nobles, in addition to the yearly tribute secured to the English monarch and the annuities settled on his ministers. — *Philip de Comines*, vol. ii. lib. vi. p. 6.

[3] Lord Bacon's Life of Hen. VII., p. 3.

Edward IV.[1], "for honour frowned at the accord, and exprest much sorrow, as compassionating the glory of his nation blemished in it. He repeated his jealousy of the world's opinion, which necessarily must laugh at so chargeable a preparation to attempt nothing, and scorn either the wisdom or courage of the English, when they shall perceive them in so full numbers and so well armed to pass the sea, after a defiance sent and challenge to a crown, to return back without drawing a sword."

But the single voice of Richard Duke of Gloucester availed little with leaders so degenerate and so easily corrupted; although the army in general, and many noble knights, responded to his patriotic feelings. His individual opposition, however, much as it redounded to his own credit, had no effect in weakening the issue of the French monarch's more subtle policy; nevertheless, even Louis himself respected the feelings and honoured the principle[2] that made Gloucester reject those degrading and mercenary overtures, which were accepted not only by the royal Edward and his ministers, but also by his brother of Clarence.

The crafty Louis, moreover, well understood the influence which strong minds exercise over those of less powerful intellect, and, despite of Richard's avowed opposition to his insidious policy, he paid the young duke the greatest respect, quickly perceiving the power which he possessed over his royal brother, and hoping to make it available in for-

[1] Habington, p. 147.
[2] Philip de Comines, lib. vi. ch. 2.

warding his own views.[1] But Gloucester, "jealous of the honour of the English nation,"[2] was neither to be allured from his faith to his sovereign or duty to his country; consequently, at the celebrated meeting at Picquiny, in which the two monarchs met personally to interchange friendly salutations, after the amicable treaty that had been effected between them, "the Duke of Gloucester was absent on the English side, in regard his presence should not approve what his opinion and sense had heretofore disallowed:"[3] yet, on the other hand, when all points were definitively settled, and that farther opposition was fruitless, he is to be found watching over his brother's interests, and witnessing the validity of those political agreements which were to cement this most extraordinary alliance.

Louis, estimating the motives that had on these two occasions so exemplified Richard's character, by evincing in the one his love for his country, and in the other his attachment to his brother, invited him to Amiens before the departure of the English from France[4], and there forced upon him, as a testimony of regard, some valuable horses and other presents, which the prince before had absolutely rejected when offered as a bribe. The attestation of Lord Bacon, Richard's bitter calumniator, is perhaps the most valuable authority that could be adduced on this point, prone as was that able biographer of Richard's rival and successor to magnify every evil report that malice had propagated to his discredit; "At Picquiny, as upon all other occasions," says

[1] Hutton, p. liii.
[2] Bacon, Hen. VII., p. 2.
[3] Habington, Ed. IV., p. 155.
[4] Ibid. p. 163.

the learned chancellor[1], "Richard, then Duke of Gloucester, stood ever upon the side of honour, raising his own reputation to the disadvantage of the king his brother, and drawing the eyes of all, especially the nobles and soldiers, upon himself." In less than two months, without loss of life, but with grievous loss of reputation, King Edward's army, which had been assembled with such pompous display and such chivalrous pretensions, quietly prepared to return to England, without unsheathing the sword or bending the bow.

Richard signed the document[2] that betrothed the Princess Royal of England to the heir apparent of the French crown; and, bitterly bemoaning the inglorious result of their enterprise, as did most of the knightly warriors who had followed his banner, he returned with King Edward to England on the eleventh day of September, 1475,—the one brother to give himself up to those enervating scenes of pleasure and luxury which clouded the end of a reign so propitiously commenced; the other to renew those active and useful labours which have outlived even traditionary libels, and which to this day incorporate the name of Richard of Gloucester in the north with those benefactors to mankind, who, bravely courting danger in time of need, can succour

[1] Lord Bacon's Hen. VII., p. 3.

[2] On the 13th August, 15 Ed. IV., 1475, the Duke of Gloucester with other nobles, being with the king "in his fielde beside a village called Seyntre, within Vermondon, a little from Peron," signed an agreement, by which it was stipulated under certain conditions (one of which was that the dauphin should marry the first or second of the king's daughters, and endow her with 60,000 livres) he would abstain from war and withdraw his army. — *Cal. Rot. Pat.*, vol. xii. p. 15.

the oppressed, and be the agents of justice and mercy in more tranquil and peaceable seasons.

But the expenses attending this expedition could not be liquidated by the French king's profuseness to its leaders. The English nation had been taxed to a fearful degree to meet the demands made upon them, and, with the romantic spirit of the age, they had cheerfully met these demands when so much of glorious enterprise presented itself to their imagination; but when, at the expiration of three months, the army was disbanded and sent back to their homes, the mass of whom were full of indignation at the avarice of the king and his counsellors, and of discontent at the poverty which it had entailed upon themselves, a spirit of disaffection gradually arose, and Edward, though sanctioning the most severe measures, found it impossible to meet the difficulties resulting from his exhausted finances.

A statute, therefore, was passed in the following year, 1476, whereby it was enacted that all the royal patrimony, to whomsoever it had been granted, should be resumed and applied to the support of the crown.[1] This appears to have given great umbrage to the Duke of Clarence, whose sordid and avaricious disposition could ill brook the loss of any portion of his vast wealth, although he had been so recently enriched by the division of the lands of the Earl of Warwick, and by many high and lucrative offices bestowed upon him afterwards by the king.[2] Notwithstanding the reconciliation

[1] Chron. Croy., p. 559.

[2] Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 164.

of the brothers after Edward's restoration to the throne, and the impartiality which that monarch had displayed when mediating between Clarence and Gloucester, no genuine affection or confidence appears afterwards to have subsisted between the restless and covetous duke, and his much-injured sovereign. The former was perpetually taking offence and creating disturbance by his quarrelsome and tenacious disposition, which could only be appeased so long as his jealous and irascible nature was softened by fresh honours, or appeased by additional wealth; while Edward could never forget, although he had forgiven, the injuries, the indignities, and treachery which he had so little merited from his ungrateful brother. The Act of Resumption, to which the king was compelled to have recourse in his great necessities, not merely to stop the threatened insurrection but to carry on the government, the Duke of Clarence considered a personal affront, since by it he lost the lordship of Tutbury, together with many other lands which he had previously obtained by royal grant; "and this," observes the Chronicler of Croyland, "appears to have given rise to those dissensions between Edward and Clarence, which ended so fatally for the latter prince."[1] "It was remarked," adds that historian, "that the duke by degrees withdrew himself more and more from the royal presence, that he scarcely spoke a word in council, and would not willingly eat or drink in the king's house;" and he at length retired altogether from the court, and joining the

[1] Chron. Croy., p. 561.

Lady Isabel in the vicinity of Tewkesbury, there brooded over the discontent which he had so unwisely and intemperately displayed. The repose, however, which he had hoped to find in his domestic circle, was destined to be of short duration ; and to the irritability of political annoyance was speedily added acute sorrow at the death of his wife, who had been some time in a declining state, and expired within a brief period of the birth of their second son, Richard of Clarence.

As was almost invariably the case with every illustrious personage who died suddenly, or whose health gradually failed, at this period of English history, the decease of the duchess was attributed to poison; and this conviction afforded fresh ground for the indulgence of her husband's impetuous temper, and for the display of his most injudicious conduct. Not satisfied with procuring the illegal condemnation and execution of Ankaret Twynhyo[1], a female attendant of the deceased Lady Isabel, against whom no proof beyond what arose from the superstitions of the period could be alleged, the misjudging prince likewise made it an occasion of giving vent to the anger previously excited against the king, to impute the languor and debility which followed his wife's confinement, and ended in her dissolution, to sorcery practised against her by the

[1] About three months after the decease of the duchess, Ankaret Twynhyo was seized in her dwelling house, at Cayford in Somerset, by a band of armed retainers sent thither by the Duke of Clarence, and by them conveyed to Warwick Castle, where she was immediately tried, condemned, and executed within three hours, on the charge of administering to the Duchess of Clarence "a venemous drink of ale mixed with poison, on the 10th of October, of which she sickened and died ten weeks after." — *Rot. Parl.*, vol. vi. p. 173.

reigning queen[1], to whom, it will be remembered, he had ever been jealously opposed, and against whose family he had continually exercised the most unprovoked opposition. On this occasion, his royal brother's forbearance appears to have been severely tried; still, Edward did forbear, although Clarence continued to excite and provoke him. At length a combination of unhappy circumstances so conspired to feed the discord that had gradually weakened the slender tie which bound the brothers to each other, after what must be styled their political rather than their fraternal re-union, that Clarence's impeachment was resolved upon by the king, as the only means of ridding himself of a most turbulent spirit, that had goaded him beyond farther endurance. It appears that, not long after the death of the Duchess of Clarence, Charles Duke of Burgundy, the husband of the Lady Margaret of York, was slain at the siege of Nanci, leaving as heiress to his vast possessions an only child, a daughter by a former marriage.[2]

An inordinate love of wealth was the besetting sin of George Duke of Clarence, and he immediately sought the assistance of his widowed sister, between whom and himself the strongest affection had ever existed, to aid him in furthering proposals of marriage with her richly endowed daughter-in-law. But King Edward had too frequently experienced the unprincipled and treacherous conduct of his brother, to countenance an alliance that might again have led to his aiming at the English crown;

[1] Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 174. [2] Chron. Croy., p. 561.

and which, from the vast power as well as wealth with which it would invest Clarence, might eventually have proved the destruction of himself and his offspring.

His opposition to the alliance was fomented by the queen, who, in addition to her hatred of the duke, secretly indulged hopes of securing the rich heiress for her accomplished brother, the Lord Rivers. Both her views, however, and those of Clarence were frustrated by King Edward's unremitting exertions to promote a union between Maximilian, son of the Emperor of Austria and the Princess of Burgundy; which alliance, chiefly through his means[1], was at length successfully accomplished.

The anger of the Duke of Clarence against his royal brother now exceeded all bounds. He was no less rash and intemperate than violent and misjudging, and within a brief period, under the plea of exculpating two of his retainers who had been condemned to death on frivolous pretences, he proceeded to the council chamber, and before the lords there assembled in conference, publicly accused the king of injustice, and upbraided the conduct both of himself and his ministers.

The king, who was at Windsor, on receiving information of this outrage, commanded the prince to be arrested and committed to the Tower; his proceedings having been previously denounced by the monarch "as subversive of the law of the realm, and perilous to judges and juries."[2]

[1] Chron. Croy., p. 561. [2] Ibid., p. 561.

Most interesting are the minute details given by the contemporary chronicler respecting the termination of an event which has for ever disgraced the memory, and tarnished the lustre of the reign of king Edward IV. With the exception, however, of the appalling result, they are altogether irrelevant to this memoir, in which it is unnecessary to say more than that the imprisonment of Clarence was shortly followed by his trial, that the king himself appeared as a witness against his oft-offending and oft-forgiven brother, who, being attainted[1] and convicted of high treason[2], was sentenced to suffer death. "The duke was placed in confinement, and from that time never recovered his freedom," says the Croyland historian.[3] "What followed in the next parliament," he adds, "the mind shuns to relate, so sad seemed the dispute between two brothers of so great ability; for no one argued against the duke but the king, no one answered the king but the duke."

The accusations being deemed sufficient[4], sentence of death was pronounced against him. The king, however, appears to have hesitated in ordering his brother's execution, for the chronicler states that "judgment was deferred." But the Commons, headed by their Speaker, appeared at the bar of the

[1] The bill of attainder, so illustrative of the rude state of society at that period, and of the bitter feelings entertained by the king towards his erring brother, may be seen at length in Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 193.; but the defence of the duke has not been preserved, although he is reported to have replied with great determination to the charges brought against him.

[2] Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 193.

[3] Chron. Croy., p. 561.

[4] See Appendix II.

House of Lords, and prayed that the sentence might be carried into effect; which was delivered to the prince by Henry Duke of Buckingham, he being specially appointed for the time being to the office of high steward of England, to the intent that he might not only pass upon him the awful judgment of the peers, but superintend the accomplishment of the sentence. Accordingly, "within ten days of his condemnation, Clarence was executed, whatever was the mode of death, secretly within the Tower of London, on the 18th of February, 1478."[1]

How or in what manner this death was effected will probably ever remain a mystery; nor would it require notice in these pages, were it not that the act itself forms one of the many accusations brought against Richard Duke of Gloucester, although he was resident in the north during the entire period of the fatal dispute that terminated in his brother's death; and although the most explicit statement is given by the contemporary narrator, that the trial of Clarence was public, his condemnation desired and sought for by the king, and that his execution was not only sanctioned by the peers of the realm, but also demanded by the speaker of the House of Commons.

There is, indeed, no single document existing, that connects Gloucester with the quarrel[2], whether

[1] Chron. Croy., p. 561.

[2] Dr. Lingard considers that the principal cause of Edward's jealousy against Clarence arose from his having been declared the next heir after Edward, the son of Henry VI., in which case, supposing the validity of that act, he was even then the rightful heir. The king was careful to have it repealed. — *Rot. Parl.*, vol. vi. p. 191. See *Lingard*, vol. v. p. 229.

in taking part with Edward, or in extenuating the conduct of Clarence, although the bill of attainder is still preserved; and that the Croyland writer appears himself to have been present at the trial. The differences that gradually increased between the two brothers had resolved themselves finally into a state question; consequently the warrant for Clarence's death was delivered to that prince in all due form, by the lord high steward of England.

It was not until very many years after Richard's death, that this serious crime was laid to his charge. Even the Tudor chroniclers, bitterly as they inveigh against him on most points, have not included this deadly act amongst the fearful crimes imputed to him: on the contrary, Hall, Holinshed, and Stow unite in saying he openly denounced the extreme rigour of the sentence [1]; and Fabyan, Polydore Virgil, indeed all the older as well as contemporary historians, are altogether silent as relates to Gloucester's participation in any manner in the dispute. Nearly the whole of these writers agree in ascribing the arraignment and execution of the misjudging prince to the instigation and influence of the queen and her aspiring and mercenary kindred: and of this fact there can exist little doubt, if consideration is duly bestowed not alone on the parties who at this time surrounded and possessed the greatest influence over the king, but on such as were most hostilely opposed to the ill-fated duke, and who were chiefly benefited by his death and attainder.[2]

[1] Hist. Doubts, p. 13.
[2] Bayley's History of the Tower, Part III. p. 335.

These were almost exclusively the queen and her connections.

So palpably indeed was the Lord Rivers enriched by his execution, that in the grant[1] which conveyed to him such vast wealth, it was insinuated that Clarence had made a nuncupative will in his favour; while the wardship and marriage of the duke's heir, the infant Earl of Warwick, aged but three years, was granted to the queen's son, the Marquis of Dorset[2]; it being one of the most lucrative gifts that the crown could bestow upon a subject. Neither must the fact be overlooked, as completing the chain of evidence that links the untimely end of Clarence with the queen and her kindred, that Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, he who as temporary high steward conveyed the sentence to the prince, and was bound to see that it was carried into execution, was espoused to the Lady Katharine Wydville, the queen's sister, and nominated to that important office expressly for the occasion, that on him might devolve the task of pronouncing judgment of death upon the royal prisoner.[3]

Sir Thomas More is the first writer who intimates that the Duke of Gloucester acted with subtlety to Clarence, although even he admits that he protested against his execution. "Some wise men,"

[1] The grant which conveyed to Lord Rivers the rich possessions which probably provoked the fate of the unfortunate prince, is preserved in the Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 95.; and Laing in his comments upon it says, "The hypocritical language of this donation is curious, and seems to fasten the murder indisputably on Rivers. The grant insinuates that Clarence at his death made a nuncupative will in Rivers' favour; a proof that his conduct required exculpation."—*Laing, Appen. Hen. Hist. Eng.*, vol. xii. p. 400.

[2] Cal. Rot., p. 325.

[3] Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 195.

says this learned author, "also ween that his drift covertly conveyed, lacked not in helping forth his brother of Clarence to his death, which he resisted openly, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintly than he that were heartily minded to his weal."[1]

Who, however, after perusing this insidious accusation, can fail to be struck with the chancellor's personal comment upon the report? It is more conclusive, as regards the refutation of the charge, than the most laboured efforts, from a less virulent foe, to disprove it. "But of all this point," he adds, "is there no certainty; and whoso divineth upon conjecture, may as well shoot too far as too short." Yet upon this conjecture, upon the acknowledged uncertainty of this random accusation, has Richard of Gloucester been transmitted to posterity as the murderer of his brother; and this, too, in defiance of innumerable testimonies from his bitterest enemies, that he protested against so harsh a sentence, and likewise of positive proof that he benefited in no degree either by his brother's death or attainder.

But tales that savour of the marvellous or the horrible seldom lose by repetition; least of all can this be expected when they are founded in the first instance upon conjecture alone. The insinuation conveyed by Sir Thomas More, that Gloucester's efforts to save Clarence were but feeble, and grounded on subtlety, were magnified by the Lord Chancellor Bacon into — "that prince being the contriver of his brother's death."[2] Shakspeare

[1] More's Rych. III., p. 10. [2] Lord Bacon's Hen. VII., p. 2.

improves on the tradition, by representing him as the bearer of the warrant, nay, the associate of the murderers[1]; while Sandford, whose "Genealogical History of the Kings of England" has been considered a standard authority for nearly two centuries, completes the fearful picture by making Richard the actual perpetrator, in his own person, of the dark and terrible deed. "After he had offered his mass penny in the Tower of London," says the Lancastrian Herald, "he was drowned in a butt of malmsey, his brother the Duke of Gloucester assisting thereat with his own proper hands."[2]

Thus has Richard's character been gradually defamed. Thus has the career of a young, energetic, and highly-gifted prince, steering his own course in most troubled times with singular judgment and discretion, and prominent only amongst scenes of treachery and corruption by his acts of fidelity to his sovereign and of devotion to his country, been so

1 (*Enter two Murderers.*)

Gloster. But soft, here come my executioners.—
How now, my hardy, stout resolved mates?
Are you now going to despatch this thing?
1*st Mur.* We are, my lord; and come to have the warrant,
That we may be admitted where he is.
Gloster. Well thought upon, I have it here about me.
(*Gives the warrant.*)
When you have done, repair to Crosby Place.
But, sirs, be sudden in the execution,
Withal obdurate, do not hear him plead;
For Clarence is well spoken, and, perhaps,
May move your hearts to pity, if you mark him.
* * * * *
I like you, lads; — about your business straight;
Go, go, despatch.

Richard III., act i. sc. 3.

2 Sandford, book v. p. 413.

distorted and misrepresented, to feed the malice of political rivals, that, to quote the words of Horace Lord Walpole, the keen examiner into the traditions of this period; "the reign of Richard III. has so degraded our annals by an intrusion of childish improbabilities, that it places that reign on a level with the story of Jack the Giant-killer."[1]

Foremost among these "childish improbabilities" (so designated by that sagacious writer) may most assuredly be placed the popular report that Clarence was drowned in a butt of malmsey wine.[2] Excepting from its connection with Gloucester's alleged participation in the unnatural deed, it would not be necessary here to allude to a tradition well suited to the marvel-loving period of the 15th century, the age of necromancy[3] and of reputed miracles, but which can scarcely require serious

[1] See Supplement to Historic Doubts, in Lord Orford's works, vol. ii. p. 184.

[2] Fabyan, p. 510., and Hall, p. 326.

[3] Of this there can scarcely be adduced a stronger example than the alleged cause of Clarence's condemnation, which forms a fitting companion to the mode in which his death for so many ages has been reputed to have been accomplished. "It is generally received among the vulgar" (says Habington, pp. 190, 191.), "and wants not the approbation of some chroniclers, that the chief ground of the king's assent to his death was the misinterpretation of a prophecy, which foretold that one the first letter of whose name was 'G.' should usurp the kingdom, and dispossess King Edward's children. Of which there is much of probability; however, by his other actions, I should not judge the king, easy to believe in such vanities, ... Yet this served for the present, and carried a strong accusation against the duke: for this prophecy was alledged to be spoken by some of his servants, who *by negromancy had understood this from the devil.*" Shakspeare avails himself of this popular report, and incorporates both that and the alleged mode of his death in those striking scenes which fix the murder of Clarence upon the much-calumniated Gloucester.—See *Rich. III.*, act i. scenes 1. and 4.

refutation[1] in these days of more enlightened inquiry. The king, it was evident, shrank from the public execution of his brother, which, setting aside all kindlier feelings, would indeed have been too bold a measure even for the daring and revengeful spirit of Edward IV., considering that Clarence was but twenty-eight years of age, much beloved in private life, and remarkable both for his accomplishments and for his personal attractions. It is also as evident, however, that the king had firmly resolved upon his destruction: and, looking to the custom of those times, in which death was perpetually hastened by or imputed to poison, there is nothing improbable in the belief, that the prince was doomed to suffer death in that form, or that the fatal drug was conveyed to him in a beverage so universal as was "Malvesie"[2] or malmsey wine at the tables of the great and the opulent of that period.[3] But even this admission is, after all, but conjecture; for although the marvellous tale is reported by all the old chroniclers, yet no contemporary record exists, either for connecting the murder of Clarence with the popular belief of his having selected this singular mode of death, or for the still more idle and absurd

[1] Dr. Lingard says, "The manner of his death has never been ascertained, but a silly report was circulated that he had been drowned in a butt of malmsey wine." — Vol. v. p. 229. Bayley observes, in his valuable History of the Tower (Part II. p. 337.): "It was the vulgar report that he was drowned in a butt of malmsey; a tale which in all probability owed its origin to the duke's great partiality for that liquor." Mr. Sharon Turner and Mr. Laing merely report the popular opinion, without attempting to refute so utterly incredible a tale.

[2] Chaucer.

[3] Leland's Collect., vol. vi. p. 5.

tradition, that Gloucester in that manner participated in the execution of his brother. All that is positively known respecting the matter is simply this: that he was put to death "secretly within the Tower,"[1] by command of Edward IV.; and that his body was afterwards removed for interment to Tewkesbury, there to be deposited beside the remains of his late deceased wife, the Lady Isabel of Warwick.[2]

Richard, moreover, has been charged with not interceding for Clarence, and his reputed influence over the king has been made another source of accusation against him, from his not seeming by the result to have exerted that influence in extorting a pardon for his brother. But no proof warrants the assumption, either that Gloucester did not strive to save Clarence, or interfere to prevent the monarch from staining his memory and name with so foul a blot as that of fratricide.

If conjecture is in any way to be admitted, let it be asked whether it was probable that the Lady Cecily, their venerable parent, would have remained callous when her son was threatened with an ignominious death? Was it likely that, when on a former occasion of contention between the brothers their widowed mother and attached sisters united with Gloucester in striving to bring about a reconciliation at a time when Clarence's life was in danger only, they would all be passive now, when that prince was imprisoned as a state criminal, and actually condemned to death? The proba-

[1] Chron. Croy., p. 561. [2] Vincent on Brooke.

bility is rather that every exertion was privately made to save the unhappy prince; and contemporary authority infers this fact from the statement recorded, that "judgment was deferred." But Edward was by nature inexorable; and Clarence had fearfully provoked and goaded him to extremities.[1] The queen too, and her kindred,—the duke's bitter enemies,—were at hand to subdue in the king every kindly feeling of affection; and even the legislature, it appears, demanded his death. The private execution of his brother, however, and the secresy with which the unnatural act was perpetrated, all tend to warrant the supposition that efforts were made by the duke's kindred to save his life; while the expressive words of the Croyland chronicler, "the king, however, was (as I think) very often repentant of the deed,"[2] fix it exclusively on his mandate, and exonerates the Duke of Gloucester equally with the other members of the house of York, from tamely and inhumanly beholding the destruction of the ill-fated Clarence, who, it must also be remembered, though privately executed by command of his sovereign, was nevertheless openly condemned to death by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled. There is not a single circumstance, moreover, whether founded on fact or based merely on tradi-

[1] Not content with imputing the death of the Lady Isabel to sorcery practised by the reigning queen, the unwise and misjudging Clarence included his royal brother in the charge of "negromancie;" for it is stated in the indictment, amongst other accusations brought against Clarence, that he publicly reported "our Soverayne Lord wrought by nygromancie, and used craft to poison his subjects such as he pleased." — *Parl. Rolls*, vol. vi. p. 193.

[2] Chron. Croy., p. 561.

tion, that gives any ground to warrant the assumption that Richard was implicated in anywise with the dissensions that led to his brother's arrest, or that he was present even at the trial that ended in his death. A justifiable inference is, that he was far removed from the scene of so tragical an event; for, on the return of King Edward with his army from France, Gloucester proceeded direct to the north, and rejoined the Lady Anne and his infant son, at their chosen abode of Middleham Castle. From that period a variety of trivial local notices, either relative to the repair of fortresses under his charge, to the issuing of mandates in virtue of his appointments, or the payment of money, either in the way of debts, or for alms-giving, or the repair of churches, connect his name uninterruptedly with the northern counties; where he seems to have resided with little intermission during the three years that intervened between his return from France and the execution of the Duke of Clarence. Many of these documents — which, though in themselves and from their nature uninteresting, are valuable as establishing Richard's absence from the scene of strife, and fixing his residence in the north — are dated from Sheriff-Hutton Castle[1], one of the ancient strongholds of the powerful Nevilles, in whose family it had remained for 300 years, until forfeited to the king by Warwick's attainder after the battle of Barnet. It was then given by Edward as a reward to Gloucester in 1471[2], and that prince bestowed so

[1] Castellum Huttonicum, pp. 2. 4.
[2] Cott. MSS., Julius B. xii. fol. 111.

much attention in repairing and beautifying this magnificent structure, and in improving the demesne altogether, that the lordship and manor was within a brief period from the time now under consideration[1] purchased by the king from his brother for the sum of 500*l.*

The only well-attested fact that connects the Duke of Gloucester with the court of Edward IV. after that monarch's return from France was one which is peculiarly characteristic of the fraternal affection which on every occasion, saving the one instance of the ignoble treaty with Louis XI., united the two brothers, and one which wholly acquits Richard of having participated in the offence at the Act of Resumption, which was so unwisely resented by Clarence. The public event now alluded to was the solemnization of the marriage of King Edward's second son, the infant Duke of York, with his cousin, the Lady Anne Mowbray[2], the heiress of the house of Norfolk; and the active part taken in the ceremony by Richard of Gloucester is quite consistent with the warmth of feeling and affectionate energy which he invariably testified upon all matters connected with the interests of his family. He

[1] Issue Rolls of the Exchequer, p. 499.

[2] Anne, daughter and heir of John Mowbray, the last Duke of Norfolk of that name, was married in 1477 (being quite a child) to Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV., who was on this marriage created Duke of Norfolk, &c. &c. This prince dying without issue, the great possessions and honours of this noble family came to Sir John Howard, Knight, Lord Howard, whose mother was a sister and co-heir of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Anne Duchess of Norfolk, the infant bride of the royal duke, died in her early years. — *Paston Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 46. 187. 194.

attended as chief mourner the obsequies of his deceased father. He followed his brother into exile and poverty. He accompanied his young sister on her state progress, preparatory to her marriage. He was the chief mediator in reconciling his elder brothers when hostilely arrayed against each other. He attested the betrothment of his niece to the Dauphin of France, although opposed to the treaty that led to the contract; and on this present occasion he is found supporting his infant nephew, in virtue of his near relationship, in a marriage sanctioned by the church[1] and earnestly desired by the king.

This latter event—rendered remarkable from the great splendour of the ceremony, and yet more so from the youthful ages of the parties concerned, the bridegroom being but five, and the bride not three years of age—led to one of those domestic re-unions which, proclaiming as they do the unanimity and affection which—in all but one instance—bound the several members of the house of York to each other, contrast so singularly with the unnatural dissensions between the king and the Duke of Clarence, which embittered the whole of that monarch's reign, and terminated at length in his brother's untimely death. Every branch of this noble race were assembled on the joyful occasion, with the exception of the discontented Clarence; and he, as has been before stated, had withdrawn himself from court a few months previously, and was openly at this time displaying his ill-will

[1] Appendix JJ.

against the king, and his rancorous feelings of malignity towards the queen; while the prominent part which, as the elder brother, was naturally to have been expected from him at the royal wedding, devolved, as on all previous occasions of domestic interest it had done, upon the Duke of Gloucester. "The Bishop of Norwich proceeded to the marriage, and asked who would give the princess to the church and to him? and the king gave her.[1] Then there was great number of gold and silver cast among the common people, brought in basins of gold, cast by the high and mighty prince, the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER; and from St. Stephen's Chappel the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER led the bride on the right hand." This marriage occurred on the 15th of January, 1477, about a month after the demise of the Lady Isabel[2], and at the identical period when the inconsiderate Clarence had ascribed her death to sorcery practised by the queen consort. It also immediately preceded the time when the duke aspired to the hand of the Princess Mary of Burgundy[3]; the loss of whose principality, together with her rich inheritance, was the foundation of that open hostility to the king, which, pursued with equal violence as had been the duke's contention on an almost similar occasion with his brother of

[1] Sandford's Geneal. Hist., book v. p. 394.

[2] Isabel Duchess of Clarence died on the 12th December, 1476.

[3] Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, was slain in battle, 5th January, 1477, leaving only one daughter, Mary, by his first wife. This princess, being heir of his opulent and extensive dominions, was courted by all the potentates in Christendom. She married Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor Frederick. — *Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 121.

Gloucester, ended at length in his premature and violent death.

Richard appears to have returned to the north after the festive scene which induced his visit to the court of Edward IV.: for various important documents are extant which fix his residence at Middleham during the ensuing year; and his occupation there, which led to those documents, forms a striking contrast to the unnatural dissensions between his elder brothers, which reached their climax during the same period. This fact is invaluable, not only in disproving Richard's participation in the dispute, but in displaying also how different was the bent of his mind from that mischievous spirit with which it has so long been the fashion to invest him.

The strong attachment of this prince to Middleham has been before noticed; and this he evinced in the most laudable and praiseworthy manner when it became his own baronial hall[1], the great object which engaged his attention at the period under consideration being a desire to amplify the parish church of Middleham[2], and to found and incorporate a college there for a dean and twelve secular priests. The advowson of the rectory of Middleham, by his marriage with the heiress of the Nevilles, vested in himself; but as the additional

[1] Leland says, "Middleham Castle joineth hard to the townside, and is the fairest castle of Richmondshire next Bolton;" and Whitaker, describing it after its glory had yielded to the ravages of time, says, "As it is, majestic in decay, Middleham Castle as an object is the noblest work of man in the county of Richmond."—*Hist. of Richmondshire*, pp. 341, 342.

[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 335.

expense of maintaining six chaplains and several clerks would bear heavy upon the incumbent, he sought to provide for this inconvenience by a licence of mortmain, empowering the new foundation to acquire lands to the amount of 100 marks per annum.[1]

Nothing can be couched in stronger language, or give a more generally amiable view of the motive which influenced Gloucester, or the light in which he was viewed by his northern partizans, than the manner in which the instrument conveying the rector's consent is worded[2]; and the prince appears to have followed up the matter with his accustomed zeal, until he succeeded in obtaining from parliament a licence to found and endow the college[3] at his own expense and at his sole cost.[4] This first step towards the advancement of a project which he had so much laboured to effect, received the sanction of the legislature on the 16th January, 1478[5]; but as the step was not complete without the

[1] See Whitaker's Hist. of Richmondshire, vol. i. p. 335.

[2] "Whereas, among other remedies, &c., the solemnities of mass are deservedly esteemed to be grateful to the Divine mercy manifested by the sacrifice of our Saviour for the salvation of the living and the repose of the dead;" the petition lately exhibited to me on behalf of the most excellent prince, Richard Duke of Gloucester, Lord of Middleham, contained that the said most excellent prince proposed and intended to amplify the said parish church of Middleham, to the praise of Almighty God, his most excellent mother, and all saints, and the continual increase of divine worship, and the same to endow with greater rights and possessions; and also to increase the number of ministers in the same, devoutly dwelling with God, if the said church were erected into a collegiate church by the most reverend father in God, Laurence Booth, archbishop of York, primate of England, &c." — See an Abstract of *Beverley's Consent, in Whitaker's Richmondshire*, vol. i. p. 335.

[3] Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 322.

[4] See Appendix KK.

[5] Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 172.

consent of the rector, William Beverley, the probability is, that Gloucester returned to Middleham to secure that consent; the more so, as the wording of the instrument displays such keen anxiety respecting the legality of the measure. "In witness of which," says the reverend incumbent, "as I have not an authentic seal, I have therefore procured the seal of the reverend the official of the court of York, to be put to these presents, January 20th, A. D. 1478."[1] Now, this date is just one month previous to Clarence's murder, which took place on the 18th February, 1478: and as no mention is made by the contemporary historian relative to Gloucester's connection with the trial, or to his having been present at it, or having spoken in parliament on the subject, the probability is, that, finding all remonstrance ineffectual either towards subduing the violence of King Edward's indignation, or arresting the fate of Clarence, he remained absent from the painful scene; and returning to Middleham, pursued "the laudable and meritorious plan," and carried into effect "the pious desires," which, says the rector, "the said most excellent prince" had in view in his proposition.[2] That he continued in favour with

[1] Whitaker's Richmondshire, vol. i. p. 335.

[2] "The Duke of Gloucester, not content with founding the college, by another deed, bearing date December 20. anno 19 Ed. IV., actually grants the dean and college the advowson of the church and parish of Middleham. Clouds and darkness rest on the remaining steps in the history of this foundation, which neither wholly took effect nor wholly fell to the ground. For as to the dean, his jurisdiction, privileges, and exemption, they remain unimpeached and undiminished to this day; but though the college were never dissolved, the advowson never passed according to the founder's grant to the dean and chaplains. . . . A book of statutes was framed for the college, anno 18 Edw. IV.; yet we hear no more of them, and

the king notwithstanding, as asserted by Sir Thomas More, that he "resisted openly" the condemnation of his brother of Clarence, is evinced by a signal mark of favour conferred upon him within a few days of the duke's secret execution:—"Edward Plantagenet, eldest son of Richard Duke of Gloucester," being "created Earl of Salisbury, to him and the heirs of his body," by patent dated 15th February, 1478.[1]

Thus, by a singular coincidence, were the renowned titles of Earl of Salisbury and Earl of Warwick revived at the same period in the persons of the elder sons of Warwick's co-heiresses, and the grandsons of that Duke of York for whom the preceding occupants of those noble titles had so devotedly fought and bled; that of Salisbury[2] being bestowed on Edward of Gloucester by favour of the king on the 15th instant, and that of Warwick[3] inherited by Edward of Clarence upon the execution of his parent on the 18th of the same February, 1478. The titles seemed as ominous to the youthful possessors of these honours as was the more familiar appellation of EDWARD; a name borne by the elder sons of all three brothers, and probably bestowed in their baptism from the same motive—compliment to the reigning sovereign, the head of the house of York. Few tales of fiction, conceived in the very keenest spirit of romance, could depict

the probability is, that on the death of Richard III., and the annihilation of his interest, Beverly, as his successor, silently permitted the foundation to relapse into a rectory for his own emolument."—*Whitaker*, vol. i. p. 338.

[1] Rymer, Add. MSS., No. 4615. art. 5.

[2] Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 322. [3] Sandford, book v. p. 414.

more disastrous fortunes, or pourtray more fatal careers, than those of Edward Prince of Wales, Edward Earl of Warwick, and Edward Earl of Salisbury, the eldest sons of Edward IV., George of Clarence, and Richard of Gloucester, and the last male heirs of the royal line of Plantagenet, the very name of which was destined to pass away with these ill-starred and unfortunate princes.

But the age in which their short but eventful lives were passed was one in which all the horrors of romance were realised in actual life; it was the era of the dark and the terrible—the epoch of mysterious and unhallowed deeds—the period in which conspiracy and murder were things of every day occurrence, and in which the most appalling acts were accomplished with such facility, that they excited comparatively little terror, and seldom elicited more than feeble inquiry.

The most turbulent and daring spirits, when called upon to account for their actions, if moving in an elevated station of life, found a ready shield in the prevalent belief of the influence of necromancy and magic; and if an early death or a violent end was supposed to be the result of prophecy, or to be accelerated by supernatural agency[1], the whole

[1] This fact is well exemplified in the current report already noticed, that the accelerating cause of the Duke of Clarence's death was his supposed connection with the obnoxious prophecy that related to the letter G. "And because there was a prophecy," says Rous, the contemporary historian, "that after E., that is, after Edward IV., G. should reign, meaning thereby George Duke of Clarence, he was on that account slain; and the other G., namely, Gloucester, preserved until the fulfilment of the prophecy."—*Hist. Regum Angliæ*, p. 215. Holinshed repeats the tale, but converts it into a romance by the addition of the after report that the hapless prince was drowned in

multitude were excited and subdued by commiseration for the offender; while every previous misdeed in him was palliated or forgotten. On the other hand, those who were conscious of possessing qualities which lead to greatness, and had sufficient moral courage to resist the evil passions of those degenerate times, were viewed with jealousy, suspicion, and mistrust; their actions were misconstrued, their motives calumniated, and the most generous intentions and wisest measures were attributed to hypocritical deception, to deep-laid schemes of personal aggrandisement, and little less than superhuman foresight, as to the successful result of the wildest plots, and of wholesale plans of death and destruction to their fellow men.[1]

Such, in the year 1478, as may be gathered from the preceding details, was in a degree the position of King Edward's brothers. The one, rushing headlong to his own destruction by a series of misdeeds, embracing treachery, covetousness, rebellion, and

malmsey wine. "Finally, the duke was cast into the Tower, and therewith adjudged for a traitor and privily drowned in a butt of malmsey." . . . "Some have reported," he proceeds to say, "that the cause of this nobleman's death rose of a foolish prophecy, which was, that after King Edward, one should reign whose first letter of his name should be a G." — *Holinshed*, p. 346.

[1] The application of the alleged prophecy to after events and after circumstances has reference equally to the undeserved stigma which it attached to Richard's name, as to the positive evil it brought upon Clarence; for Sandford, in his "Geneal. Hist. of the Kings of England," when reciting the many charges brought against this unhappy prince, says, that the belief of his ambitious designs against the reigning family was confirmed "by the misapplication of a certain prophecy, that a G. should reign after an E., to be meant of this George," when, adds the historian (who lived many years after both the brothers were laid at rest), "Gloucester more craftily lay in wind for the game." — *Sandford, Geneal. Hist.*, book v. p. 413.

unjustifiable hostility to his sovereign and the laws of the realm, has ever been looked upon as a martyr and a political victim, on account of the supposed misapplication of a vague prophecy to his christian name of George; while the other, although openly and honourably practising deeds of virtue and piety[1], and making himself conspicuous only by acts of fidelity and obedience to the constituted authorities, and of devotion to his sovereign and his family, has, in consequence of his title of Gloucester chancing to realise the same prognostic that accelerated his elder brother's destruction, been selected as the object on which to engraft every evil action either covertly or openly performed by Edward IV. and the Duke of Clarence, because he preceded in intelligence the corrupt times in which he lived; and, perceiving the dangers that characterised that period, was enabled to meet the difficulties by which he was surrounded, and by temperate and conciliating conduct to escape the misfortunes which befell his elder brothers when pursuing a less discreet and less creditable policy.

[1] An indenture for the composition of tithes in the parish of Middleham, signed by "the right high and mighty prince Richard Duke of Gloucester, great chamberlain, constable and admiral of England, and lord of Middleham, on the one party; and Sir William Beverley, the dean and the chaplains of the college of Richard Duke of Gloucester, of Middleham, on the other party," furnishes another relic of the praiseworthy transactions of Richard Duke of Gloucester with the dean and prebendaries at a very early period after the foundation. — *Whitaker's Richmond.*, p. 348.

CHAP. X.

Richard Duke of Gloucester occupies Barnard Castle.—He rebuilds a portion of that fortress.—His cognizance, the White Boar, still preserved in the ruins there.—Brackenbury attached to Gloucester's service, as the Lord of Barnard Castle.—The characters of Edward IV. and Richard of Gloucester at this era contrasted.—Fresh honours are bestowed upon the duke by the king.—Gloucester inherits the ancient mansion, "The Erber," and leases "Crosby Place."—Description of this prince's household administration and economy.—James King of Scotland breaks his truce with England.—The Duke of Gloucester appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom.—He besieges Berwick.—Marches to Edinburgh.—Agrees to a cessation of hostilities on the most honourable terms.—Louis XI. violates the treaty of Picquiny.—Indignation of Edward IV.—He resolves to invade France.—Preparations for war.—King Edward's illness.—His death.

AMONGST the very small portion of the Duke of Clarence's confiscated lands which were bestowed upon Richard of Gloucester, after the death of his brother, was the undivided possession of Barnard Castle[1], in the county of Durham; a moiety of which rich demesne had been enjoyed by Clarence as the husband of Warwick's elder co-heiress; but, becoming vested in the crown after the attainder of this prince, the remaining part was given to Richard by the king, as the consort of the younger and sole surviving sister.

To this rich inheritance of the Beauchamps, which had been conveyed to the house of Neville at her marriage by the ill-fated Countess of Warwick[2],

[1] Surtees, vol. iv. p. 66.

[2] Anne Countess of Warwick was the sole heir of the noble Beauchamps, and Barnard Castle, their occasional abode, formed a

the Duke of Gloucester appears to have removed immediately after it had become exclusively his own; and this superb building, the abode of the Lady Anne's maternal ancestors, seems henceforth to have shared with Middleham Castle the peculiar attention and interest of Gloucester, and is distinguished even above that favoured abode, or indeed any other of his dwelling-places, for the variety and value of the personal memorials which connect it with his long residence there. The situation of the fortress was one of surpassing beauty, embracing as it did some of the finest points of view connected with the wild and picturesque vale of the Tees[1]; which river guarded one side of the high and precipitous rock on which the castellated mansion was erected, while the ancient town, which derived its name from the fortress, was situated at its base, on the southern acclivity of an eminence rising with a steep ascent from the river; its old market cross and antiquated buildings, together with its romantic situation, harmonising well with the rich scenery commanded from all parts of the castle across the river and along the bishopric of Durham.

It was a truly royal abode, and well suited to the immense power which, as lieutenant of the

portion of her rich dower. King Henry VII. on his accession to the throne took immediate possession of the castle, "having a mind himself thereto;" but as the hapless countess had survived both her daughters, and also her sons-in-law, the monarch caused an act to be passed restoring to her all her hereditary estates, that she might convey the fee to the king; who coveted her rich possessions of which she had been so cruelly deprived, and restored them only to appropriate them to himself with greater show of legality. — See *Dugdale*, vol. i. p. 166.

[1] Surtees, p. 90.

north, Gloucester enjoyed, being second only in authority to the sovereign[1] himself, as is rendered apparent by documents yet preserved in the archives of the palatinate of Durham; while the taste and judgment which he displayed in such parts of the building as were exclusively his own architecture, exhibited the same delicacy and refinement, united to boldness and grandeur of design, which so peculiarly characterised every work undertaken by the magnificent Plantagenets.

At the period under consideration, when Barnard Castle was at the height of its grandeur, it must have been a place of vast magnitude and importance, for even at the close of the last century its ruins were reputed to cover nearly seven acres of ground. Its foundation was coeval with the Norman conquest[2], but its renovation and embellishment was the work of Richard of Gloucester.[3] Here may be found the earliest trace, and perhaps the best preserved specimen, of his badge, "the silver boar."[4] Here this prince's name in the antiquated letters of the period is still preserved, which, united to the frequent recurrence of his cognizance in the town, attests his popularity there; and by perpetuating

[1] Commissions of array were three times issued under Bishop Dudley, for calling out the armed force of the palatinate of Durham, to join the royal troops under the Duke of Gloucester against the Scots; and it is observable that one of these commissions is directed by the king to the duke himself, as lieutenant of the north, without reference to the episcopal authority. — *Surtees*, p. lx.

[2] Barnard Castle received its name from Barnard de Baliol, who came into England with the Conqueror, and whose great grandson was afterwards King of Scotland. Edward I. having dethroned him, he seized the manor and castle, and retained possession of it until his death.

[3] Surtees, p. 67.

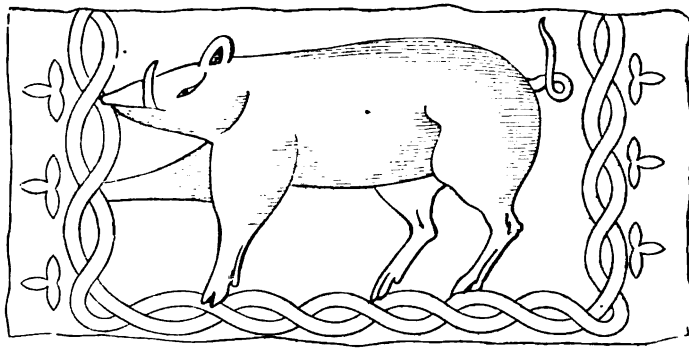
[4] See Gray's Ode on "The Bard."

the work of his own hands, transmits almost the only actual memento of Richard's private life, and pourtrays the nature of his peaceful occupations. Here, too, commenced that connection with Brackenbury, whose faithful and devoted attachment to the duke even unto death[1] has been the probable means of darkening that warrior's fame, and of associating his name with revolting acts and fearful traditions, which, when separated from mere hearsay reports, and impartially traced to the times in which the individuals themselves flourished, will be found to have as little solid foundation as the many other unjustly imputed crimes which it became a sort of fashion, after Richard's death, to attach both to his memory and that of his warmest friends and supporters. Surtees, in speaking of Barnard Castle, says, "The walls of the two inner areas are still most magnificent;" and such, indeed, his elaborate description pourtrays them to be. "Further northwards," he adds, "a beautiful mullioned window, hung on projecting corbeils, still exhibits withinside on the soffit of its arch the boar of Richard, with some elegant tracery, plainly marking the latest portion of the castle to be the work of Gloucester;"[2] and perhaps no better exemplification of this prince's badge, in which a fanciful analogy may be traced to the savage disposition unjustly fixed upon him, can be selected, than a copy of the remarkable specimen, coeval with Richard himself, which orna-

[1] "Sir Robert Brackenbury adhered faithfully to Richard, and died with his sovereign on Bosworth Field." —*Surtees*, p. 71.

[2] Ibid. p. 90.

mented his state chamber; the oriel window from which he may be supposed so often to have gazed, and with which the historian of Durham illustrates his most valuable and interesting description.



The badge, impress, or cognizance, as certain heraldic figures in general use at this period of English history were indifferently styled, "was an emblematical device adopted," says Camden, "by noble and learned personages to notify some particular conceit of their own,"[1] and were altogether distinct from coats of arms, "which were used to distinguish families, and usual among the nobility in wars, tilts, or tournaments;"[2] or from the crest, the highest armorial distinction, which was worn in the helmet by the knight himself, as an especial mark of nobility. The badge, in short, was the household or livery cognizance[3] worn by the re-

[1] Camden's Remains, p. 447. [2] Ibid. p. 447.

[3] In the reign of Edward III. family badges were used with profusion to decorate the dresses, caparisons, furniture, and utensils; and although the tournament sometimes presented a device fancifully adapted for the particular ceremony, still the principal houses, in imitation of the royal family, had a distinctive mark for their retainers, which secondary and menial tokens of family distinction were no doubt at that time better known to their dependants than the per-

tainers of princes and powerful barons, to declare visibly the liege lord to whose service they were attached, and it consisted of an emblematic figure sewn or fastened to the shoulders, breast, or some other prominent portion of the dress, in the same manner that the badge of watermen is fixed to their sleeves in the present day; which humble illustration constitutes almost the only existing trace of this once important symbol of fealty and of vassalage.

Many of the most remarkable associations relating to the feudal times are connected with this ancient appendage[1],—the very name of Plantagenet itself for example,—distinguishing as it did that chivalrous race of English monarchs, the last of whom is the subject of this memoir, being derived from the cognizance of their progenitor, a sprig of the Planta-genista (the yellow broom), adopted by him as a symbol of humility when performing a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[2]

King Edward IV. bore his white rose and the fetterlock as the particular device of the house of York; and after the battle of Mortimer Cross, he adopted the white rose en soleil[3] as his *especial* cognizance, from the parhelion that preceded that important battle, "in which three suns were seen immediately conjoyning in one." The cognizance

sonal arms or crest of their liege lord. There are now very few of our nobility who continue the use of the badge distinctly; but they are still retained by some charitable foundations, and the yeomen of the guard wear them as in the time of Henry VIII.—*Collectanea Topog. et Geneal.*, vol. iii. p. 50. See also *Edmondson's Heraldry*, p. 189.

[1] Appendix LL.

[2] Buck's Richard III., p. 6.

[3] Camden's Remains, p. 454.

of Richard Duke of Gloucester was a rose supported on the dexter side by a bull, a badge of the house of Clare, and on the sinister side by a boar, which boar he had found among the badges of the house of York. This latter device was the one he selected as his own personal badge[1], the cognizance of his retainers and household, and its preservation at his mansion of Barnard Castle is the more valuable from being sculptured under his own direction, and associated with a portion of his life, of which so little notice has hitherto been taken, and on which the breath of slander could attach neither stain nor censure.

Hutchinson, in his account of the borough of Barnard Castle, observes that the cognizance of Richard is scattered all over the town in houses built of the stones obtained from the ruins of the castle; and Surtees, in bearing similar testimony, says, "In the wall of a low ancient dwelling, with mullioned windows, is a stone inscribed Ricardus in a bold raised letter; and on a house at a little distance is a stone coarsely sculptured with the boar passant."[2]

But in this favourite abode, as well as at Middle-

[1] "The white boar was the badge of Richard Duke of Gloucester, and was retained by him after he ascended the throne. His arms were sometimes supported by two of them. In Sandford's time, there remained over the library gate at Cambridge, carved in stone, a rose, supported on the sinister side by a boar; which boar, the same author informs us, Richard had found among the badges of the house of York, being of silver with tusks and bristles of gold, inscribed 'Ex Honore de Windsor.' The badge of the white boar is said to have been derived from the honor of Windsor." — *Retros. Review*, 2d Series, vol. ii. p. 156.

[2] Surtees, p. 79.

ham Castle, Gloucester bestowed not his attention exclusively in embellishing his own dwelling-house, but exerted himself strenuously, as he had previously done at the former place, to obtain a licence for founding a corresponding collegiate church for a dean, twelve secular priests, ten chaplains, and six choristers, in honour of the Virgin, to be called "The College of Richard Duke of Gloucester at Barnard Castle;"[1] and that he succeeded in his praiseworthy and munificent design is made apparent by letters patent[2] still extant, in which the king grants licence to Richard Duke of Gloucester "to found and incorporate a college at Barnard Castle."[3]

What a contrast do these domestic and commendable occupations present to those usually ascribed to this prince! How singular does it appear, that for three centuries one unqualified charge of depravity, in its most appalling sense, should have been affixed to the memory of a British monarch, commencing from the moment of his birth, and continued up to the very period of his decease, when so many documents actually existed, both legislative and local, that of themselves, and without requiring either comment or observation, negative the utterly incredible tales which have so long disgraced our regal annals, proving, beyond all power of contradiction, how bountiful, peaceably-disposed, and well-conducted was Richard, as Duke of Gloucester, at the identical period when his name has been branded with crimes and deep-laid schemes,

[1] Tanner's Notitia, p. 117. [2] Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 322.

[3] "A licence appears for such a foundation in 1477, but the design was probably left incomplete, or perished with its founder."—*Surtees*, vol. iv. p. 67.

which only the most depraved of human beings could have conceived, and the most heartless have put in execution.

Yet such is the case; and so deep-rooted, so firmly fixed, are the prejudices entertained against Richard of Gloucester, from the impression having been conveyed in childhood, and confirmed both by dramatic exhibitions and graver studies in after years, that, in all probability, no proof, however strong, could wholly eradicate, in the present generation at least, the stain, the traditional imputation of Richard's guilt:—no; not even though the records of the land prove them unworthy of credit, and contemporary evidence completely invalidates the fables of a later and credulous period.

Grievous indeed, as affecting the truth of our national history, was the error, so long pursued by historical writers, of consulting and copying only such statements as had been already printed, and thus perpetuating, and too frequently exaggerating, the misrepresentations and erroneous impressions of the early chroniclers. It is true that the extreme difficulty attendant upon the examination of original documents, arising equally from their obsolete character and from their wide dispersion, affords ample explanation, if not sufficient excuse, for the first compilers of so laborious a work as a complete national history for adopting the testimony of such writers who preceded them as were renowned for learning and estimated for integrity; still the misinterpretation, by an individual, however erudite, of a single fact, much more of a continuous series of events, may for ever destroy the

character and undeservedly blight the reputation of a monarch, who, the victim of misconception in the first instance, becomes eventually the object of positive calumniation to future generations and to all ages.

Nor does this unhappy result imply either, in the writers themselves, a wilful or deliberate perversion of truth. Far from it: but it is human nature to judge of persons and things by preconceived notions, and to be biassed by personal feelings; and there is nothing more remarkable in the study of history than the fact so constantly made apparent to such as are engaged in the pursuit, that the sincerity of even the most impartial writers becomes affected when their prejudices, whether religious or political[1], are called into play, or how completely the false colouring thus given by them to persons or things perverts the truth which they seek to establish, and from which indeed they have no intention of departing.

Unless the motives that led to certain actions are taken into consideration, — unless the moral condition of society at a given period forms the

[1] Richard III. is not the only instance in our regnal annals that could be adduced in corroboration of this fact. Queen Mary, melancholy as was her reign, resulting from the bigotry of her ministers and the fury of religious persecution at that period, was far from being the cruel and unfeminine character usually described. On the contrary, she was mild and amiable in private life, and her letters and literary productions which are yet extant (see *Hearne's Syllogi Epistolarium*, and *Strype's Hist. Memorials*) prove her to have been not only a right-minded as well as a very learned woman, but altogether the victim of the unhappy times in which she flourished, rather than the willing agent of those savage deeds which procured for her in after years the opprobrious term of "Bloody Queen Mary," — an epithet resulting from the same factious spirit which bestowed on Gloucester the epithet of "Crook-backed Richard."

standard by which individuals who then flourished are judged,—unless the religion, laws, customs, and manners of the country and the times are carefully weighed and properly estimated,—the truth can never become known. All views, opinions, and conclusions, therefore, should be cautiously received, unless they are derived from the accounts of contemporary writers; because these latter, from being acquainted with the causes that produced unforeseen results, and comprehending in a great measure the agency by which such results were brought about, are more likely to come to a right conclusion than those who have to canvass the motives of human actions, and to form an estimate of individual character, at a remote period, and under a state of things altogether distinct from the more civilised age in which the modern historian writes, and under the influence of which he is called upon to pronounce, at least, his own judgment.

There is no part of English history to which these observations are more applicable than that portion which comprises the brief career of Richard Duke of Gloucester. Almost every matter in which he was concerned is enveloped in mystery; the most important events, as well as the most unimportant persons, all, if connected with him, partake of the same uncertainty, the same shadowing out of evil, with no more solid foundation than the ignis fatuus that deceives the unwary traveller, and defies all approach, all tangibility, because based only on delusion.

Amongst the number of those followers who have shared in the posthumous odium which for

three centuries has been attached to the Duke of Gloucester, is Sir Robert Brackenbury, whose name, from its association with Barnard Castle, requires especial notice here; and the more so, because he appears to have been fully as much the victim of unfounded aspersion, as the prince to whose service he was probably first attached by military tenure at this period of his history.

The family of Brackenbury was one of great respectability, and of very ancient date[1], having been settled at Selaby, in the immediate vicinity of Barnard Castle, from the end of the twelfth century. One of the main bulwarks of this latter fortress was called, and indeed is still designated as "Brackenbury's Tower," probably, says Surtees[2], "from the tenure of lands held by castle-ward;" or, it may be, from some distinguished warrior of the family having earned the distinction by his brave defence of the portion so named, during its siege under Edward I. The Robert Brackenbury, whose name is as inseparably interwoven with that of Richard of Gloucester, as

"Brackenbury's gloomy, weed-capt Tower,"[3]

is, with the fortress in which that prince so long sojourned, and on which his cognizance remains

[1] Amongst the metrical legends of the county of Durham is one that perpetuates the ancient descent of the Brackenburys: —

"The black lion under the oaken tree
Made the Saxons fight, and the Normans flee."

This distich is one of the oldest of those which Sir Cuthbert Sharpe has collected in his pleasing little work on the traditions of this county. He explains its meaning by the crest of he family, which was a tree vert, under which is a lion couchant sable. — See *Bishoprick Garland*, p. 4.

[2] Hist. of Durham, p. 71. [3] Layton's Poem of Castle Barnard.

carved on buttress and window within sight of the ruined tower itself, was a junior member of this ancient family.[1]

When, therefore, the custom of the time is taken into consideration, of young men of high descent being invariably attached to the household and retinue of the great feudal lords in their neighbourhood, it is a fair inference, that upon Gloucester fixing his abode at Barnard Castle, a cadet of the Brackenbury family should be numbered among his retainers, as the vassal of his princely superior; even were he not compelled to do him service by some military tenure, binding his race to the fortunes of the lord of Barnard Castle, whoever he might be; and which it is more than probable was the case in this instance, by the name of his ancestors being attached to a portion of the fabric itself.

Richard of Gloucester appears to have possessed qualities that won the greatest confidence from such as surrounded him, and inspired the most devoted attachment in those on whom he bestowed his friendship. He distinguished Brackenbury with marks of the highest favour, and there is no existing document, or even tradition, to prove him undeserving of the prince's regard; while the firmness and fidelity with which that faithful knight followed Gloucester's fortunes to the very close of his life, even at the sacrifice of his own, as has been before observed, sufficiently explains the length and nature of their military connection, and accounts for Brackenbury's name suffering from

[1] Surtees, p. 91.

being so intimately associated with a prince whose testimonies of regard were interpreted into bribery for crime, and whose rewards for faithful services were considered as designating only his co-partners in guilt.

It would be premature to follow up this subject farther at present; but in describing an abode so peculiarly associated with Richard's memory, and that of Brackenbury, as was Barnard Castle, it becomes essential to notice the simple and natural cause which probably led to the connection of the latter with the prince when sojourning there, and which was so likely to produce the friendship that has been the means of coupling their names in unenviable celebrity even to the present day.

For some years Richard appears to have pursued the same even and tranquil career; for although many local notices are extant, which, as regards data, serve to keep him from year to year alive in public remembrance, and prevent his ever being entirely lost sight of, yet they chiefly relate to matters of the same import as those already described, viz. the preservation of peace in the northern counties by his promptness and energy in checking the inroads of the border chiefs, and allaying the first indication of discontent evinced in the extensive district intrusted to his charge; and, when not thus actively employed in a military capacity, bestowing his undivided attention towards beautifying or repairing various religious edifices in the north, and keeping in order the important fortresses requisite for guarding King Edward's English dominions against any sudden irruption from the

Scottish frontier. In the Issue Roll of the Exchequer upwards of a thousand marks are assigned to Gloucester[1] at this period in payment of repairs to the walls of Carlisle, besides a farther grant of fifty marks allotted to him for the same purpose[2]; other sums, too, are awarded to Richard "as keeper of the marches of England near Scotland for the safe custody thereof." Penrith, where he frequently resided, and which in their young age had been the favourite abode of his parents[3], was greatly indebted to him for its repair and restoration[4]; and it is by no means improbable that the ancient portraits in stained glass of the Duke of York and the Lady Cecily, which are still to be seen in the south window of the chancel of Penrith church, were there placed through the filial affection of their youngest son. To the chapel at Pontefract, and the parish churches of Skipton, Coverham, Middleham, and others, he was a great benefactor; and he bestowed considerable sums in embellishing and renovating the monastery of Carlisle.[5]

It is scarcely possible to imagine a stronger contrast to the active and praiseworthy career pursued by Richard Duke of Gloucester, than was afforded by the inert and luxurious life led by King Edward IV. His indolence increased with his years, and his love of pleasure and personal gratification gained strength by excessive and unlawful indulgence. The tribute money which continued to be regularly paid by Louis XI. after the treaty of Picquiny, afforded him ample means for indulging

[1] Issue Roll of Exchequer, p. 501.
[2] Ibid. p. 499.
[3] Surtees, p. 67.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Harl. MSS., 433. fol. 191.

to satiety those enervating habits which weakened his talents for government fully as much as they paralysed his naturally active and energetic character. His passion for dress was so unbounded, that he would constantly appear in a variety of the most costly robes[1]; some made of a form altogether new, but such as he thought would display to the greatest advantage the singular beauty of his person; while the splendour and luxury which marked the festivities of his court were more in accordance with Eastern customs than the more rational and sober enjoyments of an English sovereign.[2] The sole object which called off his attention from himself and his vain pursuits was an inordinate ambition in regard to the aggrandisement of his offspring by marriage. In this he succeeded to his entire satisfaction; for independent of the betrothment of the Princesses Elizabeth and Cecily to the heirs of the French and the Scottish crowns, he had arranged for his other children[3] alliances equally advantageous, whether considered with reference to connection or riches.[4]

[1] Cont. Croy., p. 563.

[2] Philip de Comines, who knew him well, and was frequently employed on missions to the English court, says, that he indulged himself in a greater share of ease and luxury than any prince of his time. His thoughts were wholly absorbed by hunting, dress, and licentious pleasures. And so devoted was he to the fair sex, that even in hunting his custom was to have tents erected for ladies, whom he entertained with unparalleled splendour and magnificence. — See *Phil. de Comines*, p. 252.; *Sharon Turner*, vol. iii. p. 363.

[3] Habington, p. 106.

[4] The Princess Royal was contracted to the Dauphin of France; the Princess Cecily to the heir of the King of Scotland; the Princess Anne was destined for the son of Maximilian, Archduke of Austria; and the Princess Katherine for the Infanta of Spain; Edward Prince of Wales was betrothed to the eldest daughter of the Duke

Secure, then, in the peaceful possession of his own dominions, and undisturbed by foreign enemies, King Edward yielded himself wholly to a life of frivolous amusements, to the celebration of feasts and pageants, and the unrestrained indulgence of the most dissolute habits[1], leaving the entire charge of the kingdom, as relates to its military affairs, to Richard Duke of Gloucester.[2] "The king," observes that monarch's biographer, "desired to live to the best advantage of his pleasure; Gloucester, of his honour:"[3] and most just was this observation; for the wise, prudent, but firm government of this prince in the north preserved the whole of that part of the kingdom tranquil; while his well-known military prowess awed the malcontents in other parts of the realm.

His increasing importance throughout the country at large, as the only prince of the house of York capable by age or by inclination for active exertion, kept pace with his popularity in the north; while his unblemished reputation in public life, together with the submissive and consistent deportment to King Edward which had ever characterised his actions, increased his influence with that monarch, and strengthened the attachment which had ever bound the brothers to each other. As a natural result, Richard perpetually received fresh proofs of the king's confidence and affection.

of Bretagne; and Richard Duke of York, in his fifth year, as already shown, was united to the heiress of the Duke of Norfolk, by which alliance he succeeded to the immense estates and enormous riches of that princely house.

[1] Habington, p. 177. [2] Lingard, p. 234.

[3] Habington, p. 202.

In the 17th Edward IV. he was re-appointed great chamberlain of England for life [1], which office, it will be remembered, he had relinquished in favour of the Duke of Clarence [2], by whose death it became vacant, and was again in the gift of the Crown. In the 18th Edward IV. he was constituted admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine [3], having previously been invested with the maritime command of England. And in the 20th of Edward IV. he was nominated lieutenant-general of the kingdom [4], in consequence of threatened hostilities with Scotland.

He was likewise appointed (to quote the quaint language of the times) "one of the triers of petitions" for England, Ireland and Scotland, in the parliament which met in the painted chamber at Westminster, 16th of January, 1478 [5]; an appointment which attests his judgment and integrity, and is proof also that he was accustomed to give his attention to the actual business of the state. In addition to these and many other honours of less

[1] Rymer's Add. MSS, 4615 art. 16. [2] Ibid. 4614. art. 70.
[3] Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 323. [4] Cal. Rot., p. 325.
[5] Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 167. "In the beginning of the existence of the House of Commons, bills were presented to the king under the form of petitions. Those to which the king assented were registered among the rolls of parliament, with his answer to them; and at the end of each parliament the judges formed them into statutes. Several abuses having crept into that method of proceeding, it was ordained that the judges should in future make the statute before the end of every session. Lastly, as even that became in process of time insufficient, the present method of framing bills was established; that is to say, both houses now frame the statutes in the very form and words in which they are to stand when they have received the royal assent." — *De Lolme's Constitution of England*, p. 234.

note, he was appointed high sheriff of Cumberland and of Cornwall, the latter for "term of his life."[1]

As the number and importance of Richard's high offices accumulated, his occasional presence in the metropolis became necessary; the more so, as the king's increasing indolence rendered the judicious advice and active assistance of his brother not merely essential to his own individual ease, but important to the kingdom as regards its internal government. Up to this period, however, no fixed abode in the capital appears to have been appointed to the Duke of Gloucester. Nor was this by any means remarkable, for his extreme youth before the expulsion of King Edward from the throne rendered it probable that he then dwelt at Baynard's Castle, the metropolitan abode of his widowed parent, — that renowned mansion in which the Lady Cecily on all momentous occasions assembled her offspring around her; and from the time of his royal brother's restoration to the throne, his life, as before noticed, was passed altogether in the north. There was his home; for, at this early period of English history, the abiding place of the great feudal lords was their baronial halls. They rarely visited the metropolis, and when they did so, it was with a great retinue, and purely on matters of business, to attend the great councils of the nation, to assist at the coronation of their monarchs, to take part in allaying civil commotions, and to afford support or offer opposition to the reigning sovereign and his ministers. The princely mansions in London of such lordly peers as

[1] Anglo. Spect., pp. 128. 140.

chanced to possess them by inheritance, were denominated hostels or inns: and when attention is directed to the fact that the Earls of Salisbury and of Warwick, with retainers to the amount of 500, lodged at the ancient habitation of the Nevilles on Dowgate Hill in 1458 [1] (within twenty years of the period under consideration), some faint and general idea may be formed of the enormous size and accommodations of these city palaces. This celebrated abode of the Nevilles was termed "the Erber" or "Herber," an abridgment, it has been considered, of the French word "auberge," or lodging house; but more probably it was a corruption of its locality, "the Harbour," from being situated on a hill overlooking the ancient port of the city of London, and immediately adjoining the water-gate [2], or ferry. After the death of the Earl of Warwick, King Edward bestowed this mansion on the Duke of Clarence [3], at the same period that he invested him with the titles of his attainted stepfather, to whom it had belonged; and upon the execution of this latter prince, this hereditary abode of the race of Neville appears to have formed one amongst the few portions of Clarence's confiscated lands that were conferred on Gloucester,

[1] Pennant's London, p. 334.

[2] In very early periods of British history, vessels discharged their cargoes at Walbrook, then a considerable stream, passing through the most populous part of the city, and affording means of water conveyance to the merchants who dwelt in the vicinity. Dow-gate, a corruption of the ancient term "*Dwr*," signifying *water-gate*, on an eminence overlooking which, "the Erber" was built, was contiguous to a ferry, which continued in use for foot passengers up to a late period of history.

[3] Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 162.

arising from his union with the surviving co-heiress of the Lord of Warwick. The Erber, however, would seem to have been in a dilapidated state, and was probably at this time become altogether uninhabitable; for not only is Richard's name associated with repairs, commenced after the decease of the Duke of Clarence, but he is also at this time found occupying a newly erected mansion in its immediate vicinity, late belonging to Sir John Crosby, an alderman of London, from whose widow the prince probably leased it, while the ancestral abode of his duchess in the capital was undergoing a similar renovation to that which Richard had bestowed on the castellated dwellings attached to her northern patrimony, and which, on his accession to the throne, procured in after years for this her metropolitan possession the appellation of the "king's palace."[1]

Of the precise year in which the Duke of Gloucester took possession of Crosby Place, no certain record exists; but its original owner, the wealthy merchant who constructed it, and whose name it still perpetuates, died in the year 1475, as appears by the massive tabular monument which yet attests the fact in the adjoining Priory Church of Great St. Helen's.

The subject of this memoir is recorded as its next possessor[2], and it was an abode in all respects befitting the sovereign's brother.

Erected in a style of princely grandeur, it was completed both within and without with that gor-

[1] Pennant, p. 334. [2] Carl. Hist. Crosby Hall, p. 14.

geous splendour which peculiarly characterised the buildings of the 15th century; and Crosby Place, with its embowered oriels, its superb hall, and matchless roof, so famed as perpetuating in this present day the only specimen now remaining in the metropolis of the domestic architecture of the middle ages [1], is as interesting from its association with the last monarch of the Plantagenet race, as is Barnard Castle, the abode of Richard of Gloucester in early and less troubled times, from the preservation there of his household cognizance "the bristled boar."

These habitations, together with provincial records of his laudable proceedings in the northern counties above related, constitute almost the only traces of Richard's private life after his marriage. His public acts, however, are most numerous. They are registered in the archives of the land, and establish his high reputation as a warrior, and yet more his character as a patriot, and his dignified conduct as a prince of the blood royal of England. Still in the prime of life, for he had not attained his twenty-sixth year on the death of Clarence, and surrounded as he was by temptations, such as to one of his aspiring nature can scarcely be understood in the existing order of things, Richard of Gloucester merited in its fullest sense the eulogium extorted by a sense of justice, even from the prejudiced pen of Lord Bacon: "a prince in military virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the English nation; and likewise a good law-maker for

[1] Carl. Hist. Crosby Hall, p. 26.

the ease and solace of the common people."[1] Such indeed was the character which he bore universally in the extensive district in which his career as Duke of Gloucester must chiefly be sought for and judged[2], and where so many records yet exist[3] to bear testimony of his bounty, his generosity, and his justice. A trifling memorial connected with his private life affords evidence, likewise, that this latter qualification was considered by his kindred to influence his conduct in all situations; for the Lady Elizabeth Latimer[4], by her will dated 28th of September, 20th Ed. IV., appointed "the high and mighty prince, Richard Duke of Gloucester" one of the "surveyors" of her will[5]; thus evincing her confidence in his integrity, and giving a manifest proof of the sense generally entertained of his rectitude and ability.

It is much to be lamented that so little is known of the childhood of the youthful Earl of Salisbury, his son; or has been preserved of the Lady Anne, the wife of his choice: but the same absence of fact and of incident, the same dearth of material for biographical notice, will be found generally to prevail in the case of all the illustrious consorts of the eminent men who flourished at that period.

[1] Bacon's Hen. VII., p 2.

[2] "The northern parts were not only affectionate to the house of York, but particularly had been devoted to King Richard III." — *Bacon's Life of Hen. VII.*, p. 17.

[3] Drake's Ebor., p. 117.

[4] The Lady Elizabeth Latimer was aunt by marriage to Richard Duke of Gloucester, having espoused George Lord Latimer, brother to Cecily Duchess of York, and third son of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, by the Lancastrian Princess Joan Beaufort.

[5] Testamenta Vetusta, vol. i. p. 359.

Of Isabel, wife of the Duke of Clarence, for example, little has been recorded beyond her marriage and her death. Of her parent, the Countess of Warwick[1], the richly-endowed heiress of a noble race, and of her estimable kinswoman, the enduring and devoted wife of the faithful Oxford[2], nothing more is known than the extent of their riches and the persecutions that their wealth entailed upon them. Even the queens consort of England, at that age of mystery and uncertainty, afford brief matter for biographical detail, and Cecily Duchess of York[3], the mother and grandmother of the princes of the entire dynasty so designated, and Margaret Countess of Richmond[4], the ancestress of the next and every succeeding race of English monarchs up to the present day, afford only the outlines of a career so eminent for virtue, and so remarkable for vicissitude, that regret cannot but

[1] Anne Countess of Warwick, the mother of the royal Duchesses of Clarence and Gloucester, was, as has been before stated, the sole heir to the honours and inheritance of the Earls of Warwick, which title she carried into the family of Neville.

[2] Margaret, consort of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was daughter of the Earl of Salisbury, sister of Richard Earl of Warwick, and aunt to the Duchesses of Clarence and Gloucester. — *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 94. ; vol. ii. p. 340.

[3] Cecily Duchess of York was the parent of Edward IV. and Richard III., and grandmother of Edward V. She was also the grandmother of Elizabeth of York, in whose person the Red and White Roses were united, arising from the marriage of this princess with Henry VII.

[4] Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, was the mother of King Henry VII., founder of the Tudor race, and grandmother to Margaret, consort of James IV. of Scotland; the ancestress of that branch of the race of Stuart in whom the kingdoms of England and Scotland became united. — *Life of Mary Beaufort, Countess of Richmond*, by the Authoress.

be felt at the brevity of those records which have nevertheless served to immortalize their names.[1]

It is by no means surprising, then, that the wife of Richard Duke of Gloucester should share in the obscurity that has hitherto concealed even well-certified, though long-hidden, testimonies of her husband's active life. Judging, however, from many circumstances which assimilate her career with that of her sister, the Duchess of Clarence, it appears probable that the Lady Anne suffered from the same ill health, and inherited the same fragile constitution, that carried the Lady Isabel to an early grave.[2] There is also solid ground for the supposition that the young Earl of Salisbury, though usually represented as Richard's only legitimate child, was but the eldest and sole surviving son, and that the cares of an infant family engrossed the Lady Anne's attention, although they survived not to reward her maternal care and anxiety. The causes for this surmise are not based on conjecture, but are gathered from the wording of documents in which such a fact would not be implied without foundation. On the creation of the young Edward as Earl of Salisbury, the letters patent[3], and which yet exist, distinctly term him "the *eldest* son of Richard Duke of Gloucester." In the Harl. MSS.[4] a very curious

[1] See Obligations of Literature to the Mothers of England, by the Authoress, pp. 55, 56.

[2] There is a remarkable coincidence in the death of the two sisters, both of whom appear to have died of decline; and their wasting away, and gradual decay, was in both instances attributed, but without foundation, to poison; and said to be accelerated by evil and supernatural influence.

[3] Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 322.

[4] Harl. MSS., 433. fol. 242.

document is preserved, in which Richard himself styles the young prince "Edward, *his first begotten son:*" and in a collection of ordinances which at a later period of his life he issued for the regulation of his household in the north, one of the leading items is this[1]:—That "my Lord of Lincoln," his favourite nephew[2], and "my Lord Morley," probably his son's preceptor, "be at one breakfast;" and "*the children together* at one breakfast." He also afterwards implies the high rank of the parties thus specified, by commanding that no livery exceeds his (Gloucester's) limitation, "but only to my lord and *the children.*"

As relates to the immediate biography of the young Earl of Salisbury, a most interesting and curious document[3] preserved in the same MS. library[4] gives the only few brief memorials that have been transmitted to posterity relative to this young prince in his childhood. These are contained in a fragment connected with the household expenditure and the administration and economy of the Duke of Gloucester at Middleham during this and the following year, in which the details are so minute that even the colour of the young prince's dress is inserted, as also the price of a feather to be worn in his cap. One item com-

[1] Harl. MSS., p. 269.

[2] John Earl of Lincoln was the son of Elizabeth Duchess of Suffolk, the eldest surviving sister of King Edward IV. and Richard Duke of Gloucester; Anne Duchess of Exeter, her elder sister, having died in 1475, leaving an only child, a daughter, the ancestress of the present ancient and noble family of Manners, Earls of Rutland.

[3] See Appendix MM.

[4] Harl. MSS., 433. p. 118.

memorates the sudden death and burial of Lord Richard Bernall, his governor, who, it would seem, expired and was interred at Pomfret, recently after a journey from Middleham, a specified sum being inserted for "ye Lord Richard's costs from Middleham to Ponctfret," and another expenditure for "the Lord Richard's burial." Various entries connected with this nobleman show the entire association of the young prince with his tutor, and it also proves that Middleham was their fixed abode during Gloucester's active military career. The cost of the young Edward's primer and psalter, together with that of the black satin with which they were covered, are specified in this remarkable fragment, which also demonstrates the nature of the amusements in which the illustrious child was permitted to indulge. These latter items are particularly pleasing, and altogether invaluable, as relates to the private history of Richard Duke of Gloucester, from pourtraying the lenity of his domestic rule, evinced by the encouragement which he gave to the pastimes of the period, such as payment for a pack of hounds, the wages of a resident jester, the election of a king of rush-bearing, and a king also of Middleham, mummeries evidently connected with the district where he resided. Other items are still more important, from the proof they afford of Richard's attention to the comforts and rights of his personal attendants, and those of his offspring.

These, together with the frequent and munificent alms-offerings of himself and his family to the religious houses in the vicinity of Middleham, attest

his strict observance of the devotional ordinances of the period, and display in a remarkable manner the admirable regularity and perfect order which characterised his domestic establishment.

And it was fortunate for the honour of the kingdom, and the tranquillity of the Yorkist dynasty, that the active habits of Gloucester were so singularly opposed to the supineness of King Edward, for his ancient enemy Louis XI. was no indifferent spectator of a state of things which his tribute-money[1] had been chiefly instrumental in effecting, and the payment of which he meant only to continue, together with his seeming friendship with the English court, until such time as he considered it convenient to throw off the mask. The King of Scotland, equally subtle in his policy, but less scrupulous in preserving even an appearance of faith, openly showed his intention of annulling the alliance with England which had been cemented by the betrothment of the heir of his crown with the Princess Cecily of York. Constant outrages were perpetrated by the Scotch borderers on the English frontiers, for which neither redress nor compensation could be obtained: and although the rich dowry promised with the English princess on her union with the Duke of Rothsay was regularly paid by instalments beforehand, as had been agreed at the time of the contract; still, year after year rolled on, and the articles of marriage were not fulfilled; neither was the money received by James as the pledge of King Edward's sincerity returned

[1] Habington, p. 200.

by the Scottish monarch as had been stipulated, in the event of the non-fulfilment of the marriage.

Accordingly, in 1478, the sums hitherto paid by this country were discontinued, but without producing the desired effect on the treacherous king; and the exasperation of Edward IV. at what he designated James's "meanness of conduct and breach of faith"[1] being heightened by the artful representation of the Duke of Albany, King James's brother, who for his ambitious and rebellious conduct had been exiled from his native land, and now sought the assistance of England in restoring him to his country and his honours[2], war was proclaimed against Scotland, and the command of the expedition intrusted to the Duke of Gloucester. "This prince," observes Habington, "had now no competitor in greatness both of judgment and power."[3] His royal brother, equally irascible as in youth, and furious at opposition to his views, was nevertheless so subdued by his inert habits, that all power of exertion seemed to be denied him; and, notwithstanding the indignation felt and expressed against the Scottish sovereign, King Edward's love of ease prevailed over his revengeful spirit, and he was well content to leave to others that vengeance which he had determined to inflict. "Willing to decline labour," adds his biographer[4], "he waived the expedition, and Gloucester, ambitious to gain opinion, especially with the soldiers, most forwardly undertook it:" thus proving the truth of a previous quotation from this same author, "that the king

[1] Lingard, vol. v. p. 230.
[2] Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 173.
[3] Habington, p. 202.
[4] Ibid.

desired to live to the best advantage of his pleasure; Gloucester, of his honour."

The successful result of this prince's mission formed indeed a marked contrast to the inglorious peace purchased by France, and displays in a remarkable manner the different sentiments which influenced the two brothers when called upon to assert either their own rights or to uphold the honour of their country.

Both in England and Scotland the warlike preparations were on an extensive scale. King James resolved on heading his own troops, and the wording of the patent which conferred upon Richard the sole command of the English army attests the confidence reposed in him by the king, as well as the popularity of the prince himself at this period of his career.

The letter recites, "that notwithstanding the truce which had lately been concluded with James King of Scotland, he was again about to wage war; and that the king, not only on account of his consanguinity and fidelity, but also by reason of his approved prowess and other virtues, appointed his brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, his lieutenant-general, during his own absence, to oppose, if they [the Scotch] should enter the English territory."[1] But the assembling an army which would be sufficiently powerful to invade Scotland, and compel king James to make restitution for his breach of faith, and restoration of the sums of money so unlawfully detained, occupied of necessity very considerable

[1] Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 115.

time; the expenses attending it also were enormous, and could only be met by the most severe and cruel exactions on the great mass of the people.[1] Gloucester, however, had secured the English frontiers from all hostile invasion by the efficient state to which he had brought the walls and fortresses on the border country[2] during his more peaceful career; the which, united to his watchfulness when waiting for the means of acting otherwise than on the merely defensive, kept the Scotch in awe, and secured the northern counties from any extensive pillage or spoil. All preliminaries being at length completed for invading Scotland, and a corresponding commission as lieutenant-general[3] to that before granted, but with even additional powers, being conferred upon him, in June 1482 the Duke of Gloucester laid siege to the town and castle of Berwick, justly termed the key of Scotland. He was accompanied by an army of nearly 23,000 men, and was supported by the most renowned English warriors of the period; while the attention displayed by the king towards supporting his brother's honour

[1] King Edward devised the most despotic and novel measures for exacting sums of money from his subjects. At one time he sent his privy seal through England, to move men to give liberally to him. — *Baker's Chron.*, p. 216. At another time he gathered money upon penal statutes, levied severe contributions on the clergy, and heavily fined those who had omitted to fulfil their feudal tenures. But the most obnoxious levy, and that which bore heaviest on the whole country, was the exacting large sums by means of what was termed "a benevolence" (*Cont. Croy.*, pp. 563. 558.), which consisted of plate and money demanded from the people as a gift, or extorted from them on various pretexts without legislative authority; by which his agents gathered vast sums to replenish the regal coffers at the expense of his impoverished subjects.

[2] Issue Roll of Exchequer, pp. 499. 501.

[3] Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 168.

and dignity, as well as promoting his personal comfort, is evinced by the attendance of the king's treasurer, Sir John Elrington, knight[1], and other leading officers of the royal household; as also by his sending his own physician[2] to watch over his welfare and safety.

The castle of Berwick, then the strongest fort in the north, was commanded by the valiant Earl of Borthwick, who made such determined resistance, that Gloucester speedily foresaw the length of time which it would take to subdue it; and having forced the town to capitulate, and lodged a small but determined band within it, he resolved, with his accustomed energy, to penetrate instantly to the Scottish capital; so that, by surprising King James before time permitted him to be aware of his design, he might secure full indemnification for the insult offered to England and the contempt shown to her sovereign. Richard's able generalship being always tempered by judgment, and characterised by keen foresight, he seldom failed in his designs, however bold might be the spirit in which his measures were conceived: and the present case is a striking instance of his well-certified military sagacity. Leaving the Lord Stanley and 4000 men-at-arms to continue the siege, he entered Scotland with the main body of the English army[3]; and, striking terror into the inhabitants in the line of his march by setting fire to such towns and villages as resisted his progress, he marched direct to Edinburgh, within the castle of which city the king had taken refuge, on hearing

[1] Issue Roll of Exchequer, p. 501.
[2] See Appendix NN.
[3] Habington, p. 205.

of the Duke of Gloucester's approach. To the honour of Richard, it must be recorded that he saved Edinburgh from pillage and destruction: "his entry was only a spectacle of glory, the people applauding the mercy of an enemy who presented them with a triumph, not a battle; and welcomed him as a prince who took arms not for pecy[1] or malice, but for the safety of a neighbouring kingdom."[2]

The nobles of Scotland, alarmed at the imminent peril in which they were placed, and the desolation which threatened their country, increased as it was by their having as a body deserted their sovereign, who was deservedly unpopular with his subjects, sent to the Duke of Gloucester imploring a suspension of arms, and desiring to cement peace on any terms; offering him full restitution on every point, even to the immediate solemnization of the marriage between the Duke of Rothsay and his niece, the Princess Cecily. The reply of Gloucester, "that he came to right the honour of his country, often violated by the Scots," was worthy of him; and so also were the terms which he submitted to their consideration; viz. the restoration of the money paid by King Edward; the capitulation of the castle of Berwick, so dear to the Scotch, not alone from its being a most ancient appurtenance to their crown, but from its constituting as it were the portal of their land; and the recall and restoration of the Duke of Albany to that

[1] Probably specie, an abbreviation of the old French word "espèce," money paid in tale; or, as has been surmised, a corruption of the ancient Latin term "pecuniosus," of or belonging to money.—*Bayley*, vol. i.

[2] Habington, p. 204.

princely position and to those honours and dignities of which he had been deprived by his brother. The honour of his niece, Richard would not compromise by accepting an extorted consent to her union with the young Duke of Rothsay; the marriage, he said, must now be left to King Edward's future consideration: not so the refunding the sums paid for her dowry; that he stipulated for without delay, together with the above-named concessions, as the sole price of his relinquishing further hostilities.

No argument could weaken Gloucester's resolution: whereupon a day was appointed for the restitution of all money lent by King Edward[1]; a pledge given for reparation of all damage done the English by any inroad of the Scottish borderers; and Berwick was ceded to England, with a covenant too, "by no act hereafter to labour the reduction of it."[2]

"Thus, having avenged the indignity shown to his niece, upheld the regality of his sovereign, defended his country from insult and wrong, and been the medium of effecting a reconciliation between the Duke of Albany and his misguided brother, Gloucester quitted Edinburgh in triumph; and with all increase of glory to the English name

[1] In the 12th volume of the Fœdera, p. 161., will be found inserted at full length the "obligation made by the provost, merchants, and inhabitants of Edinburgh, 3d August, 1482," reciting that it had been agreed that a marriage should be solemnised between James, the eldest son of James III. of Scotland, and Cecily, second daughter of King Edward IV. of England; and binding themselves to repay such sums of money as had been advanced to the King of Scotland on that account.

[2] Habington, p. 205.

(and by consequence to his own), he returned to Berwick, which, according to the former agreement, had been yielded to the Lord Stanley."[1] "Thence," continues Habington, "in all solemnity of greatness he came toward London, to yield an account of his prosperous enterprise; and to show how much more nobly he in this expedition against Scotland had managed the peace for the honour of the English nation, than his brother had in his undertaking against France; considering that in lieu of a little money which King Edward got from King Louis, he had taken the only place of strength whereby the Scots might with safety to themselves have endangered their neighbours, and brought them to what conditions he appointed; forcing the king to immure himself, while the English, at liberty, spoiled the country, and possessed themselves of his capital city of Edinburgh."[2]

Richard was welcomed by King Edward—as indeed he justly merited—with the warmest affection. Having received, with his compeers, the thanks of the houses of parliament[3], the royal approbation was publicly given, and with great solemnity, to those wise and vigorous measures[4]

[1] Habington, p. 206. [2] Ibid. p. 207.

[3] On the 18th February (22d Ed. IV.), 1483, the commons appeared before the king in full parliament, and "after recommendation first made of the very powerful prince, Richard Duke of Gloucester, and also of the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Stanley, and other barons and knights, for their noble gests, acts, and services made and performed to the king in defence of the realm in the war lately waged in Scotland and the parts thereof," declared by their speaker that they had granted certain subsidies for the safety and defence of the realm. — *Rot. Parl.*, vol. vi. p. 197.

[4] The king, therefore, to show how much he approved the con-

which had ended in reducing Berwick and humbling the Scots. It is true that the English monarch deplored the immense cost, which, at so great an outlay as 100,000*l.*[1], had secured but little positive advantage to England, severe as were her exactions from the Scotch: yet, satisfied with the energy of Gloucester's proceeding, and pleased with the ample revenge which he had taken on his faithless ally, he disguised his anxiety at the vast expense[2], and strove to appease the discontent of his impoverished subjects, by the most sumptuous entertainments and gorgeous festivities. These were not limited to the princes and peers of his luxurious court, or to the ancient lords of the realm, but were extended to the civic authorities of London; the lord mayor and aldermen being amongst the king's guests, while the good-will of their consorts was secured by presents timely bestowed and exultingly received[3]; for, as laconically

ditions of the peace, went solemnly in procession from St. Stephen's Chapel, accompanied with the queen and a mighty retinue of the greatest lords, into Westminster Hall, where, in presence of the Earl of Angus, the Lord Grey, and Sir James Liddell, ambassadors extraordinary from Scotland, the peace was ratified. — *Habington*, p. 208.

[1] Cont. Croy., p. 563.

[2] Some idea may be formed of the cost of this expedition by entries yet preserved in the "Issue Roll of the Exchequer" for that year; a few items extracted from which will be found inserted in Appendix OO.

[3] Fabyan, the city chronicler, gives two examples of this. In July 1481, the king invited the mayor and part of the corporation to a hunt in Waltham Forest, and feasted them with a rich dinner and wine, in a bower of green boughs, and gave them plenty of venison at parting. The next month he sent two harts and six bucks to the wives of the mayor and aldermen, with a tun of wine to drink with them. — *Fabyan's Chron.*, p. 512. Hall remarks, that his

observed by Sir Thomas More, in allusion to this matter, "people oftentymes more esteme and take for greatter kindenesse a lyttle courtesye, then a greate benefyte."[1] Thus Edward maintained his popularity in the metropolis, and preserved that place in the affections of the citizens which had so early been bestowed on the unreflective monarch from his gallant bearing, his graceful carriage, his frank, courteous, and affable deportment.

Little time, however, was allowed for feasting and pageants, or for redeeming, by the blessings of peace and prosperity, the devastating effects of war. Louis XI. had been the secret agent in fomenting discord between England and Scotland; and now an unlooked-for event afforded him the means, so long desired, of casting off the English yoke, and ridding himself from the detestable tribute which necessity alone had induced him to pay. Mary Duchess of Burgundy died within four years of her marriage with the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, leaving two infant children, a son and a daughter. The prospect of annexing to France a portion of the rich provinces of Burgundy, by affiancing the Dauphin to the orphan princess of that wealthy principality, was far more tempting to the French monarch than the empty honour that would have accrued to his heir by an alliance with the Princess Royal of

courteous lowliness and familiarity were so great that they occasioned the suspicion that he was poisoned (p. 341.); and Sir Thomas More says, that "hee was wyth hys people so benygne, courteyse, and so familyer, that no parte of hys vertues was more estemed."—*More*, p. 4.

[1] More, p. 5.

England; and Louis was never over scrupulous in the measures which he adopted for compassing his views. Faith and treaties he considered as mere political agents, never as the pledge of kingly honour; consequently, by his deep policy in this matter, he succeeded as heretofore in accomplishing his designs, and in over-reaching those sovereigns whom he had blinded by his specious and plausible representations.

The infant Margaret was delivered to commissioners appointed by the French monarch; and King Edward had not merely to endure the mortification of seeing the annulment of his long-cherished views relative to the aggrandisement of his eldest daughter, her place being actually filled by another before he was fully aware of the perjury practised towards him; but the tribute money, hitherto so punctually paid, and which had so long been his great support and dependence, and upheld his credit with his subjects[1], ceased to be paid at the same time.

The serious deprivation which this entailed, by reason of his extravagant habits, increased the bitterness of feeling with which he contemplated this fresh mortification, this repetition of the insult offered, but in a far more offensive degree, by Louis, to that which he had recently visited so severely on the weak-minded James of Scotland. It was in

[1] "He hadde lefte all gatherynge of money, which is the onlye thinge that withdraweth the heartes of Englyshmenne fro the prince; nor any thing intended he to take in hand by which he should be driven thereto, for his tribute out of France he had before obtained." — *More*, p. 4.

vain that King Edward recalled to mind how often he had been warned by the lords of his realm[1], and by foreign allies, against the specious conduct of Louis; or that he now saw in its fullest extent the value of Gloucester's expostulation at Picquiny, and found how easily and completely he had been duped by his rival. Retrospection was useless. The evil consequences alone remained to excite his indignation, and rouse every vindictive passion of his nature. With the violence of temper which made this monarch yearn for vengeance at any cost, when exasperated, or thwarted in his ambitious views, no sooner was this breach of faith communicated to him, than he resolved on being avenged, and humbling Louis fully as severely as he had the Scotch people and their dissembling ruler. Summoning the lords of his council, he made known his injuries, and represented to them his daughter's wrongs.[2] With the dauntless spirit of Englishmen, the leading nobility resented the affront offered to their young princess[3], and viewed it with an indignation fully as great as that felt by their sovereign. The whole court, nay, the whole kingdom, were loud in their call for war, and in requiring instant preparations to be made for the invasion of France. But prominent above all was the Duke of

[1] Philip de Comines, vol. ii. p. 62.

[2] The extent of the French monarch's perfidy, and the nature of the injury inflicted on Edward IV., cannot be better manifested than by the simple fact, that after the treaty of Picquiny, which checked farther hostility between England and France, the Princess Royal of England, betrothed to the heir of the French throne, was immediately and ever afterwards recognised at the court of Louis XI. as "Madame le Dauphine." — *Sandford, Geneal. Hist.*, book v. p. 395.

[3] Chron. Croy., p. 563.

Gloucester, in his desire of upholding the dignity of the crown and the honour of his house[1], "expressing aloud his desire that all his estate might be spent, and all his veins emptied, in revenge of this injury."

That he was sincere can scarcely be doubted, when his recent conduct is considered in Scotland, and attention bestowed on his former opposition to the time-serving policy of Louis: for in the one case he derived no personal or pecuniary benefit for the restitution he procured for England; and in the other he stood alone, and risked the king's displeasure, by his strenuous efforts to expose the selfish views of the French monarch.

The most extensive preparations throughout the country were made for commencing a war with France in the ensuing spring; and no other language was heard at the English court but indignation at the conduct of Louis, and determination to avenge his perfidy, by "regaining honour to the nation, and adding his kingdom to the crown."[2] The great feudal lords, retiring to their ancient halls, summoned their vassals and retainers; and all who held lands by military tenure hastened to assemble the archers and knights by which they were bound to the service of their king; subsidies were voted by parliament, considerable sums levied by the church, and the tocsin of war, as if by universal consent, sounded throughout the land.

But Louis, as if rendered invulnerable by some magic charm, was again saved from a renewal of

[1] Habington, p. 223. [2] Ibid. p. 223.

those desolating wars which had ever enriched the English and impoverished the French nation; not, however, this time, by his own subtlety, or through the medium of his own intervention, but by one of those solemn decrees which prove the fallacy of human designs, through the uncertain tenure of human life.

King Edward, although in the prime of manhood, had prematurely accelerated old age by the luxurious habits in which he had indulged.

An illness, at first considered unimportant, soon began to assume an alarming appearance, and the monarch speedily felt that his dissolution was approaching. The period allotted him to prepare for the last solemn scene was very short, but this he appears to have devoted to those serious considerations which he had so long and so lamentably disregarded; and the few days that preceded the death of the recently vain-glorious, but now repentant sovereign, formed a marked contrast to his hitherto thoughtless career. His attention, from the commencement of danger, was exclusively devoted to those religious duties which he had so fearfully neglected, and to endeavouring to make reparation for the severe exactions with which he had grievously oppressed his subjects, to enrich the royal coffers and gratify his personal enjoyments. His disorder, an intermittent fever, produced by a surfeit [1], but no doubt accelerated by agitation arising from the French monarch's perfidy and his own short-sightedness, terminated his life on the 9th of

[1] Habington, p. 223.

April, 1483, at his palace of Westminster, before there was sufficient time to summon the young Prince of Wales from Ludlow, where he was residing; or to enable Richard Duke of Gloucester, who had returned to his military duties in the north, to attend on the death-bed of a brother whom he had ever so faithfully served, and to whom he was known to be warmly attached. Edward IV. expired in the 41st year of his age, and in the 21st of his reign[1]; presenting one of the most deplorable instances that regal annals can furnish, of brilliant talents being sacrificed to trifling enjoyments, of the most warlike and daring temperament being reduced to almost effeminate weakness, and of one of the most popular, most enterprising, and most ardent monarchs that perhaps ever was elevated to a contested crown, dying the victim of mortified ambition, inflicted by a crafty ally, arising chiefly from his own shallow policy and those avaricious desires which were induced by licentious and intemperate habits.

Although schooled in adversity, and inured from infancy to the ferocity of civil warfare, Edward IV. was so devoted to the softer passion that it rendered him incapable of reflection and sound reason; whilst a vain confidence in himself and his advantageous position completed the evil which his inconsiderate conduct occasioned.

The glory of this monarch's character terminated, indeed, with those brilliant actions that had twice secured him the throne. The noble and princely

[1] Chron. Croy., p. 564.

qualities which gave such promise of future excellence on his accession, at the young age of eighteen, were lost in the selfishness, indolence, and frivolity that marked his maturer years; while the lustre of his eventful reign, perhaps the most striking in English annals, was tarnished by the incapacity which he morally evinced to sway that sceptre which his invincible courage had obtained.

He left the duties of his exalted station to his young brother of Gloucester; and by thus prematurely and unwisely calling forth talents and ability for government that redounded so much to Richard's honour when pursued within bounds, laid the foundation of those ambitious projects, and fed that craving for sovereign power which was inherent in the house of York, which had entailed on their common ancestors[1] an untimely end, which proved the destruction of Clarence, leading him to an early death by the hand of the executioner[2], and which affixed on the royal Edward himself that stain which nothing can ever efface from his memory—the appalling crime of fratricide.

The founder of the Yorkist dynasty is, indeed, chiefly responsible for all the after miseries which befell his ill-fated descendants, and to the injudicious couduct of the first monarch of that royal line may be in great measure traced the cause and the consequence of those fearful crimes which exterminated

[1] Richard Duke of Cambridge, the grandsire alike of Edward IV. and Richard III., was beheaded at Southampton, 6th August, 1415. Richard Duke of York, their father, was beheaded on Wakefield Green, December 30. 1460.

[2] George Duke of Clarence was secretly executed in the Tower, by command of his brother, Edward IV., 18th February, 1478.

alike both his race[1] and his dynasty. Had Edward IV. been a less accomplished and less affable prince, he might have been a better man and a more able sovereign; and had he fulfilled the high duties of his station, and not supinely abandoned himself to unworthy excesses, relinquishing the government, all but nominally, to his more right-thinking and more nobly-disposed brother, then, in all probability, Richard Duke of Gloucester would have been commemorated, like the "good Duke Humphrey,"[2] his predecessor in the title and his

[1] By his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, King Edward had a numerous progeny, of whom two sons and five daughters alone survived their father, the remainder dying in childhood, viz.: —

1 Edward Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward V., born November 4. 1470.

2. Richard Duke of York, born 28th May, 1474.

3. George Duke of Bedford, died an infant.

4. Elizabeth, Princess Royal, born 11th February, 1466, betrothed to the Dauphin of France, but eventually married to King Henry VII.

5. Cecily, affianced to James Prince of Scotland, but afterwards married first to the Lord Viscount Welles, secondly to a person named Kyme, in Lincolnshire.

6. Anne, espoused Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.

7. Mary, betrothed to the King of Denmark, but died in childhood.

8. Margaret, born 1472, died in her infancy.

9. Katherine, married to William Courtney, Earl of Devon.

10. Bridget, youngest child, born 1480, became a nun at Dartford. — *Sandford's Geneal. Hist.*, book v. p. 393.

[2] Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, youngest brother of King Henry V., was, "for his virtuous endowments, surnamed *the Good;* and for his justice, *Father of his Country.*" In the first year of King Henry VI., his nephew, he was by parliament made protector of England during the king's minority; but "by the envy of Margaret of Anjou, his nephew's queen," he was murdered at Bury St. Edmund's, A. D. 1446. — *Sandford's Geneal. Hist.*, book iv. p. 308. Richard Duke of Gloucester, youngest brother of the succeeding monarch, Edward IV., was the next prince who bore that ill-omened title; and, as narrated by the annalist of that period, in

counterpart in position, as a prince of peculiarly vigorous mind, sound judgment, and enlarged views; an able general, a profound politician, a dutiful subject, and a just and upright man.

the first year of the reign of King Edward V., his nephew, "he received the same power as was conferred on Humphrey Duke of Gloucester during the minority of Henry VI. with the title of Protector." — *Chron. Croy.*, p. 566.

APPENDIX.

Ballad - Bit.
& Babes in the wood.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE WELL-KNOWN BALLAD OF "THE BABES IN THE WOOD." SUPPOSED TO BE A RHYTHMICAL TRADITION OF THE ALLEGED MURDER OF THE YOUNG PRINCES IN THE TOWER.

(See p. 2.)

THAT the popular legend of "The Babes in the Wood" had its origin in, and was a disguised recital of, the reputed murder of his young nephews by Richard III., can scarcely be doubted, when a comparison is instituted between that favourite metrical romance and the historical narratives of the Tudor chroniclers. The old editions of this interesting little ballad, which bears evident marks of antiquity, avowedly state that it was founded on fact; and its general resemblance to Sir Thomas More's account of the tragical event, and yet more with Shakspeare's description of the same dark deed, is very striking: many passages in the tragedy, and in the ballad, being couched in such parallel terms as to suggest the idea that both Sir Thomas More and Shakspeare were well acquainted with it, and aware of its true signification.

Throughout the whole of the tale there is a marked resemblance to several leading facts connected with Richard III. and his brother's children; and so singular a coincidence exists between many expressions in the poetical legend, and the historical details of the time, that it greatly favours the idea of the original ballad having been framed at a period when it would perhaps have been dangerous to speak of the event in plainer and more undisguised terms.

The children being placed under the guardianship of their uncle[1] by their father, —

> "Whom wealth and riches did surround,
> A man of high estate;"—

the uncle's fair speeches to their mother when essaying to give her comfort, —

> "Sweet sister, do not feare;"[2] —

and the parting scene between the parent and her children when resigning them to their uncle, —

> "With lippes as cold as any stone,
> She kist her children small:
> God bless you both, my children deare, —
> With that the teares did fall;"[3] —

cannot fail to recall, almost word for word, the corresponding descriptions of the dramatist and historian, allowance being made for the licence permitted in legendary lore, and the disguise in which these traditional allusions to real events were generally conveyed.

Then, the removal of the children from the abode of their parents to one selected by their guardian, —

> "The children home he takes;"[4] —

the avarice and ambition that tempted the uncle to commit the crime, and its being perpetrated in so short a time after

[1] ——— "his minority
Is put into the trust of Richard Gloster."
Shakspeare, Rich. III., act i. sc. 3.

[2] "Sister, have comfort."— *Ibid.* act ii. sc. 2.

[3] "And therewithal she said unto the child, 'Farewell, my own swete son; God send you good keeping: let me kis you once yet ere you goe, for God knoweth when we shall kis together agayne.' And therewith she kissed him, and blessed him, turned her back and wept." —See Sir Thomas More's account of the parting of the young Duke of York and his mother, *Hist. Rycharde III.*, p. 62.

[4] "And then the said duke caused the kyng to be removed up to the Tower, and his brother with him."— *Fabyan's Chron.*, p. 513.

their father's decease, and in utter disregard of his oath to him,[1] —

> "He had not kept these pretty babes
> A twelvemonth and a daye,
> But for their wealth he did devise
> To make them both awaye;"—

his hiring two ruffians for a large sum of money to destroy them,[2] —

> "He bargained with two ruffians strong,
> Which were of furious mood,
> That they should take these children young
> And slay them—in a wood;" —

the compunction felt by the two ruffians, as related by Shakspeare, in very similar terms to those in the ballad,[3] —

> "So that the pretty speeche they had,
> Made Murder's heart relent;
> And they that took to do the deed
> Full sore did now repent;"—

the completion of the "piteous massacre," yet the mystery attending the manner in which it was effected, typified in the ballad by the wandering of the children in the wood,—

> "Thus wandered these poor innocents,
> Till death did end their griefs;"—

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1 "For Richard, by nature theyr uncle, by office the Protectoure, to their father beholden, to themselfe bounden by oath, without any respecte of Godde or the worlde, unnaturallye contrived to bereave them, not only their dignitie, but their lives."—*More's Ryc. III.*, p. 6.

2 "To the execution [of the murther] whereof, he appointed Miles Forest, a fellow fleshed in murther beforetime; to him he joyned one John Dighton, a big, brode, square, strong knave."—*Ibid.* p. 131.

3 "Dighton and Forrest, whom I did suborn,
To do this piece of ruthless butchery,—
Albeit they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,—
Melting with tenderness and mild compassion,
Wept like two children in their death's sad story."
Shakspeare, Rich. III., act iv. sc. 3.

and so cautiously reported by the contemporary ecclesiastical historian[1]; the very attitude in which the children met their death,—

> "In one another's arms they dyed,
> As wanting due relief,"—

corresponding as it does with perhaps the most exquisite description in the whole of Shakspeare's immortal tragedy[2]; the uncertainty attending their interment,[3]—

> "No burial these pretty babes
> Of any man receives;"—

their uncle possessing himself of their inheritance, and the wretched pangs of remorse which he suffered prior to his death,[4]—

> "And now the heavy wrath of God
> Upon their uncle fell;
> Yea, fearful fiends did haunt his house,
> His conscience felt a hell;"[5]—

together with the retribution which followed the crime—

1 "And it was reported that King Edward's children were dead, but by what kind of violent death was unknown."—*Hist. Chron. Croy.*, p. 568.

2 "'O thus,' quoth Dighton, 'lay the gentle babes;'—
'Thus, thus,' quoth Forrest, 'girdling one another
Within their alabaster innocent arms.'"
Shakspeare, Rich. III., act iv. sc. 3.

3 "And thus were these innocent children privily slain and murthered, their bodies cast God wote where, by the cruel ambition of their unnatural uncle, and his despitious tormentors."—*More's Ryc. III.*, p. 132.

4 "He toke ill rest a nights, rather slumbered than slept, troubled with fearful dreams, sodainly sometyme start up, leap out of bed, and run about the chamber; so was his restless herte continually toss'd and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormed remembrance of his abominable deed."—*Ibid.*, p. 134.

5 "My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain."
Shakspeare, Rich. III., act v. sc. 3.

the death of his wife — of his sons — and the desertion of his followers, [1] —

"And nothing by him staid;"—

the confession[2] eventually of the surviving ruffian, and the premature death of the uncle himself, —all facts in a great measure correct as regards the actual fate of Richard III.,— are very startling coincidences, to say the least, between the nursery legend and the reputed tragedy which is believed to have been thus obscurely perpetuated.

The probable period of the composition of this ballad, on the supposition that it was written with a political design, would seem to have been during the insurrection of the Duke of Buckingham[3], by whom the report of the murder of the young princes was first circulated, and whose object it was to increase the disaffection that prevailed in consequence of their mysterious concealment. In which case, it was in all likelihood revived, with some additional stanzas, after the death of Richard III., and upon the appearance of Perkin Warbeck, who claimed to be one of the children of Edward IV. alleged to have been murdered in the Tower; for the ballad, if composed during Richard's life, would give force to Dighton's reported con-

[1] "To his last breath often exclaiming that he was betrayed; saying, 'Treason! Treason! Treason!' and thus tasting what he had made others drink, he miserably ended his life."—*Rous*, p. 217.

[2] John Dighton and Miles Forrest were the reputed murderers. "Miles Forrest," says Sir Thomas More, "at Saint Martin's piecemeal rotted away." John Dighton confessed the murder in the reign of King Henry VII.—*More*, p. 132.

[3] "Whilst these things were passing, King Edward's two sons remained under sure custody, for whose release from captivity the people of the southern and western parts began very much to murmur. At length the people about London, in Kent and other counties, made a rising, proclaiming publicly that Henry Duke of Buckingham, who was then residing at Brecknock in Wales, repenting the course of conduct he had pursued, would be their leader; and it was reported that King Edward's children were dead, but by what kind of violent death was unknown." — *Chron. Croy.*, p. 568.

fession made after that monarch's decease; while the said avowal of the murderer would add strength to the metrical tradition, if indeed it was written and first circulated amongst the people at a time when great caution was requisite in promulgating so serious an accusation. It may be asked, however, why, as Henry VII. himself promulgated the fact of Tyrrel's and Dighton's confession, should there have been any necessity in his reign for the concealment observed throughout the ballad? Had it been first composed at the time of Tyrrel's arrest, there would indeed have been no necessity for disguise, much less would there have been any danger in openly declaring Richard as the murderer of his nephews. But as Henry VII. failed in all his efforts to adduce evidence of the murder[1], or to fix the guilt clearly and positively upon King Richard, the mystery in which the tradition was wrapt in the original ballad was better calculated to produce a political effect than any after, though more positive, accusation. It is certain that even so late as the time of Lord Bacon[2] doubts were entertained as regards Richard being the murderer of his nephews; and Sir Thomas More, the first historian who narrates the tradition of their death, as perpetuated by Shakspeare, states, "that some remain yet in doubt whether they were in his days destroyed or not."[3] The ballad, therefore, in its mysterious form, if composed in King Richard's life, became singularly effective both in strengthening the tradition which Henry desired to have believed, and, if followed up, in affording a happy medium for that monarch to circulate the facts of Tyrrel's alleged confession; consequently, after detailing the death, and the judgments that befell the uncle, the legend concludes by saying,

"The fellow that did take in hand
These children for to kill,

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[1] Sir Geo. Buck's History of King Richard III., lib. iii., pp. 85, 86.
[2] Lord Bacon's History of King Henry VII., p. 4.
[3] Sir Thomas More's Historie of Kyng Rycharde III., p. 126.

Was for a robbery judged to dye ;—
Such was God's blessed will."

Now Sir James Tyrrel, who is named by Shakspeare[1], and described by Lord Bacon, as the person who undertook to slay the children, was arrested by King Henry VII. shortly after the landing of Warbeck, and is asserted by Sir Thomas More to have confessed the tale[2] that has been narrated by all subsequent historians, —

"Who did confess the very truth,
The which is here exprest."[3]

And what cannot but be considered a very remarkable point as connecting the legend with graver authority, Tyrrel did actually some years afterwards end his days on the scaffold (as the old ballad states), and also for another offence than the heinous crime which he is stated to have confessed.[4]

The precise lapse of time, too, named in the poem,—

"Ere seven years came about,"—

corresponds exactly with the period of Tyrrel's arrest[5];

[1] Richard III., act iv. sc. 2.

[2] "All things grew prepared to revolt and suspicion. There were but two persons that remained alive that could speak upon knowledge to the murther: Sir James Tirrel, the employed man from King Richard, and John Dighton his servant, one of the two butchers or tormentors. These the king caused to be committed to the Tower." —*Bacon's Hen. VII.*, pp. 122, 123.

[3] "Very trouthe is it, and well knowen, that at such time as Syr James Tirell was in the Tower, for treason committed agaynste the most famous prince King Henry the Seventh, both Dighton and he were examined and confessed the murder."—*More*, p. 132.

[4] "And as for Sir James Tyrrel, he was soon after beheaded in the Tower Yard, for other matters of treason. But John Dighton (who it seemeth spake best for the king) was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition."—*Bacon*, p. 124.

[5] Perkin Warbeck landed in Ireland, and proclaimed himself the young Duke of York, on the 5th May, 1492; just seven years after King Richard's death, who was slain the 22d August 1485.

as does also the fact, of that imprisonment producing the alleged confession: —

> "And now at length this wicked act
> Did by this means come out."

Moreover, the previous death of the guardian being mentioned in the preceding verse, —

> "Their uncle having dyed,"—

completes the general resemblance, in all leading points, between the ballad and the event it would seem to describe.

King Richard's successor, it is well known, took every possible means to fix the odium of the murder of his brother's children upon their uncle; and his emissaries were not likely to overlook a mode so attractive to the lower classes as the rhythmical odes common to the period. It is most probable, therefore, that the original song, on which was founded the popular tale of "The Babes in the Wood," was written at the time above named: and when it is remembered that the old English metrical romances were the medium, in the middle ages, of handing down to posterity in rude versification traditions which it was not safe in that despotic period to narrate in a more explicit manner, an air of more than common interest attaches itself to this tale, which, if deducible from such a source, partakes of the same character as Chevy Chase, Robin Hood, Flodden Field, and those numberless historical ballads transmitted from sire to son by itinerant minstrels, the rude historians of those unlettered times, and on the basis of which rests much interesting traditionary matter connected with our national annals.

The copy of the ballad from whence the preceding extracts were made is the ancient one, in black letter, contained in the "Pepys Collection"[1] in the library at Magdalen College, Cambridge. It differs very little from

[1] Vol. i. pp. 518, 519. No. 1053.

another old copy preserved in the British Museum[1], or from the edition, more generally known, which is inserted in Percy's Reliques (vol. iii. p. 171.). Being, however, in black letter, which was not the ordinary type of the era in which Pepys flourished, it sanctions the idea that the copy preserved by that sagacious man was a reprint from one of much earlier date; for most of the chroniclers, whose compilations were originally published in black letter, continued to be reprinted in that character, as is shown by many works of reference yet in use; whereas the compositions of later date were printed in the large Roman type that belonged to the period in which they were composed. The circumstance of there being no date to the Pepys ballad is rather a proof of its antiquity; for all the most ancient ballads are without dates. According to Ritson, this tale was entered on the Stationers' books in the year 1595; but this fact by no means fixes, as he implies, the date of the composition; it merely shows the year in which it first appeared in print, having probably, from its popularity, and with a view to publication, been then for the first time committed to paper from recitation, as was the case with "Chevy Chase," "Fair Rosamond,"[2] "Gil Morrice," "Sir Patrick Spens," and indeed all of our oldest historical legends.

This method of perpetuating by rehearsal these ancient metrical traditions, accounts for the apparently modern phraseology in which the earliest printed copies extant of this and other ballads are couched; the gradual though

[1] The ballad preserved by Pepys is entitled "The Norfolk Gentleman his last Will and Testament, who committed the keeping of his Children to his own Brother, who dealt most wickedly with them, and how God plagued him for it.—The tune, Rogero." The copy in the British Museum is similarly entitled, only less concise, it stating in addition, "who did most wickedly cause them to be destroyed, that so he might possess himself and children of the estate; but by the just judgements of the Almighty, himself and all that he had was destroyed from off the face of the earth."

[2] "Fair Rosamond," although of such ancient date as the year 1177, was only first made known in print in 1612.

slight changes of each generation making the language keep pace with their own times, until it was finally noted down in its black letter form, as sung in the year 1595.

To the same cause, also, may be attributed the trifling variations of metre between the three copies preserved by Pepys, by Bishop Percy, and in the British Museum.

Two very rude woodcuts surmount the black letter copy at Cambridge: one representing the ruffians fighting, with a gallows and a man hanging in one corner, and at the side the children murdered; the other is apparently an heraldic emblematical device. The connection between the first cut, the description in the ballad of the children's beauty,—

—— "fram'd in beautyes molde,"—

and Shakspeare's account of the murderous scene, is very remarkable; for he distinctly intimates that one ruffian was more merciful than the other[1]; and the babes, whose beauty he so touchingly narrates, being placed in one corner as actually murdered, together with the ignominous end which terminated the life of their destroyer, is even yet more in accordance with reputed facts. But the emblematical device speaks more forcibly in favour of the true nature and design of the ballad than all argument that can be adduced from similarity of events thus traditionally and historically reported; for it is a rude representation of a stag. Now the badge of the unfortunate Edward V. was a *hind*, or female stag — one of the hereditary badges of the house of York[2]; and Sandford, in describing that prince's shield of arms, states that it is "supported on the

1 "'A book of prayers on their pillow lay,
Which once,' quoth Forrest, 'almost chang'd my mind;
But O, the devil'—— there the villain stopp'd:
When Dighton thus told on—'We smothered
The most replenished sweet work of Nature,
That, from the prime creation, e'er she fram'd."
Richard III., act iv. sc. 2.

2 Archæologia, vol. xvii. p. 226.

right side with the Lyon of March, and on the left with a Hind Argent."[1]

Dr. Percy's Reliques is a work so well known and appreciated, that it becomes necessary, before concluding the present inquiry, to notice the learned author's surmise, that the ballad was probably derived from an old play, published in 1601, by Yarrington, and founded on an Italian novel. But, independent of the discrepancies between the ballad and the play, in which latter there is but one child, and he is stabbed by a ruffian who lives to bring the uncle to justice, the dramatic scene is laid at Padua, which affords a very strong argument in testing the originality of this popular legend, and its claims to be considered as a genuine English composition. The ballad says,

> "Their pretty lippes with black-berries
> Were all besmeared and dyed."[2]

Now the blackberry[3] is not only unknown in Italy, but this fruit, so abundant in hedges and woods during the autumn, is a native of England only.

Another very conclusive fact must not be overlooked, viz. that after the death of the children the ballad adds, that

> "Robin red-breast piously
> Did cover them with leaves."

This bird, though not perhaps exclusively English, is nowhere so commonly found as in this country, where it is so proverbially domestic, so familiar in winter, and so invariably associated with local and pastoral scenes, that it has formed the favourite ornament of some of our sweetest native bards.

[1] Sandford's Geneal. Hist., book v. p. 400.

[2] "Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
Which in their summer beauty kissed each other."
Richard III., act iv. sc. 5.

[3] Rubus fruticosus. See *Donn's Hortus Cantabrigiensis*, p. 245., and *Withering's British Plants*, vol. ii. p. 527.

That this ballad was founded on an actual occurrence, all commentators seem to agree; and although the style is humble, and even mean, yet the very circumstance of its unabated popularity for so many ages bespeaks an air of truth that would aid to establish the fact of its originating in some acknowledged and well-established event.

The few points in which the narrative differs from history, such as the youngest child being a girl, their parents dying at the same time, and the uncle perishing in prison, are only such variations as would be intentionally adopted, when the real event alluded to was, for certain reasons, purposely disguised, and which may be observed in all historical ballads, when they are compared with the facts on which the traditions are based. But the tale corresponds so essentially with the chroniclers; moreover, even the very moral with which it winds up is so similar to the reflections with which Fabyan[1], Grafton[2], Hall, and Holinshed[3] terminate their relation of the event; that it cannot escape the observation of those who will take the trouble to compare the ballad with the historians who have perpetuated the "tragedyous hystory."

The comments upon this tale, contained in the "Spectator,"[4] are worthy of attention, and considerably advance its claims to be considered as a national metrical tradition; for, whether perused with reference to the mysterious transaction which it would seem to have been designed to reveal, or admired only as one of those nursery tales which rest on the mind with so sweet a remembrance, it is, as Addison justly observes, "one of the darling songs of the common people, and has been the delight of most Englishmen in some part of their age."[5]

[1] Fab. Chron., p. 517. [2] Grafton, pp. 232. 235.
[3] Kennet's Complete Hist. of Eng., vol. i. p. 512.
[4] Spectator, vol. i. No. 85. [5] Ibid.

B.

CAXTON'S "PICTURE OF LONDON IN 1472."

(See page 8.)

"I HAVE known it in my young age much more wealthy, prosperous, and richer than it is at this day; and the cause is, that there is almost none that intendeth to the common weal, but only every man to his singular profit." And in another place Caxton says, "I see that the children that ben borne within the said citye encrease, and proufitte not like their faders and olders; but for moste parte, after that they ben coming to their perfite years of discretion and ripeness of age, how well that their faders have left to them grete quantity of goods, yet scarcely amonge ten two thryve. O blessed Lord, when I remember this I am all abashed; I cannot juge the cause; but fayrer, ne wiser, ne bet bespoken children in theyre youth ben no wher then ther ben in London; but at their full ryping there is no carnel, no good corn founden, but chaffe for the most parte." Again, in his work entitled "The Boke of the Ordre of Chyvalry or Knyghthood, dedicated to King Richard III. in 1484," he laments in strong and feeling language the decline of chivalry: "O ye knights of England, where is the custom and usage of noble chivalry that was used in those days? What do you now but go to the baynes [baths] and play at dyse? And some, not well-advysed, use not honest and good rule, again all order of knighthood."... "I would demand a question, if I should not displease: How many knyghtes ben ther now in England that have th' use and th' exercise of a knyghte — that is, to wit, that he knoweth his horse, and his horse him? I suppose, an a due serche sholde be made, there sholde be many founden that lacke."

Oldy's Brit. Lib., p. 191.

C.

DESCRIPTION OF HENRY VII. CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF RICHARD III.

(See page 15.)

"THE Earl of Richmond," says Hall in his Chronicle, "was a man of no great stature, but so formed and decorated with all gyftes and lyniaments of nature, that he seemed more an angelical creature than a terrestrial personage. His countenance and aspect was cheerful and courageous; his haire yellow like the burnished golde; his eyes gray, shynynge, and quick; prompte and ready in answering; but of such sobrietie, that it could never be judged he were more dull than quick in speaking, such was his temperance." Grafton, corroborating the above description, and after stating him to be "of a wonderful beauty and fair complexion," adds, that in "matters of weighty importance" he was "supernatural, and in a manner divine."[1] This glowing and superhuman account of King Henry VII. contrasts somewhat remarkably with the demoniacal description of Richard III. by the same chroniclers, and others who penned their works during the reign of the Tudor sovereigns. Thus, for example: "The tyrant King Richard was born," says Rous, "with teeth, and hair reaching to his shoulders, on the feast of the eleven thousand Virgins, at whose birth Scorpion was in the ascendant, which is the sign of the house of Mars; and, as a scorpion, mild in countenance, stinging in the tail, so he showed himself to all."[2] Sir Thomas More, after enlarging upon his miraculous birth, describes him as "little of stature, ill-fetured of limbs, crook-backed, and hard-favored of visage"... "malicious, wrathful, envious, and from afore his birth ever forward."[3] And Holinshed, after corroborating

[1] Grafton, p. 948. [2] Rous, p. 215.
[3] More, p. 8.

both the foregoing accounts, adds[1], that "his face was small, but his countenance cruel, and such that at the first aspect a man would judge it to savour and smell of malice, fraud, and deceit. When he stood musing he would bite and chew busily his nether lip, as who said that his fierce nature in his cruel body always chafed, stirred, and was ever unquiet; besides that the dagger which he wore he would (when he studied) with his hand pluck up, and draw from the sheath to the midst, never drawing it fully out."

D.

OFFSPRING OF EDWARD III. AND QUEEN PHILIPPA.

(See page 17.)

1. Edward of Woodstock, Prince of Wales, surnamed the Black Prince, and father of Richard II.
2. William of Hatfield, deceased in childhood
3. Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, father of Philippa (married to Edmund Earl of March), the ancestress of the royal house of York.
4. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, ancestor of the royal line of Lancaster.
5. Edmond of Langley, Duke of York. He was the root from whence the kingly family of York branched itself — their claims on the crown being based on the union in marriage of the heirs of Clarence and York.
6. William of Windsor, died in infancy.
7. Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Buckingham, ancestor to Henry Duke of Buckingham, beheaded by command of Richard III. at Salisbury.
8. Issabel, married to Ingelram de Coucy, created Earl of Bedford.

[1] Holinshed, p. 447.

9. Joane, espoused by proxy to Alphonso King of Castile and Leon; but deceased of the plague on her progress to Spain.
10. Blanche, died an infant.
11. Mary, the wife of John de Montfort, Duke of Britaine, surnamed the Valiant.
12. Margaret, consort of John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke. He was the first subject who followed the example of his royal father-in-law, King Edward III., in quartering of arms.

Sandford, Geneal. Hist., book iii. ch. iii. p. 177.

E.

ENUMERATION AND EXPLANATION OF THE DEVICES FORMERLY BORNE AS BADGES OF COGNIZANCE BY THE HOUSE OF YORK.

(See page 22.)

"WHILE searching among the Digby MSS.," says Sir Henry Ellis, "in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in the autumn of last year, I discovered an enumeration of the devices borne as badges of cognizance by Richard Duke of York, the father of King Edward IV., written in a contemporary hand, evidently in the duke's lifetime. I found it written on a blank leaf of parchment at the beginning of the Digby MSS. No. 28."

"These ben the names of the lordships with the badges that pertaineth to the Duke of York: —

1. The dukeship of York with the badges, ben the fawcon and the fetterlock.
2. The badges that he beareth by Conysbrow, ys the fawcon, with a maiden's head, and her hair hanging about her shoulders, with a crown about her neck.

3. The badges that he beareth by the Castle of Clifford *is a white rose.*
4. The badges that he beareth by the earldom of March is a white lion.
5. The badges that he beareth by the earldom of Ulster is a black dragon.
6. The badges that he beareth by King Edward III. is a blue boar, with his tusks and his cleis and his members of gold.
7. The badges that he beareth by King Richard II. is a white hart and the sun shining.
8. The badges that he beareth by the honour of Clare is a black bull, rough, his horns and his cleys and his members of gold.
9. The badges that he beareth by the "fair maid of Kent" is a white hind."

Archæologia, vol. xvii. p. 226.

F.

SUPER CUSTODIA DUCIS EBORUM, ET PRISONARIORUM, APUD AGYNCOURT CAPTORUM.

(See page 23.)

SUPPLIE, humblement Robert Waterton que comme certains sommes des deniers currount, ou demaunde vers lui en l'escheker, à cause de la costages et expences si bien de Richard Duc de Zork come pour le salve garde, costages, et expences del Count de Ewe, Arthur de Bretaigne, la Mareschall Buchecaud, &c., prisoniers au roy notre souveraigne seigneur que Dieux pardoint. Le quelle duc et autres seigneurs et prisoniers suisditz, estoient myses en gouvernance et garde du dit Robert Waterton, par l'ordinance de notre soveraigne seigneur suisdit, et son tres sage counseil as diverses foitz parentre, noessisme jour de Marcz l'an tierce, nôtre dit soveraigne seigneur et de dit darreine jour d'Aust,

A. D. 1415. An. 3 H. 5.

tanque à le primer jour de May darreine passe, que please a voz tres sages discretions graunter lettres du garent du prive seal, directez as tresorer, barons, et chambelleyns del escheker, pur accompter ovesque le dit Robert par son serment, ou d'autri et son noun de toutz maniers des deniers, par luy rescieux, a cause des costages, expences, et salve garde du dit Duc de Zork et autres seigneurs et prisoniers suisditz deins le temps suisdit. Fesaunt à mesme le Robert due et pleyne allowance par le suisdit serement, de toutz maniers de deniers par lui paiez.

Si bien pour les coustages et expences du dit Duc de Zork a CLI. per an. Et les costages, expences, et salve garde del Count de Ewe, Arthur de Bretaigne, et le Mareschall Buchecaud, prisoners (assuvoir) les trois ensemble a XXIII^{s}. IV^{d}. le jour, selone le pointment et ordinance notre dit souveraigne seigneur et son counseil. — See *Fœdera,* Lond. ed., tome ix. p. 317. King Henry, in a subsequent document (see p. 319.) ordering immediate payment of the foregoing expenses, styles the petitioner "nostre bien amé escuier Robert Waterton;" and in a letter from this monarch to the Bishop of Durham (inserted p. 801.) he commands him strictly to observe Robert Waterton's vigilance over the Duke of Orleans to prevent his attempting to escape.

G.

RYTHMICAL LINES, COPIED FROM AN ANCIENT ROLL FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF AUGUSTUS VINCENT, WINDSOR HERALD, AND QUOTED BY HIM IN HIS "CATALOGUE OF THE NOBILITY," PUBLISHED 1622. (This very curious instrument is thus more particularly described by Weever, in his "Funeral Monuments," p. 734.)

(See page 31.)

"At Clare in Suffolk stood a religious house of Augustine friars, whose foundation may be gathered out of

certaine rythmical lines which, not many years since, I copied out of an ancient roll, as then in the custody of my dear deceased friend Aug. Vincent, Windsor Herald; the rubrick, or the title in red letters, of this roll is as followeth: —

"This dialogue betwixt a secular asking and a friar answering at the grave of Dame Johanna of Acres[1], sheweth the lineal descent of the lords of the honour of Clare, from the time of the foundation of the friaris in the same honour, the year of our Lord 1248, unto the first of May, the year 1460. The pictures of the secular priest and the friar are curiously limned upon the parchment. The verses are both in Latin and English. The translation of the Latin numbers into English stanzas seemeth to have been composed at one and the same time, as appears by the character."

After detailing the parentage of Joane of Acres, daughter of Edward I., and the derivation of that name from the town of her birth, it proceeds to speak of her marriage with Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, son of Sir Richard de Clare, who first brought the Augustine friars into England to dwell; then of the birth of their daughter, united to Sir John de Burgh, Lord of Ulster, whose only child was united to Edward the Third's second son, Lionel Duke of Clarence.[2] Their daughter Philippa married Sir Edmond Mortimer, the first Earl of March; and it is from that portion of the roll which relates more especially to

[1] Joane de Acres, second daughter of King Edward I., and consort of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, died A.D. 1305, and was buried in the church of the Augustine friars at Clare, in a chapel of her own foundation. "At whose tomb," says Sandford, "that dialogue in Latin and English, between a secular priest and a friar, is fancied to be spoken (exhibited in Weever's Funeral Monuments), containing the lineal descent of the lords of the honour of Clare.—Book iii. p. 142.

[2] Prince Lionel, having acquired the honour of Clare with Eliz. de Burgh his wife, was, in Parliament 1362, created by Edward III. Duke of Clarence.

them and their offspring that the following minute detail of the parentage of Richard of York and his children is taken.

"Had she any issue?" "Yea, Sir, sikerly."[1]
"What?" "A daughter." "What name had she?"
"Like her mother, Elizabeth, sothely;"[2]
"Who ever the husband of her might be?"
"King Edward's son, the Third was he,
Sir Lionel, which buried is, her by,[3]
As for such a Prince too simply."

"Left he any frute, this prince mighty?"
"Sir, yea—a daughter, and Phillippa she hight;[4]
Whom Sir Edmond Mortimer wedded truly;
First Earl of the March, a manly knight,
Whose son, Sir Roger, by title of right
Left heir another — Edmond again:
Edmond left none, but died barren.

"Right thus did cese of the March's blode
The heire male." "Whider passed the right
Of the Marches landes, and to whom it stode,
I wolde faine lerne, if that I might?"
"Sir Roger, middel Erle, that noble knight,
Tweyn daughters left of his blode roial —
That one's issue died, that other's hath al."

"What hight that lady[5] who's issue had grace
His lordship t' attaine?" "Dame Anne, I wys,
To the Erle of Cambridge and she wife was,
Which both be dede. God graunte hem blys.
But her son Richard, which yet liveth[6], is
Duke of Yorke, by descent of his fader,
And hath Marches landes by right of his moder."

---

[1] Surely. (Spenser.) [2] Truly. (Saxon.)

[3] Prince Lionel died at Alba, Pompeia, 1368, and his remains were brought to England to be interred by the side of his first wife, Elizabeth de Burgh, in the chancel of the Augustine friars at Clare in Suffolk.—*Sandford*, book iii. p. 221.

[4] She was named. [5] What name had that lady.

[6] This line proves that these rude verses were composed during the life of Richard Duke of York, but after the decease of his parents; thus proclaiming the political purpose for which they were written.

"Is he sole or married, this prince myghty?"
"Sole, God forbede; it were great pitee."
"Whom hath he wedded?" "A gracious lady."
"What is her name, I thee praie tell me?"
"Dame Cecile, Sir." "Whose daughter was she?"
"Of the Erle of Westmoreland, I trowe the yengest
And yet grace hir fortuned to be the highest."
"Is there any frute betwixt hem two?"
"Yea, Sir—thanked be God, ful glorious."
"Male or female?" "Sir, bothe two."
"The number of this progeny, gracious,
And the names, to know I am desirous:
The order eke of birth, telle yf thou can;
And I will ever be, even thyn own man."
"Sir, after the tyme of long bareynesse,
God first sent Anne, which signyfieth grace;
In token that all her hertis heavynesse
He (as for bareynesse) wold fro hem chase.
Harry, Edward, and Edmonde, eche in his place
Succeeded; and after tweyn doughters came,
Elizabeth and Margarete; and afterwards William
"John after William next borne was,
Which both be passed to God's grace.
George was nexte: and after Thomas
Borne was; which sone after did pace
By the path of death to the heavenly place;
Richard liveth yet. But the last of alle
Was Ursula; to hym whom God list call.
"To the Duke of Excestre, Anne married is
In her tender youthe. But my Lord Herry
God chosen hath, to enherite heavens bliss;
And lefte Edward to succede temporally:
Now Erle of Marche: and Edmonde of Rutland sothely
Conute[1] bothe fortunabil to right high marriage.
The other foure stand yet in their pupillage.
"Longe mote he liven to God his plesaunce,
This high and mighty prince in prosperitie;
With virtue and victory, God hym advaunce
Of all his enemyes; and graunte that hee
And the noble princesse his wife may see
Her childres children, or thei hens wende,
And after this outclary[2], the joye that never shall ende."

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[1] Knit, or knotted. (Saxon.) [2] A passage out. (Saxon.)

H.

THE DUKE OF YORK'S SPEECH TO SIR DAVY HALL, IN REPLY TO HIS REMONSTRANCE, BESEECHING HIM TO DISREGARD QUEEN MARGARET'S TAUNTS.

(See page 33.)

"ALTHOUGH Sir Davy Hall, his old servant and chief counsellor, advised him to keep his castle, and to defend the same with his small number, till his son the Erle of March were come with his power of Marchmen and Welsh souldiers, yet he would not be counselled, but in a great fury said, 'A Davy, Davy, hast thou loved me so long, and now would'st have me dishonoured? Thou never saw'st me keep fortress when I was regent in Normandy, when the dolphin[1] himself with his puissance came to besiege me; but like a man, and not like a bird included in a cage, I issued, and fought with mine enemies, to their loss ever (I thank God) and to my honour. If I have not kept myself within walls for fear of a great and strong prince, nor hid my face from any man living, would'st thou that I, for dread of a scolding woman, whose weapons are only her tongue and her nails, should incarcerate myself? Then all men might of me wonder, and all creatures may of me report dishonour, that a woman hath made me a dastart, whom no man ever to this day could yet prove a coward. And surely my mind is rather to die with honour than to live with shame; for of honour cometh fame, and of dishonour riseth infamy. Their great number shall not appall my spirits, but encourage them: therefore advance my banner, in the name of God and St. George; for surely I will fight with them, though I should fight alone.'"

Hall, fol. 183.

[1] Dauphin.

I.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD, AS GIVEN BY THE HISTORIAN HALL, CONSIDERED WITH REFERENCE TO OTHER CHRONICLERS.

(See page 38.)

THE tragedy enacted at the battle of Wakefield has been variously represented by different chroniclers; and though the greater part corroborate in the main the testimony of the Abbot of St. Albans, a contemporary writer, as regards the revolting insults which he so minutely details, yet doubts have been advanced respecting Queen Margaret's presence at the fatal contest, and efforts made likewise to prove that the mockery was made over the duke's lifeless corpse. But on this point, as well as on all subjects connected with the private and personal history of this illustrious prince, the testimony of Hall, who positively asserts that the queen was present, and took an active share in the revolting proceedings of the day, becomes equal in value to any contemporary writer, and superior even to such contemporaries as were not actually eye-witnesses of the event; because this historian was the grandson of Sir Davy Hall, the brave knight whose name is so intimately associated with the Duke of York, throughout that prince's troubled career. Hall was his faithful follower and friend; "his chief counsellor," as well as his companion in arms; and during the early quarrels between York and Somerset, Sir Davy is named as contesting possession of Caen in Normandy with the latter noble, it having been left under his charge upon the duke's departure for England.—*Monstrel.* v. p. 123. He is afterwards found with his patron in Ireland, during his difficult position in that country; and his warning voice at Sendal was so urgently and imploringly exerted not to risk a battle, until their small band was joined by fresh forces under the young Earl of March, that the prince's ire was roused, and he impatiently replied

in the memorable speech which has been transcribed in the preceding page.

At this early period of history, when narratives of ancestral exploits were transmitted from father to son as an heir-loom, and that the domestic affections were perpetually revived by the solemn yearly observance of the "obit," or death-day of parents and grandsires (see *Paston Letters*, vol. iv. Letter 74.), particulars so interesting as the above would doubtless have been impressed upon young Hall's memory from his earliest childhood; it being more than probable that he had ofttimes heard the tale from the old knight's companions in arms, Sir Davy having himself fallen a victim to his zeal in defending his patron at this fatal contest.

The historian flourished about fifty years after the battle of Wakefield, but his work was not printed until after his decease; for, being bred to the law, and holding high and responsible situations in that profession[1], his maturer years were devoted to it; and he probably saw the danger of publishing matter that, in the remotest degree, favoured the fallen dynasty, notwithstanding it had been crushed long antecedent to his own time. As his work was dedicated to Henry VIII., and was penned after the extinction of the house of York, it is not probable, however, that Hall would have stated so distinctly the presence of the queen before the castle of Sendal, have reiterated her taunts to the duke of his "want of courage in suffering himself to be tamely braved by a woman," or have described the active part taken by Margaret relative to placing his head over the gates of York, had he not received particulars of that awful day from some associate of his grandsire, whom

[1] Edward Hall, author of the Chronicle entitled "The Union of the Houses of York and Lancaster," was educated at Eton, and a fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He afterwards studied at Gray's Inn, was called to the Bar, made a serjeant at law, and a judge in the Sheriff's Court. He was also a member of the House of Commons.—*Gen. Biog. Dict.*

he especially mentions as forming one of the garrison of Sendal, and to have fallen in its defence. His testimony, then, taken in conjunction with Whethamstede, abbot of St. Albans, to which city Queen Margaret and her army proceeded direct from Wakefield (thus giving the ecclesiastical chronicler abundant means of hearing from the victors themselves those minute details of their recent treatment of the captured York which are given on his contemporary authority), must surely be considered evidence superior to any that can be adduced, merely from discrepancy on these disputed points by later historians, or from the silence of other annalists, who were wholly unconnected with the appalling circumstance.

J.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE REMARKABLE CAREER OF HENRY CLIFFORD, "THE SHEPHERD LORD."

(See page 39.)

THE Lord John Clifford, whose history is so remarkably connected with the house of York, was killed at Ferrybridge, in the 26th year of his age; leaving, as the inheritor of his titles and vast estates, an infant heir, Henry, afterwards tenth Lord Clifford. Having rendered himself odious to the reigning family, in consequence of his having slain the young prince, Edmund Earl of Rutland, a few months previously, the deceased Lord Clifford was attainted by act of parliament; and his widow (the Baroness Vesci in her own right), fearing that the Yorkists would avenge themselves on the heir of a chieftain who had incurred their bitterest enmity, fled with her child to the wildest recesses of Cumberland, and, under the garb of a shepherd boy, effectually concealed him from all knowledge of those political enemies, whose indignation would probably have sacrificed the child in retaliation for the father's crimes. After the lapse of some years the Lady Clifford espoused

a second husband, Sir Launcelot Threlkald, to whom she imparted her secret: and who aided her in keeping "the shepherd lord" concealed from the Yorkist faction. For the space of twenty-four years the unconscious victim of political hatred tended his sheep, alike unconscious of his noble birth as of the maternal solicitude which watched unsuspected over the life of the mountain boy. After spending the prime of his days in perfect seclusion, amidst the fastnesses of his native county, during the reigns of Edward IV., Edward V., and Richard III., his name and title were at length made known to him; and, in the thirty-second year of his age, he was fully restored to his ancestral honours by King Henry VII. But although bred in obscurity, and, from necessity, deprived of all education, even so much as learning to write, lest "it might make discovery of him," the lordly spirit of a noble race remained unsubdued by the lowly occupation to which he was early inured. On his restoration to "all his baronies," he placed himself under the tuition of the monks of Bolton Priory, by means of whose tuition he made rapid progress in the acquirements of the age, and with whom, at his adjoining ancestral abode, "Barden Tower," he prosecuted the favourite studies of the period. Amongst the archives of the Clifford race are yet preserved records that testify the interest he took in astronomy, alchemy, and other philosophical pursuits, and the zeal with which he devoted himself to such branches of knowledge.

Moreover he also gave proof that the warlike genius of "the stout Lord Cliffords" had slumbered—not slept—in the person of their remarkable descendant; for at the advanced age of sixty, casting aside his peaceful studies, and exchanging the philosopher's gown for the coat of mail, he acted a conspicuous part at the battle of Flodden Field, in which contest he was one of the principal commanders. He was twice married, and was the parent of ten children. Shortly after emerging from his lowly disguise he married the cousin-german of the reigning sove-

reign, King Henry VII., Anne, the only daughter of Sir John St. John of Bletso; by whom he had three sons and four daughters; the eldest of whom, Henry, the eleventh Lord Clifford, succeeded to the family honours in 1523, and was speedily created Earl Clifford and Earl of Cumberland. The entire career of "the shepherd lord" forms perhaps one of the wildest tales of romance which real life ever presented. He lived under the rule of six English monarchs, viz. Henry VI., Edward IV., Edward V., Richard III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII.; and whether his eventful history is considered with reference to the vicissitudes that marked his early days, the calm dignity and true wisdom that he displayed when emerging from abject poverty to feudal power, or the chivalrous feeling he evinced when distinguishing himself at the close of life on the battle-field, admiration cannot fail to be elicited at the strong natural understanding, the innate dignity, and the extraordinarily firm and vigorous mind which in all the stirring scenes of his unparalleled career characterised the chequered life of "the Shepherd Lord."

See *Hall's Chron.*, p. 253.; *Collins's Peerage*, vol. vi. p. 360.; and *Whittaker's History of Craven.*

K.

PETITIO JOHANNÆ COMITISSÆ DE WESTMORELAND SUPER CUSTODIA RICARDI DUCIS EBORUM. A. D. 1426. (PAT. 4 HEN. VI. P. 2. M. 15.)

PRO DUCE EBORUM, FACTO MILITE.

(See page 44.)

Rex omnibus, ad quos, &c., salutem.

Monstravit nobis carissima consanguinea nostra *Johanna Comitissa Westmerlandiæ*, qualiter ipsa, ut executrix testamenti carissimi domini et viri sui *Radulphi*, nuper *Comitis Westmerlandiæ*, defuncti, habet custodiam et guberna-

tionem carissimi consanguinei nostri *Ricardi Ducis Eborum*, virtute concessionis nostræ eidem nuper comiti factæ.

Pro cujus quidem ducis sustentatione. per avisamentum concilii nostri, concessimus eidem nuper comiti ducentas marcas percipiendas annuatim durante minore ætate ejusdem ducis. De quibus quidem ducentis marcis prædictus dux, honorificè prout convenit statui suo, sustentari non potest, pro eo quod ipse miles efficitur, et in honorem, ætatem, et hæreditatem crescit, qui majores expensas et custus exquirunt, ad magnum onus dictæ consanguineæ nostræ ut dicit. Nos præmissa considerantes, de avisamento et assensu concilii nostri, concessimus præfatæ consanguineæ nostræ centum marcas percipendas annuatim, pro sustentatione *ipsus* ducis, ultra dictas ducentas marcas, durante minore ætate ejusdem ducis, de dominiis terris et tenementis quæ fuerunt Edmundi, nuper Comitis Marchiæ, nunc in manibus nostris ratione minoris ætatis ejusdem ducis existentibus, infra comitatus Dorsetiæ et Suffolciæ, per manus firmariorum vel occupatorum eorumdem; videlicet unam medietatem summæ prædictæ per manus firmariorum dominiorum, terrarum, et tenementorum prædictorum infra medietatem ejusdem summæ per manus firmariorum dominiorum, terrarum, et tenementorum prædictorum infra comitatum Suffolciæ.

In eujus, &c.

Teste Rege, apud Leycester, vicesimo sexto die Maii.

Per breve de privato sigillo, A. D. 1426. An. 4 Hen VI.

Rymer's Fœdera, tome x. p. 358.

L.

DISASTROUS FATE OF ALL WHO BORE THE NAME OF RICHARD, WHO WERE EITHER IN FACT OR TITLE KINGS OF ENGLAND.

(See page 50.)

"In the very haven," says Habington, "after a long and tempestuous voyage, thus perished the Duke of Yorke;

as if it had been in the fate of all the Richards, who were either in fact or title kings of England, to end by violent deathes; Richard I. and Richard II. preceding him; his sonne Richard the Tyrant, and Richard Duke of Yorke, his nephew, following him in the like disaster, though several wayes, and upon different quarrels."

Richard I., slain by the arrow of an assassin (Bertram Jourdan), when besieging the castle of Chalons.

Richard II., deposed by his cousin Henry of Lancaster, and murdered in Pomfret Castle.

Richard Earl of Cambridge, his cousin, executed at Southampton for treason and rebellion.

Richard Duke of York, son to the above Earl, beheaded at Wakefield Green.

Richard III., slain at Bosworth Field, and *Richard*, the last Duke of York of the Plantagenet line, said to be murdered in the Tower by his uncle, who terminated the Plantagenet dynasty.

Habington's Historie of Edward IV., p. 2.

M.

(See page 52.)

In a "Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in divers Reigns from King Edward III. to King William and Queen Mary," printed by the Society of Antiquaries, 1790, is inserted the following very curious document: —

"A compendious recytacion compiled of the order, rules, and constructione of the house of the right excellent Princesse Cecill, late mother unto the right noble prince, King Edward IV." It commences thus: —

"Me seemeth yt is requisyte to understand the order of

her owne person, concerninge God and the world." And after minutely detailing the manner in which she spent her time, her hours of devotion and meditation, her self-discipline and temperate habits, it ends by the following apostrophe: — "I trust to our Lord's mercy that this noble princesse, thus divideth the houres to his High pleasure."

Then follow very elaborate rules for the regulation of her house and household.

These are drawn up with extreme care, and are in every respect conformable to the severe discipline, as relates to diet, exacted by the church of Rome, from rigid members of its communion. No portion of the establishment of the Lady Cecill was overlooked or disregarded; the most perfect method, and admirable regularity prevailed in each department, and the strictest order was enforced, as relates to justice, religion, and morality. A few brief extracts will sufficiently exemplify the truth of this remark.

"At every half-yeare, the wages is payde to the household; and livery clothe once a year. Payment of fees out of the householde is made once a year. Proclamacione is made foure times a yeare about Berkhamsted, in market-townes, to understande whether the purveyors, cators, and other make true paymente of my ladye's money or not; and also to understande by the same, whether my ladye's servantes make true payment for theiyre owne debts or not: and if any defaulte be found, a remedy to be had forthwith for a recompence.

"The remaynes of every offyce be taken at every month's ende, to understande whether the officers be in arrearadye or not.

"To all sicke men is given a lybertye to have all such thinges as may be to theire ease.

"If any man fall impotente, he hath styll the same wages that he had when he might doe best service,

duringe my ladye's lyfe; and xvi*d.* for his boarde weekelye, and ix*d.* for his servaunte. If he be a yoeman, xii*d.*; a groome, or a page, tenpence."

N.

LETTER FROM THE EARL OF MARCH (AFTERWARDS EDWARD IV.) AND HIS BROTHER OF RUTLAND, TO THEIR FATHER, RICHARD DUKE OF YORK.—COTT. MSS. VESP. F. III. FOL. 9.

(See page 54.)

RIGHT high and right mighty prince, our full redoubted and right noble lord and father; as lowly with all our hearts, as we your true and natural sons can or may, we recommend us unto your noble grace, humbly beseeching your noble and worthy fatherhood daily to give us your hearty blessing; through which we trust much the rather to increase and grow to virtue, and to speed the better in all matters and things that we shall use, occupy, and exercise.

Right high and right mighty prince, our full redoubted lord and father, we thank our blessed Lord, not only of your honourable conduct, and good speed in all your matters and business, and of your gracious prevail against the intent and malice of your evil-willers, but also of the knowledge that it pleased your nobley [1] to let us now late have of the same, by relation of Sir Watier Deureux knight, and John Milewatier, squier, and John at Nokes, yeoman of your honourable chamber. Also we thank your noblesse and good fatherhood of our green gowns, now late sent unto us to our great comfort; beseeching your good lordship to remember our porteux [2], and that we might

[1] Noblesse.

[2] This was the breviary, a compendious missal, which contained not only the office of the mass, but all the services except the form of marriage.

have some fine bonnets sent unto us by the next sure messenger, for necessity so requireth. Over this, right noble lord and father, please it your highness to wit, that we have charged your servant William Smith, bearer of these, for to declare unto your nobley certain things on our behalf, namely, concerning and touching the odious rule, and demening of Richard Crofte and of his brother. Wherefore we beseech your gracious lordship and full noble fatherhood, to hear him in exposition of the same, and to his relation to give full faith and credence.

Right high and right mighty prince, our full redoubted and right noble lord and father, we beseech Almighty Jesus give you a good life and long, with as much continual perfect prosperity, as your princely heart can best desire.

Written at your castle of Ludlow, on Saturday in the Easter Week.

Your humble sons,

E. MARCHE, and

E. RUTLANDE.

See also *Ellis's Original Letters*, 1st series, vol. i. p. 9.

O.

IMMENSE POSSESSIONS INHERITED BY THE HOUSE OF YORK.

(See page 58.)

THE castles of Fotheringay in Northamptonshire and Berkhampstead in Hertfordshire were the patrimonial inheritance of the family of York; all the dukes, from the first who bore that title, having possessed and dwelt at these their baronial halls; and, with the title, they descended to the next heir as his ancestral abode. King Edward III. gave Fotheringay, with its ancient castle, to

his fifth son Edmund of Langley, the first Duke of York, which was erected into a duchy in his person, an. 9 Richard II., 1385; and this prince, its first possessor of that race, rebuilt the castle and the keep in the form of a fetterlock, the device of the house of York. His son Edward, the second duke, who chiefly resided at Fotheringay, founded and endowed its magnificent collegiate church, for which he was obliged to mortgage great part of his estate, and in the choir of which he was buried, having been brought to England for that purpose after the battle of Agincourt, where he lost his life. From him Fotheringay Castle descended to his nephew and heir, the third duke, father of Richard III., who was born in this favourite abode of his ancestors. The bodies of the above named third duke, with that of his young son the Earl of Rutland, both slain at Wakefield, were removed here for interment by command of King Edward IV., his heir and successor; and here also, at her earnest desire, was buried the Lady Cecily of York, who survived her illustrious consort thirty-five years.[1]

The castle of Berkhampstead, also, came to the house of York from the first duke of that title, King Richard II. having bestowed it upon his uncle, Edmund de Langley, the said duke. He derived his surname from being born at a royal manor adjacent to Berkhampstead, called King's Langley; in the church appertaining to which he was buried, with his illustrious consort Isabel of Castile. Berkhampstead remained in the family of York until that house became extinct, when it returned to the crown; its castle was the chief abode of Cecily Duchess of York, during her long and eventful widowhood.[2]

[1] See Hutton's History and Antiquities of Fotheringay; Sandford's Geneal. Hist., book v. pp. 359. 369.; Nichol's Royal Wills, p. 222.

[2] Anglorum Speculum, p. 370.; Harrison's Survey, p. 582.; Walpoole's Brit. Trav., 222.

Ludlow Castle in Shropshire, and the fortress of Wigmore in Herefordshire, first became annexed to the possessions of the house of York through Richard, its third duke, who inherited these wealthy demesnes in right of his mother, the Lady Anne Mortimer, whose children were the heirs and legal representatives of the house of March, on the decease of her brother, the last earl, without issue.

Ludlow was an ancient lordship appertaining to the Mortimers, and the castle of Wigmore was the early feudal abode of that warlike race; but after the creation of Roger, Lord of Wigmore, as first Earl of March and Ulster, it would appear that Ludlow Castle was preferred to their more ancient stronghold of Wigmore, judging at least from the many charters dated from the former place. King Edward IV. who, previous to his accession, had borne the title of Earl of March, and was likewise the fourth Duke of York, established, after he ascended the throne, a vice-royalty in Wales, under the designation of "The Council of the Marches," in honour of the Earls of March, from whom he was descended. Ludlow (for which place he had an especial favour as the abode of his youth) was appointed to be the seat of their court, and the lord president of the council was located at its castle; for the transactions of the illustrious house of Mortimer, from the first Earl of March until the title merged in the crown in the person of King Edward IV., had relation chiefly to Ludlow. Here that monarch's son, the young Prince of Wales, held his court at the time of his father's decease; and here also he was first proclaimed king, by the title of Edward V.: here, likewise, sojourned and died, Arthur, Prince of Wales, the promising grandson of Edward IV.—the sovereign to whom the town of Ludlow owed its subsequent importance; the local sovereignty which he instituted by royal prerogative having subsisted until abolished by act of Parliament in the reign of William and Mary, when the government was divided between two peers of the

realm, with the title of lords-lieutenant of North and South Wales.[1]

The ancient castles of Clare in Suffolk, and that of Trimmes in Ireland, also passed to Richard, third Duke of York, through his maternal ancestry. Philippa of Clarence, espoused to his great grandsire, Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, having inherited this ancient demesne from her grandmother, Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of Gilbert, last Earl of Clare; by marriage with whose only child Elizabeth, King Edward III.'s second son, Prince Lionel, acquired the earldom of Ulster in the kingdom of Ireland, the honour of Clare in the county of Suffolk, and was created therefrom Duke of Clarence, 36 Edward III., 1362[2]; from which duchy the name of Clarenceux, being the title of the king-at-arms for the south-east and west parts of England on this side the Trent, is derived. Prince Lionel, and the Lady Elizabeth de Burgh his consort (in right of whose only child, Philippa, the race of York derived their claims to the throne), together with Edmund Mortimer, last Earl of March, who left Richard, Duke of York, his heir, as also others of the noble house of Mortimer, were buried in the convent church of the ancient monastery of Clare.[3]

Innumerable were the other manors, lordships, and demesnes which centered in Richard III., Duke of York, either by heirship or inheritance: Coningsburgh in Yorkshire, which gave the surname to his ill-fated parent, the Earl of Cambridge; "Wakefield and Sendal Castle, a greet lordship pertaining to the duchy of York," and from which latter stronghold he issued to meet his own untimely death[4], with many more of less historical importance; but Middleham, so expressly named by Sir

[1] See Matthew Paris, p. 854.; and Gent. Mag., vol. xv. No. IV. p. 393.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Sandford's Geneal. Hist., book iii. p. 220.; Nichol's Royal Wills.

[4] Fleetwood's Chronicle, p. 6.

George Buck as the early abode of his children, could scarcely have been so during the lifetime of their father, for the lordship of Middleham appertained to the house of Neville, into which family it came by the marriage of Robert de Neville with Mary, the daughter and co-heir of Ralph Fitz-Randulph; and all the writers of that period mention the fact of the Earl of Salisbury fleeing to "his castle of Middleham," as did "York to Wigmore," when Queen Margaret and her councillors in 1457 (only three years before the battle of Wakefield), sought to entrap them by stealth to that destruction which force of arms had not been able to accomplish.

Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 86.; *Sandford, Geneal. Hist.*, book iv. p. 294.; *Anglo. Spec.*, p. 773.

P.

ENUMERATION OF THE TITLES BY WHICH THE BROTHERS OF CECILY DUCHESS OF YORK WERE ENNOBLED, TOGETHER WITH THE NAMES OF THE ANCIENT FAMILIES WITH WHICH HER SISTERS WERE ALLIED.

(See page 61.)

1. JOHN, who died during the lifetime of his father, leaving a son, who afterwards succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Westmoreland.
2. Ralph, married to Mary, co-heir to Sir Robert Ferrars.
3. Maud, married to Peter Lord Manley.
4. Alice, married first Sir Thomas Gray of Heton; secondly, Sir Gilbert de Lancaster.
5. Philippa, married to Thomas Lord Dacres of Gillesland.
6. Margaret, married to Richard Lord Scrope of Bolton.
7. Anne, married to Sir Gilbert de Umfraville, knight.
8. Margery, Abbess of Barking.
9. Elizabeth, a nun, of the Order of St. Clare at the Minories, London.
10. Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury.

11. William Lord Faulconberg.
12. George Lord Latimer.
13. Edward Lord Abergavenny.
14. Robert Bishop of Durham.
15. Cuthbert Neville, } who died without issue.
16. Henry Neville, } who died without issue.
17. Thomas Neville, } who died without issue.
18. Catherine, wife of John Mowbray, second Duke of Norfolk, and afterwards married to Sir John Woodville, son of Richard Earl Rivers.
19. Eleanor, wife first of Richard Lord Spencer, and secondly of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.
20. Anne, wife first of Humphrey Duke of Buckingham, and afterwards of Walter Blount Lord Mountjoy.
21. Jane, a nun.
22. Cecily, married to Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York.

Blore's Monumental Remains, part iii.

Q.

LIST OF THE MANORS BESTOWED UPON RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, BY HIS BROTHER KING EDWARD IV., BEFORE THE YOUNG PRINCE HAD ATTAINED HIS TWELFTH YEAR.

(See page 88.)

THE fee farm of Gloucester, with the manors of Kingstone Lacey, in Dorset; Richmond, in Yorkshire; Chipping Norton, in Oxfordshire; Sarton, Great Camps, Abiton Magna, and Swaffham, in Kent; Polenthorn, Penhall, Tremarket, Trevalin, Argelles, Trewinion, and Droungolan, in Cornwall; Overhall, Netherhall, Aldham, Preston, Pendham, and Cokefield, in Suffolk. The castles and manors of Henham, Elham, Parva, Vaur, Bumsted, Helion, Canfield-Magna, Stansted-

Montfichet, Bumsted-upon-Terrens, Earls Calne, Crepping, Bentleigh-Magna, Crustwich, Fingrithe, Doddinghurst, Preyeres, Bower Hall, Creyes, Eston Hall, Cileby, Beamond, Downham, with Kensington and Walehurst, in Middlesex; Calverton, in Bedfordshire; Milton and Paston, in Northamptonshire; Market Overton, in Rutlandshire; Flete and Battlesmere, in Kent. All which were part of the estate of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, attainted. He also constituted Richard lord high admiral of England, constable of Corfe Castle, and keeper of the forests in Essex. A great portion of the lands and immense possessions of the attainted Cliffords were likewise settled on the young prince, who was created, in addition, Duke of Cornwall; and, consequently, enjoyed the enormous revenues derived from the mineral products of that duchy, and the rights and privileges connected with the Stannary courts.

See *Hutton's Bosworth*, p. xix.

R.

SEVERE EXERCISES ALLOTTED TO THE YOUTHFUL ASPIRANTS FOR KNIGHTHOOD DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

(See page 101.)

AMONGST the gymnastic exercises required of children at a very early age, one was to ride in full career against a wooden figure holding a buckler, called a quintaine. This quintaine turned on an axis; and as there was a wooden sword in the other hand of the supposed opponent, the young cavalier, if he did not manage the horse and weapon with address, received a blow, when the shock of his charge made the quintaine spring round. Boys, more advanced in years, were taught to spring upon a horse while armed at all points; to exercise themselves in running; to strike for a length of time with the axe or club;

to dance and throw somersets, entirely armed, excepting the helmet; to mount on horseback behind one of their comrades, by barely laying hand on his sleeve; to raise themselves betwixt two partition walls to any height, by placing their back against the one, and their knees and hands against the other; to mount a ladder placed against a tower, upon the reverse, or untouching the rounds with their feet; to throw the javelin, and to pitch the bar.

Brayley's Graphic Illustrator, p. 27.

S.

SIR THOMAS MORE'S HISTORY OF KING RYCHARDE THE THIRDE.

(See page 108.)

A REPORT seems early to have prevailed, assigning this history, usually imputed to Sir Thomas More, to the pen of Cardinal Morton.

Sir John Harrington, in his "Metamorphosis of Ajax," published 1596, says, "The best, and best written, of all our chronicles, in all men's opinions, is that of Richard III., written, as I have heard, by Morton; but, as most suppose, by Sir Thomas More." And Buck relates, "that Sir Edward Habby told him he had seen the original history in Latin, written by Morton, in the hands of Mr. Roper of Eltham, an immediate descendant of More's." That Sir Thomas derived his information from Morton can scarcely be doubted, from the minuteness with which the particulars of transactions and conversations in which the bishop was a participator are related. This consideration will exculpate Sir Thomas More from any intentional misrepresentation of facts; and, at the same time, will make us receive the hideous portrait here drawn of Richard with some allowance for the prejudices of an inveterate and interested Lancastrian.

All the later historians of this reign, from Grafton down to Hume and Henry, have derived their materials from this history, for Rous of Warwick, the Chronicler of Croyland, Fabian, and Polydore Virgil afford but little additional information. Grafton and Holinshed have not, as Lord Orford asserts, "copied it verbatim;" they have indulged in unwarrantable interpolations and omissions; their copies being, as the old editor says, "very muche corrupte in many places, sometimes having less, and sometimes having more, and altered in wordes and whole sentences." More's brother-in-law[1], Rastall, when he made the collection of his kinsman's works in 1557, points out the incorrectness of the impressions of this history, which was first printed in Grafton's "Continuation of the Metrical Chronicle of John Hardyng," in 1543; and was again printed in the chronicles of Grafton, Hall, and Holinshed, and professes to have been "conferred and corrected by his own copy." A portion of this history also exists in Latin; and Mr. Laing conjectures that it may have been first composed in that language. This Latin version has also been published, and was first printed at Lovain in 1566, with the other Latin works of Sir Thomas More. The editor remarks that it is an unpolished fragment, written without much study, and apparently unrevised, and that it is not to be compared in point of elegance of style to More's other Latin works. May not this Latin fragment be the identical history which has been attributed to Morton? It is remarkable that Grafton, in his narrative, takes up the conversation between the Earl of Buckingham and Bishop Morton, and continues it with the same minute

[1] An almost universal error prevails in considering Rastall the chronicler as son-in-law, instead of brother-in-law, of Sir Thomas More. Rastall married the sister of the learned chancellor, who had but two daughters; the one, well known as the celebrated "Margaret Roper," as eminent for her virtues as her astonishing learning; and the other, "Mary," maid of honour to Queen Mary, and espoused afterwards, first to Mr. Stephen Clark, and secondly to Mr. James Basset.

particularity as it had been begun by Sir Thomas More: the subsequent events of the reign are detailed with the same exactness as if he had received his information from an eye-witness of them. In Bishop Kennet's "Complete History of England," that learned prelate has contented himself with a faithless paraphrase, varying entirely in all essential characteristics from the original, so as scarcely to leave any trace of Sir Thomas More's manner of narration; and by trusting to this faulty copy, Hume has been led into error.

See *Introduction to Singer's Reprint of More's Rycharde III.*

T.

THE ORDER OF THE GARTER LIMITED AT ITS FIRST INSTITUTION EXCLUSIVELY TO KNIGHTS OF HIGH MILITARY REPUTATION.

(See page 122.)

SANDFORD, in his "Genealogical History of the Kings of England," gives the following account of the original design of this martial association:—

"Many solemn tournaments, and other exercises of war, are performed at Dunstable and Smithfield, but more especially at Windsor, where King Edward designed the restoration of King Arthur's Round Table, in imitation of which he caused to be erected a table of 200 foot diameter, where the knights should have their entertainment of diet at his expense, amounting to 100*l.* per week. In emulation of these martial associations at Windsor, King Philip of Valois practised the like at his court in France, to invite the knights and valiant men of arms out of Italy, and Almain thither, least they should repair to King Edward, which meeting with success, proved a countermine to King Edward's main design, who thereby finding

that his entertainment of stranger knights was too general, and did not sufficiently oblige them his in the following wars, at length resolved on one more particular, and such as might tie those whom he thought fit to make his associates in a firm bond of friendship and honour.

"Wherefore, having given forth his own garter for the signal of a battle that sped fortunately, (which, with Du Chesne, we conceive to be that of Cressy, fought three years after his setting up the round table at Windsor,) he thence took occasion to institute this order, and gave the Garter (assumed by him for the symbol of unity and society) pre-eminence among the ensigns thereof; whence that select number (being five-and-twenty besides the sovereign), whom he incorporated into a fraternity, are frequently styled Equites Periscelides, vulgarly Knights of the Garter."

Geneal. Hist., book iii. p. 163.

U.

SPLENDID FUNERAL OF RICHARD DUKE OF YORK, AND OF HIS SON EDMOND EARL OF RUTLAND.

(See page 125.)

"KING Edward, immediately after his great victory at Towton, caused the head of the duke his father to be taken down from the walls of York, and buried with his trunk, and the corpse of his son Edmond Earl of Rutland, at Ponfract; 'from whence their bones, by the said king's command, were with great solemnity afterwards removed, and interred at Fotheringay.' In order to which, upon the 22d of July, 1466, the said bones were put into a chariot covered with black velvet, richly wrapped in cloth of gold and royal habit, at whose feet stood a white angel bearing a crown of gold, 'to signify that of right he was king.' The chariot had seven horses, trapped to the

ground, and covered with black, charged with escocheons of the said prince's arms; every horse carried a man, and upon the foremost rode Sir John Skipwith, who bore the prince's banner displayed. The bishops and abbots went two or three miles before, to prepare the churches for the reception of the prince, in pontificalibus.

"RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER followed next after the corpse, accompanied with a number of nobles, the officers of arms being also present. In this equipage they parted from Ponfract, and that night rested at Doncaster, where they were received by the convent of Cordeliers, in grey habit; from thence by journeys to Bleide, to Touxford in the Clay, to Newarke, to Grantham, to Stamford, and from thence on Monday the 29th of July, to Fodringhay, where they arrived betwixt two and three of the clock in the afternoon, where the bodies were received by several bishops and abbots in pontificalibus, and supported by twelve servants of the defunct prince.

"At the entry of the churchyard was THE KING, accompanied by several dukes, earls, and barons, all in mourning, who proceeded into the heart of Fodringhay church, near to the high altar, where there was a herse covered with black, furnished with a great number of banners, banneretts and pencills, and under the said herse were the bones of the said prince and his son Edmond.

"THE QUEEN and her two daughters were present, also in black, attended by several ladies and gentlewomen. Item, over the image was a cloth of majesty, of black sarcenet, with the figure of our Lord, sitting on a rainbow, beaten in gold, having on every corner a scocheon of his arms of France and England quarterly, with a vallence about the herse also of black sarcenet, fringed half a yard deep, and beaten with three angels of gold holding the arms within[1] a garter, in every part above the herse.

[1] Signifying that the arms of Richard Duke of York were placed within the Garter. — *Sandford*, p. 373.

"Upon the 30th July several masses were said, and then at the offertory of the mass of requiem, the king offered for the said prince his father; and the queen and her two daughters and the Countess of Richmond offered afterwards; then Norroy king of arms offered the prince's coat of arms; March king of arms, the target; Ireland king of arms, the sword; Windsor herald of arms of England and Ravendon herald of Scotland offered the helmet; and Mr. de Ferrys, the harness and courser."

From an ancient Document preserved in the College of Arms, and quoted from thence by Sandford, in his "Genealogical History of England," book v. p. 373.

V.

KING EDWARD'S STRONG ATTACHMENT TO RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER EVINCED BY THE CONTINUED HONOURS AND POSSESSIONS THAT WERE BESTOWED UPON HIM BY THAT MONARCH, FROM THE PERIOD OF HIS ACCESSION TO THAT OF HIS DEATH.

(See page 148.)

1st Ed. IV.—Richard created Duke of Gloucester and Lord Admiral of England.—*Rot. Parl.*, vol. v. p. 461.

2d Ed. IV.—Grant to Richard Duke of Gloucester of the castle of the town of Gloucester, the constableship of Corfe Castle, the earldom, honour, and lordship of Richmond, and numerous manors, forty-six in number, which fell to the crown by the attainder of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford.—*Rot. Parl.*, vol. vi. p. 227.

3d. Ed. IV.—By patent the king granted to his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester the castles, manors, and lands forfeited by the attainder of Henry Beaufort, late Duke of Somerset.—*Rymer's Add. MSS.*, vol. i. art. 91.

4th. Ed. IV.—Grant of Stanhope Park and Weardale

Forest to the duke for life, in lieu of an annuity of 100*l.* a-year.—*Surtees's Hist. Durham*, p. lx.

5th Ed. IV.—Payment to Richard Earl of Warwick for costs and expences incurred by him on behalf of the Duke of Gloucester.—*Issue Roll of the Exchequer*, p. 490.

6th Ed. IV.—Richard Duke of Gloucester created a Knight of the Garter.—*Hist. Brit. Knighthood*, p. 92.

8th Ed. IV.—Grant to Richard Duke of Gloucester of the numerous manors which had belonged to Robert Lord Hungerford, and all the possessions of Henry Duke of Somerset, or of Edmund his brother.—*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, m. 1. p. 314.

9th Ed. IV.—Richard Duke of Gloucester appointed chief justice of South Wales, admiral of England, and constable of England for life.—*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, m. 10. p. 315.

10th Ed. IV.—Richard Duke of Gloucester appointed a commissioner of array in the county of Gloucester; also in the counties of Devonshire and Cornwall.—*Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 655.

11th Ed. IV.—Richard Duke of Gloucester appointed justiciary of North Wales.—*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, m. 9. p. 316. The king also confers upon Richard, by letters patent, the castles, manors, lordships, and forfeited estates of Richard Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Dymocke, Sir Thomas de la Laund, and others.—*Cott. MSS.*, Julius B. xii. fo. 111. *b.*

12th Ed. IV.—Richard Duke of Gloucester appointed keeper of all the king's forests beyond Trente for life.—*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, m. 10. p. 317.

14th Ed. IV.—The king awards to Richard Duke of Gloucester, in right of his wife, half the vast possessions that accrued to her as co-heiress of the Earl of Warwick, with the additional clause that it was to remain with him in the event of a divorce.—*Rot. Parl.*, vi. p. 100.

15th Ed. IV.—The Duke of Gloucester nominated by King Edward IV. as one of the commissioners appointed by him to sign the contract of marriage between the Dauphin of France and the Princess Royal of England.—*Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 15.

Also (15 Ed. IV.) the honour, manors, castle, and demesnes of Skipton, with other land of the attainted Cliffords, were granted to Richard Duke of Gloucester.—*Pat. Rolls*, 15 Ed. IV.

17th Ed. IV.—The king created Edmund Plantagenet, his nephew, eldest son of Richard Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Salisbury.—*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, part 11. p. 322.

Ibid.—Richard Duke of Gloucester appointed great chamberlain of England for life.—*Ibid.*

18th Ed. IV.—Richard Duke of Gloucester appointed admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine.—*Ibid.* part i. p. 323.

20th Ed. IV.—Richard Duke of Gloucester appointed the king's lieutenant general during his own absence on an expedition against the Scotch.—*Ibid.* part i. p. 325.

22d Ed. IV.—An act was passed reciting that the Duke of Gloucester and his heirs male should have the wardenship of the west marches of England towards Scotland; the castle, city, town, and lordship of Carlisle; the castle, manor, and lordship of Bewcastle in Cumberland, with Nicole Forest; also the countries and ground in Scotland, called Liddlesdale, Eskdale, Ewsdale, Annandale, Wallopdale, Clydesdale, and the west marches of Scotland, &c. &c.; in addition to which, he was to receive 10,000 marks in ready money.—*Rot. Parl.*, vol. vi. p. 197.

W.

TESTIMONY OF CONTEMPORARY WRITERS, ESTABLISHING THE FACT OF KING EDWARD'S HAVING BEEN MADE A PRISONER BY THE DUKE OF CLARENCE AND THE EARL OF WARWICK.

(See p. 152.)

A° 1469. "In the mean time King Edward was captured at a village near Coventry, and was thence conveyed as a prisoner, through the influence of his brother George Duke of Clarence, Richard Earl of Warwick, and George Nevill, Archbishop of York, to Warwick Castle: but lest his friends in the South should release him, he was removed to Middleham in Yorkshire, from which he was freed by the express consent of the Earl of Warwick, inasmuch as an insurrection had broken out among the partizans of Henry VI. in that part of England adjoining Scotland, which the earl could not repress except by making public proclamation in the king's name that all his lieges should rise in his defence against the rebels; for the people would not obey his mandates until they saw him in freedom at York. The insurgents having been dispersed, and the king taking advantage of his liberty, hastened to London, where in a great council a reconciliation was effected between him, the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, and their adherents. The injury, however, which he had received is conjectured by the chronicler to have rankled in the king's mind."

Cont. Hist. Croyland; Gale, i. p. 551. (Abstract.)

9 Ed. IV. "And after that, the Archbishop of York had understanding that King Edward was in a village beside Northampton, and all his people he raised were fled from him. By the advice of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, he rode with certain horsemen harnessed with him, and took King Edward, and had him unto Warwick Castle a little while, and afterward to York

city; and there, by fair speech and promise, the king escaped out of the bishop's hands, and came unto London, and did what him liked."

Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 7.

To this contemporary evidence may be added the more recent corroboration of Dr. Lingard, who, after stating that every writer of the age, whether foreign or native, confirms the fact of King Edward's imprisonment by his rebellious and unnatural kinsmen, not only adduces the authority of Comines to aid in substantiating the circumstance, but also minutely investigates the untenable arguments used by later historians to invalidate the above-named authority.

Lingard's Hist. Eng., vol. v. p. 195.

X.

EXTRAORDINARY INFLUENCE OF THE EARL OF WARWICK OVER GEORGE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

(See p. 170.)

"But the wonder of the world then was at the powerful sorcery of those persuasions which bewitched the Duke of Clarence, the king's brother, to this conspiracy: but he was young and purblind in foreseeing the event of things. Profuse in expense beyond his revenue, and almost beyond the king's power to supply; grudging the favours conferred upon the queen and her kindred; valuing his birth too high, as who forgot the brother of a king is but a subject; forward upon any terms to make himself greater, easily lending ear to dangerous whispers, and as rashly giving consent. These preparations made this young prince fit to take any mischief which the Earl of Warwick ministered most plentifully."

Habington's Edward IV., p. 42.

Y.

FEEBLENESS OF HENRY VI. EVINCED BY HIS DEFICIENCY IN MUSCULAR STRENGTH.

(See p. 206.)

DR. WHITAKER, in speaking of King Henry VI., in his most interesting History of Craven, says, when describing the well-known relics of this unfortunate monarch left by him at Bolton (a pair of boots, a pair of gloves, and a spoon), either from haste and trepidation, or as tokens of his regard for the family,—"In an age when the habits of the great, in peace as well as war, required perpetual exertions of bodily strength, this unhappy prince must have been equally contemptible from corporeal and from mental imbecility; yet I do not recollect that any historian mentions this circumstance. The boots are of a fine brown Spanish leather, lined with deer's skin, tanned with the fur on, and about the ankles is a kind of wadding under the lining to keep out the wet. They have been fastened by buttons from the ankle to the knee; the feet are remarkably small (little more than eight inches long), the toes round, and the soles, where they join to the heel, contracted to less than an inch in diameter. The gloves are of the same material, and have the same lining; they reach up like woman's gloves to the elbow, but have been occasionally turned down with the deer's skin outward. The hands are exactly proportioned to the feet, and not larger than those of a middle-sized woman."

Whitaker's Hist. of Craven, p. 104.

Z.

EXAMINATION OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

(See p. 220.)

ON the 24th July, 1822, it was resolved by the House of Commons, "that an humble address should be presented

to his Majesty (George IV.) representing that the editions of the works of our ancient historians are incorrect and defective; that many of their writings still remain in manuscript, and in some cases in a single copy only; and that an uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under his Majesty's royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to his Majesty's reign, and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge." And the House therefore humbly besought his Majesty "to give such directions as in his wisdom he might think fit for the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians of the realm." In answer to this address, Mr. Peel, Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the 19th November, 1822, wrote a letter to the commissioners on the public records, informing them that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to comply with the prayer of the said address, and desiring them "to take measures for carrying his Majesty's most gracious intentions into effect, conferring from time to time with the Home Secretary, or the Lords of the Treasury, in the progress of the work, as there should be occasion."

On the 18th March, Mr. Peel's letter was laid before the Board, and a sketch of a plan by Mr. Petrie, keeper of the records in the Tower, for collecting, arranging, and publishing the History of Britain from the earliest times to the accession of Henry VIII. was read and adopted; Mr. Petrie being appointed by the committee principal sub-commissioner for the superintendance and execution of the work. The result of this important proceeding has already developed matter of great interest, were it only in making known to the public, by means of the official reports already laid before the Lords of the Treasury, the value, extent, and completeness of the national records of this country. Sir Francis Palgrave, in closing his report of May, 1840, concludes it by observing that the public records of England constitute "a series of unparalleled completeness and antiquity." "No other European state,"

he adds, "possesses consecutive archives commencing at so early a date, or extending over so long a period of time. They exhibit the full development of the laws and institutions of the realm, and are evidences of the progress of society in the various changes which the policy of the nation has sustained."

The records deposited in the Tower of London commence with the archives of the Norman race, and include the acts and proceedings of all the early kings in due order of succession, terminating with those of the Plantagenet dynasty. These records are chiefly deposited in the Wakefield Tower, and in the White Tower commonly called Cæsar's Chapel. The parliament rolls preserved in the Wakefield Tower begin in the fifth year of Edward II., A. D. 1311, and end with the reign of Edward IV., 1483; the patent rolls, which begin in the third year of King John, A. D. 1201, end with the reign of Edward IV., 1483. In the upper gallery of this tower are also deposited several lockers, containing innumerable loose parchments of a very miscellaneous nature, but which could not be finally examined until repertories had been made for the more important records. Indeed, so voluminous are the state documents contained in the Tower, that in the first report of the commissioners it is stated that "the timbers which support the roof of the room adjoining the chapel are some of them so decayed and sunk by the weight of the records as to require immediate repair."

The Rolls Chapel is the next most important national depository, being crowded with charter rolls, patent rolls, close rolls, and other chancery records, contained in a regular series from the beginning of the reign of Richard III. These documents are deposited in presses round the walls of the chapel, but so constructed as not to excite the notice of any casual observer, as the chapel is used as a place of worship every Sunday during term time. So abundant indeed are the innumerable records there deposited, that

every available place, not excepting even the pulpit and the seats of the pews, which are converted into boxes, have been put in requisition. The Rolls House, which immediately adjoins the chapel, and the rooms of which are spacious, is chiefly appropriated to records belonging to the Court of Queen's Bench, extending from the reign of Henry VI. down to the fourth of George IV. The earlier series connected with the Rolls House are preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster, and the subsequent series of this department are partly in the treasury of the Court of Queen's Bench, and partly in the office of the Court now in the Temple.

See Cooper's *Proceedings of His Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records*, vol. i. p. 201., and vol. ii. p. 158—173. Also Sir Francis Palgrave's *Reports* for May 15th, 1840, and May 15th, 1841.

A A.

SEAL OF RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER AS LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.

(See p. 226.)

THE history of the discovery of this seal is replete with interest. It is of brass, and is in all respects perfect and uninjured. It was the property of Mr. J. Hankey, an attorney at St. Columb in Cornwall, who purchased it in a lot of old brass and iron, amongst the household goods of one Mr. Jackson, an innkeeper of that town. How Mr. Jackson came possessed of it does not appear. He was a native of Cumberland, from which he removed to Devonshire, and afterwards to St. Columb, where he died. He seemed not to have put any value upon the seal, nor to have ever mentioned it to his family. Richard Duke of Gloucester resided frequently both at Penrith, Carlisle, and other places in Cumberland, during his wardenship in the North, which helps to explain, in some measure at

least, how the seal probably came into the possession of a native of that county.

Upon the death of Mr. Hankey, in 1782, it became the property of Mr. Dennis, attorney, of Penzance, and shortly afterwards an impression was forwarded to the Society of Antiquaries, by the Rev. Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, together with the foregoing account, and some further very interesting particulars connected with its history.

It appears probable that this curious seal was wrought between the years 1471, when the Duke of Gloucester was invested for the second time with the office of lord high admiral of England, and 1475, when King Edward IV. advanced Sir Thomas Grey, the queen's son by her former marriage, to the dignity of Marquis of Dorset.

See *Archæologia*, vol. vii. p. 69.

B B.

OATH OF RECOGNITION TAKEN BY RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER TO THE INFANT PRINCE OF WALES.

(See p. 229.)

On 3rd July, 11 Edward IV. (1471), the Duke of Gloucester and other peers, spiritual and temporal, took and subscribed the following oath of recognition of Prince Edward, as heir of King Edward IV.

"I acknowledge, take, and repute you, Edward Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwayll, and Erle of Chestre, furste begoten son of oure sovereigne lord, as to the corones and reames of England and of France and lordship of Ireland; and promette and swere, that incas hereafter it happen, you by Goddis disposition to outleve our seid sovereigne lord, I shall then take and accept you for true, veray, and righteous Kyng of Englond, &c. And feith and trouth to you shall bere. And yn all thyngs truely and feithfully behave me towardes you and youre

heyres, as a true and feithfull subject oweth to behave hym to his sovereigne lord, and rightiiys Kyng of Englond, &c. So help me God, and Holidome, and this holy Evaungelist."

Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 232.

C C.

ARTICLES CONNECTED WITH THE TREATY OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE PRINCE OF WALES AND THE EARL OF WARWICK'S SECOND DAUGHTER.

(See p. 243.)

"TOUCHING the second point, that is, of marriage, true it is that the queen would not in any wise consent thereunto for offer shewing, or any manner of request, that the King of France might make her. Same time she said, that she saw never honor ne profit for her, ne for her son the prince. In other she alleged that and she would, she should find a more profitable party, and of a more advantage, with the King of England. And indeed she shewed unto the King of France a letter which she said was sent her out of England the last week, by the which was offered to her son, my lady the princess [1]; and so the queen persevered fifteen days, or she would any thing intend to the said treatie of marriage."

After enumerating "certain articles," by means of which the said marriage was agreed and promised, "present the King of France and the Duke of Guienne," the manuscript gives "the oath of the Earl of Warwick at Angers, sworn to King Henry;" also "the oath of the King of France and of the Queen Margaret." Item: "In treating the foresaid marriage, it was promised and accorded, that after the recovery of the realm of England, for and in the name of the said King Harry, he — holden and avouched

[1] Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., born Feb. 11th, at Westminster, 1466.—*Sandford*, book v. p. 417.

for king, and the prince for regent and governor of the said realm — my Lord of Clarence shall have all the lands that he had when he departed out of England, and the duchy of York, and many other; and the Earl of Warwick his, and other named in the appointment."

Ellis's Orig. Letters, 2d series, vol. i. p. 132. (The original is preserved in the Harl. MSS., No. 543. fol. 169.)

D D.

SECOND MARRIAGES CONSIDERED INDECOROUS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, IF ENTERED INTO WITHIN A CERTAIN FIXED PERIOD.

(See p. 254.)

THIS fact is illustrated by an interesting event in the life of Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV. and Richard Duke of Gloucester.

On the decease of her husband, Charles Duke of Burgundy, slain at Nancy, 1477, the King of Scotland applied to Edward IV. to aid him in negotiating a marriage between his sister, the said Margaret, and the Duke of Albany, brother to the Scottish king; but this proposal was deferred by the English monarch, "forasmuch as after the old usages of this our royaume (of England) none estate, ne person honourable, communeth of marriage within the year of their doole," and it was never carried into effect. — See *Excerpta Hist.*, p. 226. It further appears that, in the middle ranks of life, widows were restricted from second marriages, which, when detected, occasioned the total forfeiture of legacy, &c. from their husbands: a provision to that effect having been made in wills.

Testamenta Vetusta, p. xxxiv.

E E.

AWARD OF WARWICK'S LANDS TO HIS CO-HEIRESSES, THE LADY ISABEL AND THE LADY ANNE NEVILLE.

(See p. 256.)

It was enacted in parliament, 9th May, 14 Edward IV. (1474), that George Duke of Clarence and Isabel his wife, Richard Duke of Gloucester and Anne his wife, the daughters and heirs of Richard Neville, late Earl of Warwick, and heirs apparent to Anne Countess of Warwick, late wife of the said earl, should from thenceforth enjoy, in right of their wives, all honours, lordships, castles, towns, manors, lands, &c. which had previously belonged, or did then pertain, to the said countess, in like manner as if she were naturally dead; that the said Isabel and Anne should be reputed and taken as heirs of blood of the said countess, and of other their ancestors; that she should be barred and excluded from all jointure at dower out of the possessions of the earl her late husband, and that the said dukes and their wives should make a partition thereof. If the said Isabel or Anne died leaving her husband surviving, he was to enjoy her moiety during his life: any alienation made thereof by the said dukes and their wives was to be of no effect.

It was further provided, that if the Duke of Gloucester and Anne should be divorced, and afterwards marry again, the act should be as available as though no such divorce had taken place; or in case they should be divorced, "and after that he do his effectual diligence and continual devoir by all convenient and lawful means to be lawfully married to the said Anne the daughter, and during the lyf of the same Anne be not married ne wedded to any other woman, he should have as much of the premises as pertained to her during her lifetime."

See *Rot. Parl.*, vol. iv. p. 100.

F F.

PAPAL DISPENSATIONS REQUISITE TO LEGALISE A MARRIAGE AFTER PREVIOUS BETROTHMENT TO ANOTHER PARTY.

(See p. 257.)

THIS point is curiously exemplified in the case of Joanna, the fair maid of Kent, who is designated by some historians as Countess of Salisbury, because she had in her infancy been betrothed to William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, from whom she was divorced by consent; nevertheless, before she could espouse her cousin, Edward the Black Prince, it was necessary to obtain, in addition to the papal dispensation arising from their too near consanguinity, a bull to release her from her former engagements with the Earl of Salisbury, although they had been divorced by mutual consent, and that he was long dead, having been killed in a tournament.

See *Kennet's Complete Hist. of Eng.*, vol. i. p. 229.

G G.

THE GREAT DEARTH OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS AT THE PERIOD WHEN SHAKSPEARE FLOURISHED LED TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE BODLEIAN AND COTTONIAN LIBRARIES.

(See p. 287.)

IT is well known that until the reign of King Henry the Eighth learning had been several ages at a low ebb, especially among the laity in England, where the tumultuary state of the nation, and the long wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, had found them employment widely different from the pursuit of letters. Hence, in this kingdom, the two universities and the religious houses became the only repositories of books of erudition. Even they were scantily supplied. We have no account

transmitted to us of any considerable number of valuable books being at any one time introduced into England preceding the Reformation, except the collection made by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, for his library at Oxford. King Henry VIII., soon after the general dissolution of religious houses, founded the ROYAL LIBRARY, for the use of the princes of the blood, placing therein many choice MSS., collected by John Leland and others, out of the spoils of the monasteries.[1]

Towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Bodley turned his thoughts to the reinstating the public library at Oxford, then in a ruinous condition, and to the adorning it not only with printed books, but with whatever manuscripts could at that time be procured. To this end he quitted the court, and dedicated the remainder of his life to the searching after and purchasing books and manuscripts at home, whilst his agents abroad ransacked almost every port of Europe for the like literary supplies. Bodley's great contemporary, Sir Robert Cotton, had been equally diligent in collecting ancient MSS., and by an expensive and indefatigable labour of upwards of forty years he accumulated those numerous and inestimable treasures which compose the COTTONIAN LIBRARY.

After so many MSS. had been thus secured, not merely in the above-named rich deposits, but in other valuable though smaller collections, the prospect of furnishing a new library with any considerable number of choice MSS. was very unpromising: but an innate love of science, and a strong propensity to search into the transactions of former ages, determined Mr. Harley[2] early in

[1] This library was afterwards considerably augmented by his successors, and is now preserved in the British Museum, by order of George the Second.

[2] Robert Harley, Esq., of Brampton Bryan in the county of Hereford, was in February, 1700, chosen speaker of the House of Commons; in May, 1711, was created Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and five days afterwards promoted to the important station of lord high treasurer of Great Britain.

life to purchase whatsoever curious MSS. he could meet with, more especially such as in any wise tend to explain and illustrate the history, laws, customs, and antiquities of his native country. The principal point which the noble founder of the HARLEIAN LIBRARY had in view was the establishment of a MS. English *Historical Library*, and the rescuing from oblivion and destruction such valuable records of our national antiquities as had escaped the diligence of former collectors. At the decease of his son, Edward Lord Harley, in 1741, who considerably enriched the collection, the MS. library consisted of near 8000 volumes. This invaluable repository, together with the Cottonian, Arundelian, Sloanian, Lansdown, and many other MS. libraries, are now deposited in the British Museum, where they are easy of access to the student of history and antiquity.

See Preface to *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts: printed by Command of His Majesty George III.*, p. 2.

H H.

THE LORD HASTINGS ACCEPTS THE FRENCH MONARCH'S BRIBE, BUT REFUSES TO GIVE A WRITTEN ACKNOWLEDGMENT FOR IT.

(See p. 312.)

"WHEN Louis XI. entertained divers counsellours of King Edward IV. with large pensions to steed him in England, he sent Peter Cleret, one of the masters of his household, unto the Lord Hastings, the king's chamberlain, to present him with two thousand crowns; which when he had received, Peter Cleret did pray him, that for his discharge, he should make him an acquittance. The lord chamberlain made a great difficulty thereat: then Cleret doth request him again, that he would give unto him only a letter of three lines for his discharge to the

king, signifying that he had received them: the lord chamberlain answered: "Sir, that which you say is very reasonable; but the gift comes from the good-will of the king, your master, and not at my request at all. If it please you that I shall have it, you shall put it within the pocket of my sleeve, and you shall have no other acquittance of me. For I will never it shall be said of me, that the lord chamberlain of the King of England hath been pensioner to the King of France; nor that my acquittances shall be found in the chamber of accounts in France." The aforesaid Cleret went away mal-content; but left his money with him, and came to tell his message to his king, who was very angry with him. But thenceforth the lord chamberlain of England was more esteemed with the French, and always paid without acquittance."

Camden's Remains, p. 352.

II.

ATTAINDER OF GEORGE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

(See p. 321.)

Dr. Lingard, in referring to the long and laboured bill of attainder (*Rot. Parl.*, vi. 193.), has so ably condensed the leading points, that the nature of these accusations cannot be more clearly shown than by the following extract from his valuable History. "The king produced his witnesses, and conducted the prosecution. He described the tender affection which he had formerly cherished for his brother, and the great possessions with which he had enriched him; yet the ungrateful prince had turned against his benefactor, had leagued with his enemies, had deprived him of his liberty, and during his exile had conspired to dethrone him. All this had been forgiven: yet what was the return? Clarence had again formed the

project of disinheriting him and his issue. For this purpose he had commissioned his servants to give public entertainments, during which they insinuated that Burdett had been innocent of the crime for which he suffered; that the king was himself a magician, and therefore unfit to govern a Christian people; and what was more, was a bastard, and consequently without any right to the crown. Moreover, Clarence had induced men to swear that they would be true to him without any reservation of allegiance to their sovereign; had declared that he would recover both for himself and them the lands which had been lost by the Act of Resumption; had attained and preserved an attested copy of the act declaring him the next heir to the crown after the male issue of Henry VI.; had sent orders to all his retainers to be in readiness to join him in arms at an hour's notice; and had endeavoured to substitute another person's child in the place of his own son, that he might send the latter out of the kingdom, as if his life was menaced by the enmity of his uncle."

See *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 228.

J J.

MARRIAGE OF RICHARD DUKE OF YORK WITH THE HEIRESS OF THE HOUSE OF NORFOLK.

(See p. 333.)

"RICHARD Duke of York, surnamed of Shrewsbury, the place of his birth, second son of King Edward IV., was upon the 28th day of May, 1474 (an. 14 Ed. IV.), created Duke of York; and after the death of that rich and potent noble Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, which hapned the year following, whose honours, for want of issue male, fell to the king, and his inheritance to his daughter, the Lady Anne: he was made first Earl of Nottingham (as the Mowbrayes had been before) 12th Jan., an. 16 Ed. IV. Then, on the 7th of February next

following, was honoured with the titles of Duke of Norfolke and Earl Warren. And thus dignified (on the 15th of January in the ensuing year) he espoused the aforesaid Anne Mowbray, the richest and most noble match of that time, being the onely daughter and heir of the forementioned John Lord Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Warren and Surrey, and Earl Marshal of England, &c. The ceremony of which marriage, performed the 15th day of January, 1477 (an. 17 Ed. IV.), I have expressed as I find it recorded in an old book in the Office of Arms. The 14th day of January the high and excellent princess came to the place of estate in the king's great chamber at Westminster, and there, according to her high and excellent estate, had a voyde[1] after the form and estate of this realm of England, accompanied with many dukes, earls, and barons, and abundance of ladies and gentlewomen, the princess being led by Earl Rivers.

"On the morrow, being Thursday the 15th day of this said month, this princess came out of the queen's chamber at Westminster, and so, proceeding through the king's great chamber, came into the great Whitehall, and so to St. Stephen's Chapel. Upon her attended many ladies and gentlewomen. She was led by the Earl of Lincoln on the right hand, and on the left by the Earl Rivers. The chapel was richly hung, and a state prepared, where sate the king, queen, and prince; the right high and excellent princess (and queen of right), mother to the king, the Lady Elizabeth, the Lady Mary, and the Lady Cecily, daughters to the king. Thus was the said lady received by Dr. Goldwel, Bishop of Norwich; and when he had received her in at the chapel door, intending to proceed to her wedding, then answered Dr. Coke, and said, that the said high and mighty prince Richard Duke of York ought not to be wedded to that high and excellent princess, for

[1] Voyde was a slight repast or collation after supper, betwixt five and six of the clock, prior to the family retiring for the night.—*Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 284.

they were within degree of marriage[1], the one at the fourth, the other at the third. For which causes he defended the spousaile, without that there were a special licence from the Pope, and a dispensation for the before-said nighness of blood; and then Dr. Gunthorp, Dean of the King's Chapel, showed an ample bole of authority that they might proceed to the "*contractus* and *matrimonium*" before rehearsed; and then the said Bishop of Norwich proceeded to the marriage, and asked who would give the princess to the church and to him, and the king gave her, and so proceeding to the High Altar to mass; and then there was great number of gold and silver cast among the common people, brought in basins of gold, cast by the high and mighty prince the Duke of Gloucester; and after accomplished the appurtenance of the marriage, and after spices and wine, as appertaineth to matrimonial feasts; and from St. Stephen's Chapel the Duke of Gloucester led the bride on the right hand, and the Duke of Buckingham on the left. Then in St. Edward's Chapel they had a stately feast, at which were the said dukes, with the Duchesses of Buckingham and Norfolk, mother to the princess the bride. At a side-table sat the Marquis Dorset, with many ladies, and at another table the Lady Richmond, with many other ladies."

Sandford's Geneal. Hist. of the Kings of England, book v. p. 393.

K K.

LICENCE GRANTED TO RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER TO FOUND AND INCORPORATE A COLLEGE AT MIDDLEHAM.

(See p. 336.)

In the Parliament assembled in the Painted Chamber at

[1] The progenitor of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, father of the Lady Anne, was Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, the fifth son of King Edward I., from whom, by heirs general, they were descended.

Westminster, 16th January, 17 Edw. IV., 1478, Richard Duke of Gloucester presented a petition, wherein he referred to the act of 9th May, 14 Edw. IV., by which he and the Duke of Clarence, and their respective wives, were empowered to divide the possessions of Richard Neville, late Earl of Warwick, but were restricted from alienating any portion thereof, stating that he proposed to found "a college of a Dene, xij priests, to sing and pray for the prosperous astate of your soverayne lord, the quene, youre issue, and my lady and moder, the welfare of me, Anne my wyff, and my issue, whiles we live in this present world, and for the soules of my lord my fader, my brethren, and sisters, and of all Cristen souls;" and praying he might be permitted to alienate for that purpose the advowsons of certain churches: which was granted.

See *Rot. Parl.*, vol. vi. p. 172.

L L.

THE HOUSEHOLD BADGES OF THE PRINCES AND NOBLES OF THE MIDDLE AGES PERPETUATED, IN THE PRESENT DAY BY THE SIGNS OF INNS AND TAVERNS.

(See p. 347.)

THE cognisance of many illustrious persons connected with this early period of English history are still preserved in the signs attached to taverns and inns, not only in London and other large cities, but in remote districts of the country, decorating the fronts of ale-houses contiguous to the former estates of ancient families, whose feudal badge is thus perpetuated, although in many instances their race has long been extinct, and in others their vast possessions have been alienated from their descendants, and havepassed into the hands of strangers.

The "White Hart," with its golden chain, was the badge of King Richard II.

The "Antelope" was that of King Henry IV.

The "Beacon" was assumed by Henry V.

Two "Feathers" was the cognisance of Henry VI.

And the "White Swan" was the device of Edward of Lancaster, his ill-fated heir, slain at the battle of Tewkesbury.

Before the disastrous fire of London in 1666, almost all the liveries of the great feudal lords were preserved at these houses of public resort; many of their heraldic signs were then unfortunately lost, but the "Bear and ragged Staff," the ensign of the famed Warwick, still exists as a sign in Smithfield: while the "Star" of the Lords of Oxford, the brilliancy of which decided the fate of the battle of Barnet; the "Lion" of Norfolk, which shone so conspicuously on Bosworth Field; the "Sun" of the ill-omened house of York, together with the Red and White Roses, either simply or conjointly, carry the historian and the antiquary back to a distant period — one fraught to him with the most stirring recollections, although now presented to ordinary observation disguised in the gaudy colouring of a modern freshly-painted sign-board.

Camden's Remains, p. 453, 454.

M M.

CURIOUS FRAGMENT RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMY OF RICHARD III., AT MIDDLEHAM, PARTLY BEFORE, AND PARTLY AFTER HIS ACCESSION TO THE CROWN.

(See p. 367.)

"Middleham. —

"Warrant to th' auditor of Middelham to allowe Geaffry Franke, rec^{r} of the same, in his accompts the summe of ciiij^{xx}. xij^{li}. x^{s}. ; y^{l} is to wit, xxij^{s}. and ix^{d}. for grene cloth

for my lord prince, and M^{r}. Niguill, by him bought, xx^{d}. for making of gowns of the same cloth; xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. to the gild of Alveton, v^{s}. for chusing of the king of West Witton; vi^{s}. xj^{d}. for rushes; xxij^{s}. viij^{d}. to Augnes Coup, xj^{s}. for a cloth sak; xxiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. for a horse bought for Will Litell Scott; xxij^{s}. vij. to Seint Xp̄ofer Gild at York; v^{s}. for a fether to my lord prince; x^{ts}. for a foder of lede bought of th' abbot of Coverham; xxij^{s}. iij^{d}. for ye Lord Ric̄ costs from Middelham to Ponctfret; xlij^{s}. iiij^{d}. for the Lord Richard buriall; xiiij^{s}. j^{d}. to Dryk, shoemaker, for stuff for my Lord Prince; vi^{s}. viij^{d}. to ye Lord Richard's servants; vj^{s}. viij^{d}. for ye chusing of ye king of Middelham; xo^{s}. for my lord prince offering to o^{r} Lady of Gervaux, Coverham, and Wynsladale; xij^{s}. ix^{d}. for d̄ten stuff bought for M^{r}. Nevill; xo^{s}. ix^{d}. for stuff bought of Edward Pilkington; xx^{d}. for my lord prince offering at Gervaux; ij^{s}. vj^{d}. for offering at Founteins; iiij^{s}. offering at Pountfret; xlviij^{s}. ix^{d}. to Jane Colyns for offerings, and other stuff by her bought; xxj^{s}. vj^{d}. for th' expences of ye Lord Ric̄ servants and ye horse at Middleham; iiij^{li}. x^{s}. to Oliver Chambre, John Vachan, Ruke Metcalf, Anthony Patrick Dennys, John Marler, for other quarter wages at Midsomer; xxxij^{s}. iiij^{d}. to Henry Forest for his halff yere wages; xj^{d}. to yest for mending of my lords irrga; xij^{d}. to Martyn ye fool; xij^{d}. to Sheren by the way; xx^{d}. for my lords drynkyng at Kynghouses; viij^{d}. for trussing corde; viij^{d}. for a brydall bitt; xo^{s}. x^{d}. to Sir Thos Bromles for my lords alms; xiiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. for a prymmer for my lord; vij^{s}. x^{d}. for a black satan for covering of it, and of a sawter; ij^{s}. for my lord princes drynking at Kyppes; xxxvij^{li}. xvj^{s}. x^{d}. for the expences of my lord prince household, and ye Lord Ric̄ from Saint . . . . . to Midsomer day; xxxj^{li}. x^{d}. for th' expences of the same house from Midsomer day to ye ij^{de} daye of August; xxiij^{li}. xiij^{s}. v^{d}. for my saide lordes household from ye ij^{de} of Augst to ye xxij^{de} daye of ye saide moneth; l^{s}. l^{d}. for my said lordes household at Wedderby and Tadcastre; vj^{s}. viij^{d}. to Mettcalfe and Pacock for

running on foot by side my lord prince; c^{s}. to Jane Colyns for hir hole yeres wages, ending at Michelmasse; x^{li}. for coste of the houndes, and yeir wages y^{t} kepe them; vj^{li}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. for household wages; xliij^{s}. viij^{d}. for keping of Sonstewgh; xl^{s}. to Mičhel Warton for wark; v marcs for lying at London viij dayes and for coming with ye jewells from London; x^{li}. to ye Lyntone; xxiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. for the expences of my lord princes householde from York to Pountfret; x^{s}. for iii waynes from York to Pountfret; vj^{s}. v^{d}. for th' expences of my lord princes chariot from York to Pountfret; l^{li}. iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. to a wiff besides Doncastre by ye kings commaundement; ij^{s}. xj^{d}. for their bating ef ye chariot at York; vij^{s}. ij^{d}. for th' expences of my lord princes horse at York; xx^{s}. j^{d}. for bringing of stuff from Barnards Castel; v^{li}. vj^{s}. iiij^{d}. for iiij yerds of black velvet; iiij^{li}. x^{s}. to Oliver Chamber, John Vaghan, Ruke Metcalff, Patrick Dennys, John Marler, for three quarters wages from Midsomer to Michelmass; iij^{s}. vj^{d}. for fustyan bought of Thomas Fynche; vj^{li}. xiiij^{s}. for money paied to Sir Thomas Gower, by him laid out for th' expences of the Lord Ryvers.

"Yeven the xxi day of Sep^{br}, a^{o}. primo."

Harl. MSS., m. 8. 433. p. 118.

N N.

DOCUMENTS ESTABLISHING THE ANXIETY SHOWN BY KING EDWARD IV. FOR THE PERSONAL SAFETY AND COMFORT OF HIS BROTHER RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

(See p. 373.)

"To Master Hobbes, the king's physician and surgeon, sent by the king to the North, to attend upon the Duke of Gloucester, being in the king's service against the Scotch, with eight surgeons in his retinue, for one month's wages, 13*l.* 16*s.*

"To John Cleck, the king's apothecary, for divers medicines, syrup Alexandrines, bottles, electuaries, and other necessaries provided and delivered, by the king's command, to the Duke of Gloucester, of the king's gift, for his use in his expedition against the Scotch."

Issue Roll of the Exchequer, p. 501.

O O.

ENTRIES PRESERVED IN THE ISSUE ROLL OF THE EXCHEQUER SHEWING THE GREAT COST ATTENDING THE WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

(See p. 377.)

"ANNO 22d Edw. IV. (1482). To Sir John Elrington, knight, the king's treasurer-at-war, by the hands of Richard Duke of Gloucester; namely, for the wages of 1700 fighting men retained by the said duke to accompany him in the war against the Scotch: viz. from 11th August until the end of fourteen days then next following, 595*l.*

"To the keeper of the king's great wardrobe, for the purchase of divers stuffs and the making thereof, by the king's command, for the Duke of Albany, for the journey of the said duke, who accompanied the Duke of Gloucester in his expedition to the kingdom of Scotland, 50*l.*

"To Richard Duke of Gloucester, in money sent to him to pay the wages of divers fighting men, upon the Western Sea, proceeding against the Scotch, according to his discretion, 133*l.*

"To Richard Boteler, sent by the king to Berwick with 800*l.*, to be delivered to the treasurer-at-war, and in other matters concerning the preservation of that town, for the Duke of Gloucester and other nobility assembled there on the king's behalf, 12*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*

"To the Duke of Gloucester in full payment of 2000 marks, due from the king to him, &c., 164*l.* 15*s.*

"To Sir John Elrington, the treasurer-at-war, in part payment of the wages of 20,000 men-at-arms, going upon a certain expedition with the Duke of Gloucester against the Scotch, 4504*l.*

"To the same treasurer, as a reward given to divers soldiers, as well in the retinue of the Duke of Gloucester as in that of the Earl of Northumberland, for their expences in going from Berwick to their own homes, 350*l.*"

Issue Roll of the Exchequer, p. 501.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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