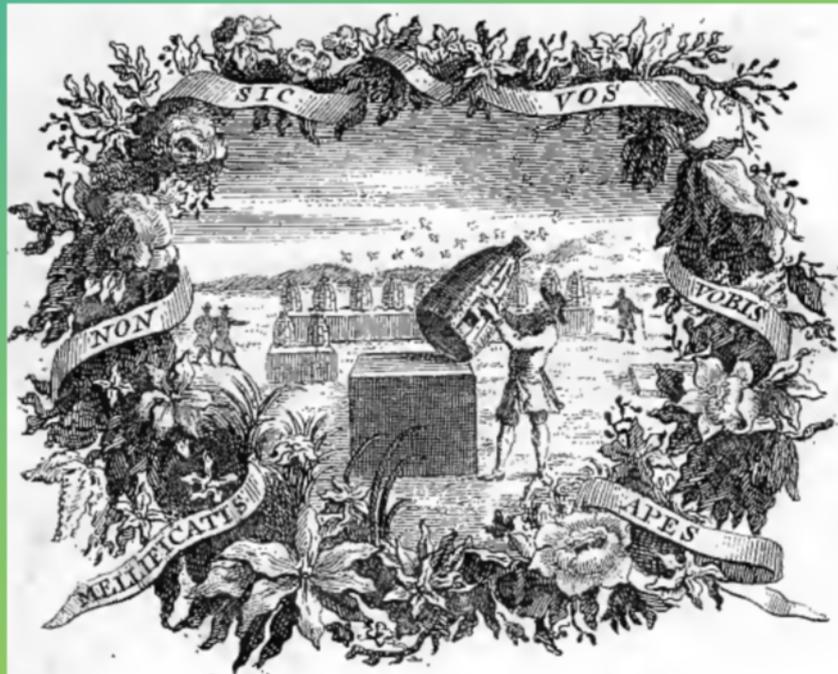


# Rapin's History of England



## Book 13

The reigns of the three kings of the House of York, Edward IV. Edward V. and Richard iii. containing the space of twenty-four years and a half.

**The History  
of  
England  
Written in French  
By  
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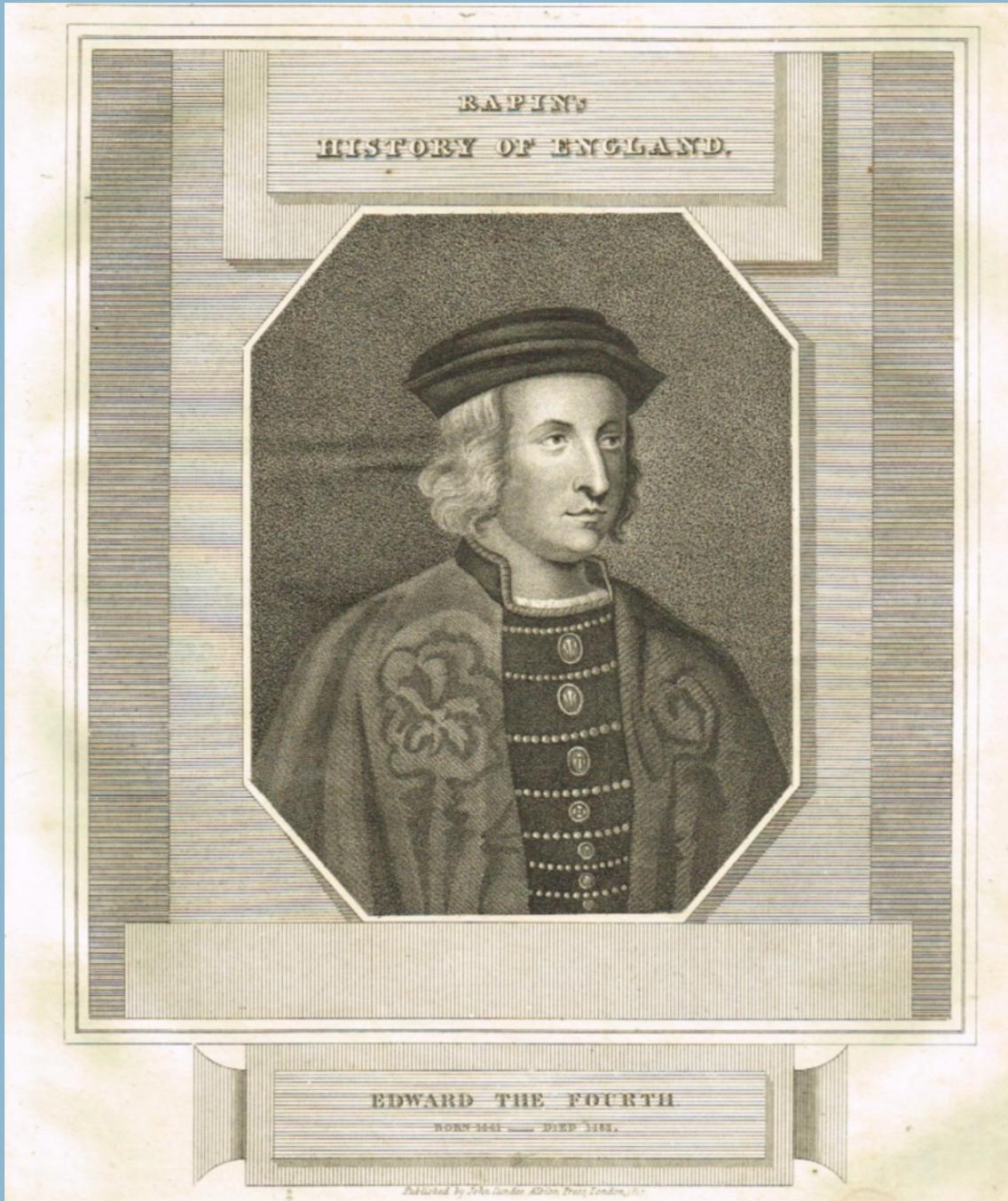
# Book Thirteen

## King Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III



**The Murder of The Sons of Edward IV**





**Edward The Fourth**  
**Born 1441 - Died 1483**



**Edward The Fifth**  
**Born 1470 - Died 1483**



**Richard The Third**  
**Born 1452 - Died 1485**



## BOOK XIII

### THE REIGNS OF THE THREE KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF YORK, EDWARD IV EDWARD V AND RICHARD III. CONTAINING THE SPACE OF TWENTY-FOUR YEARS AND A HALF

#### Chapter I EDWARD IV AD 1461



**EDWARD WAS PROCLAIMED THE 5<sup>TH</sup> OF MARCH, AND ON THE 12<sup>TH</sup> OR 13<sup>TH</sup> OF THE SAME MONTH,** he was obliged to put himself at the head of his army. Before his departure from London, a tradesman was executed, for saying, he would make his son heir of the crown[1]. Probably, he added some contemptuous words against the new King, and expressed too much zeal for the House of Lancaster.

Queen Margaret had acted with prudence, in not hazarding a battle at the gates of London, and in retiring among the northern people, who had hitherto appeared firmly attached to the House of Lancaster. They even gave her, upon this occasion, a sensible mark of their affection, by strengthening her army with whole bodies of fresh troops. This was done with such expedition, that in a few days the Queen saw herself at the head of sixty thousand men, in condition to await her enemy, or even to march against him. Though Edward had been proclaimed at London, he was very sensible, that that ceremony made no great addition to his right, considering how irregularly it was performed.

The nobles of his party, and the people of London, were not invested with power to give the kingdom a sovereign; therefore, he could not depend upon that extraordinary election, unless it was supported with force. Henry VI had reigned thirty-eight years, acknowledged for lawful King by all the English; and yet this right, which seemed so well established, had not been able to maintain itself against a superior strength.

It was, therefore, easy to see, that Edward's right, which had not great advantages, would subsist no longer than crowned with success. Matters standing thus, the two parties were once more to try the way of arms. Edward being young and lively, trusted to his courage and fortune. He was likewise excited to venture all, by the great men of his party, who having shewn so little regard for Henry, saw no safety but in victory. He departed therefore from London a few days after being proclaimed[2], and heading his army, marched towards the north, with a resolution to go in quest of Queen Margaret.

As soon as he was come to Pontefract, he detached the Lord Fitz-Walter, to secure the passage of Ferrisburgh, upon the river Aire, which was necessarily to be passed, in order to meet his enemies. Fitz-Walter succeeded according to the King's desires, and posted himself on the other side of the river with his detachment. In the meantime, Henry and his Queen, who were at York,

hearing that Edward was marching with all speed, readily concluded, it was to give them battle. This was what they themselves earnestly wished, since the gaining of a victory was the only means left for their restoration. They made therefore the Duke of Somerset general of their army, and waited at York the issue of a battle, which was to determine their fate.

The Duke of Somerset hearing Edward had secured the passage of Ferrisburgh, did not doubt that it was with intention to fight; and to oblige him to do it with disadvantage, he resolved to dislodge Fitz-Walter, in order to have the river between him and his enemies. Pursuant to this resolution, the Lord Clifford was detached to recover the post seized by Fitz-Walter. Whether Fitz-Walter was guilty of any neglect, or was not timely supported, he could not withstand Clifford's attack, who drove his troops over the river with great slaughter. Fitz-Walter and the Bastard of Salisbury[3], were slain in the action.

The Earl of Warwick, of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak towards the end of the late reign, was considered as the soul of Edward's army. The King was looked upon as a valiant young Prince, without experience, and the Earl of Warwick, as the real general. Accordingly, all eyes were fixed upon him, to see by his countenance whether there was reason to hope or fear. The news of Fitz-Walter's defeat being brought to the Earl, he seemed to be under great consternation, dreading that this first check would discourage the army.

He immediately posted to inform the King, with an emotion, that plainly discovered how apprehensive he was of the consequences. But withal, to show his fears were not personal, he stabbed his horse, and kissing the hilt of his sword, made like a cross, swore that though the whole army should take to flight, he would alone defend the King's cause.

Edward perceiving the Earl's concern, judged it necessary to prevent the ill effects it might produce among the troops. Instead, therefore, of being alarmed at the news, he made proclamation, that all who desired it, might depart: that he would reward those, that should do their duty; but there was no favour to be expected for those that should fly, during the battle. At the same time, he detached William Nevil, Lord Fauconbridge, to pass the Aere at Castleford, about three miles from Ferrisburgh, with orders to attack those who guarded the post lately lost.

Fauconbridge executed his orders, with such secrecy and expedition, that he passed the river at Castleford, before the enemy had the least notice. Then marching along the river, he met Clifford at the head of a body of horse, suddenly attacked him, and put him to rout. Clifford was slain with an arrow in the beginning of the fight, too light a punishment for his inhumanity to the young Earl of Rutland, brother of Edward, at the battle of Wakefield. With him was killed likewise, the Earl of Westmoreland's brother. The post of Ferrisburgh being thus fortunately recovered, Edward, who kept himself ready, passed his army over the river, and immediately marched in quest of his enemies.

The two armies met on Palm Sunday (March 29) between Saxton and Towton[4], where they drew up. Henry's army was sixty thousand strong, and Edward's about forty thousand[5]. The air was darkened by the snow, which fell very thick, and was blown by the wind in the faces of the Lancastrians. These last began the fight with a volley of arrows, which being discharged too far off, did no great execution[6].

Fauconbridge, who commanded the van of Edward's army[7], disdainful to fight at such a distance, ordered his men to lay by their bows and take to their swords. Whereupon, the armies approaching each other began a furious fight, wherein both sides seemed equally brave and resolute, to exert their utmost to gain the victory. The battle lasted from morning to night; and from thence, it may be judged, how obstinately it was fought on both sides. Edward signalled himself by an uncommon valour, which did not a little contribute to maintain his troops in their resolution of conquering or dying for his sake. At length, the Lancastrians began, towards the evening, to give ground, not flying, but retreating as they fought, and making a stand now and

then, so that their enemies could not be entirely sure of the victory. However, this advantage encouraging Edward's soldiers to make fresh efforts, they so pressed their enemies, that at last they forced them to fly. Then it was that a dreadful slaughter ensued.

Edward had, before the battle, made proclamation in his army, that no quarter should be given, well knowing, the taking of prisoners would but weaken his army. The flying troops shaped their course towards Tadcaster bridge, but despairing to reach it, because they were so hotly pursued by their enemies, they turned aside, in order to pass the Cock, which runs into the Wherf. This was done with such confusion and hurry, that the river was immediately full of those that were drowned, and who, in their misfortune, served for a bridge to their companions.

The slaughter is said to have been so great in this place, that the waters of the Wherf were all dyed with the blood. And indeed, it is not to be thought strange, since historians affirm, that no less than thirty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy six were killed in the battle. Among the dead, were found the Earls of Northumberland, and Westmoreland, the Lords Dacres, and Wells, Sir John Nevil, and Andrew Trollop. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter had the happiness to escape. Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire was taken. He was at first spared, notwithstanding the King's orders, but it was only to put him to a more inglorious death on the scaffold.

After this signal victory, Edward Marched directly to York, perhaps in expectation of finding Henry and Margaret. But as after the loss of the battle they could not hope for safety at York, they chose to retire to Berwick, and from thence fled for refuge to Edinburgh. Upon his arrival at York, Edward ordered the heads of the Duke his father, and the Earl of Salisbury, to be taken down, and those of the Earl of Devonshire and some others, beheaded at Pontefract[8], to be set up in their room.

He stayed some time at York, to take measures for the defence of the borders, in case the Scots should think of making an incursion. But as he perceived, though they had such a design, they were not yet ready to execute it, he believed there would be no great danger in returning to London, where he arrived the 8th of June.

All appearing quiet in England since the victory of Towton, Edward would no longer defer his coronation, which was fixed to the 29th of June. Whilst the preparations were making, he considered how to guard against Scotland, whence he foresaw the fugitive King and Queen might have assistance. For that purpose, he sought means to find the Scots employment, that should hinder them from meddling with their neighbours' affairs.

To this he was likewise induced by the solicitations of the Earl' of Douglas, who had taken refuge in England several years since. But for the better understanding how matters then stood between England and Scotland, it will be necessary briefly to relate the then situation of that kingdom.

Scotland had been for some time rent with dangerous factions, which began with the reign of James II. That Prince not being above seven years old when the King his father was murdered, Archibald Douglas pretended to the regency, but the states not thinking proper to trust so powerful a person with the administration of affairs, made Alexander Levingston Regent, and William Creighton Chancellor. These two Barons immediately formed two parties, which would have divided all Scotland, if the Earl of Douglas had not had a third, which balanced the two first.

The Earl dying about two years after, William his son succeeded him, who still more haughty and impetuous than his father, raised great disturbances in the kingdom. Sworn enemy of the Regent and chancellor, he shewed in all his proceedings that he was labouring the destruction of both, in order to establish himself upon their ruins. This obliged them for their interest, to unite against their common enemy. Some time after, they found means to draw him to the assembly of the states, upon the assurance of a safe conduct, notwithstanding which, they caused

his head to be struck off. Beatrix his daughter inherited his estate, and James his brother his title. But James died two years after, leaving William his son head of that powerful family.

William was no less proud and ambitious than his predecessors. He so well gained the young King's confidence, who began to look into his affairs, that he became his prime minister and favourite. Then he saw his credit sufficiently established, he attacked the two heads of the opposite factions, and forced Levingston to retire from court. He met with stronger opposition from Creighton. But however this be, he so abused his power, and acted so arbitrarily, that he put people to death, not only by his own authority, but even contrary to the King's will.

In short, James II, blinded by his affection for the Earl, was not content, with forgiving all his excess, but moreover, made him his lieutenant general of the whole kingdom. Probably, this high promotion inspired the Earl of Douglas with two ambitious projects. Without saying anything to the King, he took a journey into England, where it was known he privately conferred with Henry VI's ministers. This proceeding gave his enemies, what they had long sought, an opportunity to ruin him in the King's favour.

They instilled into him so many suspicions and fears, that in order to hinder the Earl from executing his pretended designs, he removed him from all his posts, not daring perhaps to attempt to punish him more rigorously. At the same time he gave the administration of affairs to the Earl of the Orcades, mortal enemy of Douglas, and restored the seals to William Creighton.

The Earl, enraged to see his enemies triumph, formed a league against them, and brought the kingdom to the very brink of destruction. In a word he committed so many outrages and violence, that the King, justly provoked with him, resolved to be freed from a subject who created him so much uneasiness. But as he was sensible he could not openly execute this design, he had recourse to policy.

By means of some of his friends, he put him in hopes of being restored to favour upon the same footing as before. Then sending for him to court, upon a safe conduct signed with his own hand he carried him alone into his closet, and stabbed him with a dagger: This deed, though violent and irregular, was approved by the states, who, at the same time, declared James, brother and heir of the deceased, with the rest of his brothers, enemies of their country.

James, the new Earl of Douglas, thinking only of revenging his brother's death, and supporting the credit of his family, raised a civil war in the kingdom. During which, the King besieging one of his places, Douglas was preparing to relieve it, but was suddenly forsaken by all his friends, and forced to fly for refuge into England. Some time after, he entered the county of Anandale with some troops, and being defeated, was once more forced to fly his country. George, Earl of Ormond, one of his brothers, was taken and beheaded.

These misfortunes were not capable of discouraging the rebellious Earl. He gained the Earl of Ross Lord of the Isles, Donald his brother, and the rest of that family, and persuaded them to take arms against the King. Then they entered together the county of Marche, and ravaged it from one end to the other. But when Douglas was preparing to pursue his progress, the Earl of Ross repenting of his fault, deserted him, and went and cast himself upon the King's mercy. The King gave him hopes of a pardon, on condition he would merit it by his services. Douglas unwilling to follow this example, once more retired into England.

These commotions being appeased by the Earl of Ross's submission, and Douglas's retreat, James II at the Duke of York's solicitation, besieged Roxborough. The Earl of Ross, willing to render himself worthy of the King's pardon, came and offered him his service with a body of chosen troops. James, as was before said, was unfortunately killed at this siege, and left James III his son, about seven years old, for his successor.

The death of James II. and the tender years of the new King, revived the Earl of Douglas's hopes but as he could not then expect any assistance from England, by reason of the civil war which raged in that kingdom, he was obliged to wait till affairs were in another situation. He believed that the favourable juncture, which he expected, was at length come, after Edward's victory at Towton.

Applying himself therefore to that Prince, who seemed firmly settled on the throne, he intimated to him, that by means of his friends in Scotland, it would be very easy for the English to conquer that kingdom. Edward had no inclination, in his present circumstances, to undertake so difficult a task. However, to find the Scots employment, and hinder them from assisting Henry, he embraced the opportunity offered him by the Earl of Douglas, in hopes of kindling a civil war in Scotland. So, Douglas, assuring him, that the Earl of Ross, Donald his brother, and Donald's son, were disposed to rise against the King of Scotland, he gave him a full power to treat with them.

Whilst Douglas was negotiating this affair with the Earl of Ross, Edward was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnities.

Though Queen Margaret was out of the kingdom, she gave the new King great uneasiness. He was justly apprehensive, the succours of the Scots would enable her to make a fresh attempt upon his crown. So, in order to obstruct her designs, he proposed a truce to the Regents of Scotland. That kingdom was then divided into two parties, formed on the account of the regency.

Mary de Gelders, the King's mother, was at the head of the first, and the Earl of Angus, of the second. They both claimed the regency, but the states, to, disoblige neither, nominated two Regents of each party, and petitioned the Queen, to be contented with the care of her children's education, Thus the two factions still subsisted, because it was not possible to satisfy both.

The affairs of Scotland being in this situation, when Edward proposed the truce, the Regents resolved to consent to it, and even sent ambassadors to treat with him. But Queen Margaret, who was then at Edinburgh; perceiving how prejudicial this truce would be to her, found means to break Edward's measures, by surrendering Berwick to the Scots, and concluding a marriage between Prince: Edward her son, and Margaret sister of King James. Whereupon the negotiation of the truce was entirely broken off.

Whilst Margaret was employed in gaining the Scots to her interest, Edward called a Parliament at Westminster, to confirm the resolution, which had placed him on the throne. It is easy to conceive, that in such a juncture, the Parliament did not want much solicitation, to confirm whatever had been done in favour of Edward. How irregular soever his election might be, he was victorious; that was sufficient to hinder any person from venturing to dispute his right.

The Parliament accordingly approved of Edward's coronation, confirmed his title, and repealed all the acts made in the late reign, against the House of York. Henry VI, after a thirty-eight years reign, was deemed an usurper, and all he had done, whilst on the throne, annulled, as wanting a lawful authority, and as being of no force, till confirmed by the new Parliament[9].

During this session of Parliament, the King created George his eldest brother, Duke of Clarence, and Richard his younger brother, Duke of Gloucester. The Lord Fauconbridge was made Earl of Kent. Henry Bourchier, the King's uncle by the mother's side[10], was honoured with the title of Earl of Essex, and John Nevil, the Earl of Warwick's brother, was made Lord Montague.

Though the Earl of Devonshire, and some others, had been beheaded at York, these victims seemed not sufficient to atone for the blood of the friends of the House of York, shed by the Queen on the scaffold. To the King's policy, fear, or resentment, were likewise to be sacrificed John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Auberry his eldest son, who were publicly beheaded.

After Edward had thus settled his domestic, he seriously thought of the foreign affairs. The kingdom was actually in war with France, Scotland, Bretagne, and the Low-Countries. There was equal danger from all these quarters. If these states had all joined against him, it would have been very difficult for Edward to withstand their forces, considering his present situation, and little dependence upon the assistance of his subjects. Happily for him, France had a new King who never thought of conquering England.

Lewis XI. was wholly intent upon the project of rendering himself absolute in his own kingdom, and humbling the great men, among whom the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne were the principal. The Duke of Bretagne took care not to stir alone in a war against Edward, which could not but be to him, upon all accounts, very prejudicial. As for the Duke of Burgundy, the same reasons that made him desirous of a truce with England, still subsisted. He accordingly sent ambassadors to congratulate Edward upon his accession to the crown, and withal, to demand satisfaction for certain outrages, committed by the English contrary to the truce. Edward gladly answered the Duke of Burgundy's advances, and immediately appointed commissioners, to examine the breaches of the truce complained of by that Prince.

There was only Scotland left which could create the King any uneasiness. He knew, Margaret had delivered Berwick to the Scots, and contracted the Prince her son to King James's sister. He could not therefore question but that she expected the assistance of that kingdom. Meanwhile, the Queen having settled her affairs in Scotland, had left there the King her husband with the Prince her son, and was gone into France.

The design of this journey was to desire aid of Lewis XI. But he was not of a character to engage in an enterprise which he did not perceive to be very advantageous. He gave, however, the fugitive Princess, as being his near relation, hopes of assistance. But being unwilling to break entirely with Edward, he was contented with making proclamation, that all the friends of the House of Lancaster should be well received in his dominions, and the adherents of the House of York not admitted[11].

**A. D. 1462.]** Edward did not doubt that Margaret would contrive some fresh enterprise; he therefore entered into a treaty with the Earl of Ross, in the hope of exciting such domestic commotions in Scotland, as would render it impracticable for that kingdom, to give him any serious uneasiness, by supporting the cause of Margaret. The rest of the year 1462 was quiet enough, the storm. which was gathering, not being yet ready to break.

The Duke of Exeter who had married Edward's sister, having followed Henry into Scotland, the King gave the confiscation of his estate to his Duchess, who chose rather to remain with the King her brother, than follow the fortune of her husband.

The Lord Fauconbridge, a zealous friend of the House of York, who was created in Parliament, Earl of Kent, was made High Admiral of England about the end of this year.

All being quiet in the kingdom, and no appearance of any fresh attempt against Edward, the Duke of Somerset, and Ralph Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's brother, came and threw themselves upon the King's mercy, who generously granted them a pardon. About the end of this year, the truce of commerce between England, and the Duke of Burgundy's dominions, was prolonged for a twelvemonth.

Meanwhile, Queen Margaret having obtained of the King of France, an aid of five hundred men, with the promise of a greater; embarked to make a descent into England. As she hoped, the inhabitants of the northern counties would take arms in her favour, she landed at the mouth of the Tyne. But she found there a body of English troops, who forced her to re-embark with precipitation. A few hours after her ship being separated from the rest of the fleet by a storm, it was with great difficulty that, having entered the Tweed, she at last landed at Berwick.

The rest of the ships were driven towards Bamborough, where the French would have landed; but the Bastard Ogle, who was in those parts, having hindered their descent, they retired to the little Isle of Lindisfarn; for the weather would not suffer them to put to sea. Thither Ogle followed them, and attacking them slew part, and took four hundred prisoners. Their leader Peter de Bresé, was the only person, that found means to escape in a fisher boat to Berwick.

Edward, upon receiving this news, easily perceived that Margaret was secure of the assistance of the Scots, and would soon march into England. This fear causing him seriously to attend his affairs, he dispatched the Lord Montague, with such troops as were ready, whilst he hastened a great armament, which he was making by sea and land, to oppose his enemy.

Montague having begun his march, heard upon the road, that the Queen had entered Northumberland at the head of an army, which daily increased, by reason of the great licence the soldiers were allowed[12]. He advanced, however, as far as Durham, where he staid some days expecting a reinforcement, sent by the King. These supplies being arrived, he continued his march, and meeting a detachment of the enemies[13], commanded by the Lords Hungerford and Ross, attacked and put them to rout. Ralph Percy, who served Henry, though he had taken the oath to Edward, was slain in this action. The Duke of Somerset, making no more scruple than Percy, of breaking his oath, had likewise gone to join the Queen.

Montague, encouraged with this success, marched immediately to Hexham, where Henry lay entrenched, and attacking him in his lines, without giving him time to recover himself, gained a complete victory. The Duke of Somerset, the Lords Ross and Hungerford, and others, were taken prisoners; but Henry, Margaret, and the Prince their son, fled into Scotland. Some days after, the Duke of Somerset was beheaded at Hexham. Ross, and Hungerford, elsewhere; and twenty officers of distinction at York. Many others, who had concealed themselves in several places, being discovered, or given up to the conqueror, were likewise sacrificed to his vengeance.

After this victory, Edward, who had advanced to Durham, sent the Earl of Warwick farther northwards, to recover some places taken by the Queen; after which, he returned to London. The Earl of Warwick having nothing to fear after his brother's victory, divided his army into three bodies, and besieged at once Bamborough, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick. The two first of these places were easily taken, and the commanding officers punished. Alnwick, where a Frenchman commanded with some troops of his nation, held out till the Earl of Angus came to its relief with a body of Scotch troops. But the Earl could do no more than draw out the garrison, probably by a treaty with the besiegers.

Edward being arrived at London, ordered two patents to be drawn under the Great Seal, to reward the Lord Montague and Sir William Herbert, with the dignity he conferred on them. The first had done him a great service in his two late victories. The other had all along distinguished himself by an extraordinary zeal for the House of York. So, being pleased to give them both marks of his gratitude, he created the former Earl of Northumberland, and the latter Earl of Pembroke; Henry Percy, and Jasper Tudor, who bore these titles, having forfeited them by adhering to King Henry. But Percy submitting afterwards to the King, and obtaining his pardon, Montague willingly resigned him the title of Earl of Northumberland, for that of Marquis of Montague.

Whilst Edward was enjoying the tranquillity procured by the late victory, he received advice that preparations were making in France, to support the interests of Henry and Margaret. Whereupon he resolved to send for the Earl of Warwick[14], and leave the Marquis of Montague in the north, with a patent of Governor of the Northern marches, and a power to levy what troops he thought necessary. He did not doubt, that his enemies had resolved to make their greatest efforts from that quarter, by reason of the neighbourhood of Scotland. These precautions, joined to his late victory, probably cooled the ardour of the French and the Scots. Soon after the Scots demanded a safe conduct for ambassadors they intended to send to him. At the same time, Lewis XI.

negotiated a truce with him, by the Duke of Burgundy's mediation. This truce was actually concluded at St. Omer, to the 1st of October, 1464, on the condition, that neither of the two King's should assist the enemies of the other. The Duke of Burgundy agreed likewise to renew, for one year, the truce of commerce between England and the Low-Countries.

After Edward had thus secured himself against France, he concluded with Scotland a truce for a year, negotiated by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's at London, in the name of the Regents.

The unfortunate Henry, deserted by the King of France, the King of Scotland, and the Duke of Burgundy; who alone, were able to assist him, now saw himself entirely without refuge. He was still at Edinburgh, but not without uneasiness. Besides that the late truce between the English and Scots, did not allow these last to give him any assistance; it is probable that Edward had stipulated, that his enemy should not be suffered to remain any longer in Scotland. Be this as it will, Henry not knowing where to retire, preposterously imagined he might be concealed in England.

However, he had no sooner set foot in England but he was known, seized[15], ignominiously conducted to London[16], and confined in the Tower. An adventure which befell Margaret, as related by Monstrelet, makes it thought, she had likewise resolved to hide herself in England, in expectation of an opportunity to embark, not daring to trust the Scots any longer; and, the better to accomplish her design, had parted from the King her husband.

Monstrelet says, Margaret being in England with the Prince her son, attended with La Verenne a French Lord, fell into the hands of robbers who would have killed her, if a sudden quarrel amongst them, had not afforded her an opportunity to escape into a wood with the Prince. He adds, that afterwards she found means to embark for Sluice in Flanders. where the Duke of Burgundy gave her an honourable reception[17].

If this adventure be true, it must have happened at the time we are now speaking of. However that be, after her departure from Scotland, she retired to Rene of Anjou her father, with the Prince her son. Edmund, the new Duke of Somerset, brother of him beheaded at Hexham, with the Duke of Exeter, fled for refuge into the Low-Countries, where however they durst not make themselves known, for fear of being delivered to Edward.

They endured in Flanders all that a wretched exile, attended with extreme want, was capable of bringing upon persons of their character. Philip de Commines says, he saw the Duke of Exeter, before he was known, following barefoot the Duke of Burgundy's equipage, and serving probably as footman for his livelihood. But these two Lords being at length known, the Duke gave them a mean pension for their subsistence, not daring perhaps to carry his generosity any farther, for fear of offending Edward.

**A. D. 1464.]** Edward having King Henry in his power, and Queen Margaret being retired to the Duke her father, there was no person capable of raising commotions in the kingdom. Then it was, that after offering in vain a pardon to all the Lancastrians, that would make their submission and swear allegiance by such a time, he confiscated their estates, and liberally bestowed them upon those that had served him.

During this calm, which promised to be lasting, the King's chief counsellors pressed him to think of marring, in order to leave the crown to his posterity. He took their advice, and three matches were proposed. The first was Margaret sister of the King of Scotland. But besides that this Princess was already affianced to Henry's son, she was so young, the marriage could not have been consummated many years. The second was Isabella of Castille, afterwards married to Ferdinand of Aragon: she also was rejected by reason of her being too young. Bona of Savoy, sister of the king of France, was the third. Edward resolved upon this last, and shortly after, sent

the Earl of Warwick to demand her in marriage: She was then at the court of France with the Queen her sister.

Lewis XI a Prince of a turbulent and restless spirit, was no sooner on the throne of France, but he formed the design of rendering himself absolute. To execute this grand design, the overgrown power of the Peers was first to be humbled, among whom the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne were the most considerable. They not only upheld each other, but were a support to the rest.

The first held Burgundy and Flanders, the only two ancient lay peerdoms which still remained to be united to the crown. This Prince, who was moreover Sovereign of almost all the Low-Countries, was so powerful, that to attack him first would have been very imprudent. So it was with the Duke of Bretagne that Lewis resolved to begin the execution of his projects. An old quarrel about homage afforded him a pretence. Ever since Peter, surnamed Mauclerc, had done homage to St. Lewis, the nature of that homage had been a continual subject of disputes between the Kings of France and the Dukes of Bretagne. The Kings pretended it was liege or full, and the Dukes affirmed, it was not.

Lewis XI had taken his resolution the moment he was seated in the throne, and it may be, before the death of the King his father; but it was not till 1464, that he began to execute it. Having first ordered some troops into Anjou, he sent the chancellor de Morvilliers to the Duke of Bretagne, to forbid him in his name to assume any right of Sovereignty in his dukedom. Francis II. finding himself unprepared for his defence, had recourse to artifice, and demanded three months delay to consult his states. This term being granted him, he made use of it to cabal in France among the great men, and to form against Lewis a powerful league, called The Great League of the Public Good.

At the very time Lewis thought of attacking the Duke of Bretagne, Edward sent the Earl of Warwick to demand Bona of Savoy his sister-in-law in marriage, This proposal could not, but be very agreeable to him, since he desired nothing more ardently than to make an alliance with the King of England, in order to prevent his interposing in his future quarrels with the great men of the kingdom. But before the conclusion of the marriage, he was willing to be sure of reaping this benefit by it.

To that end, he caused the affair of the marriage to be a little prolonged, whilst he negotiated at London, and with the Earl of Warwick at Paris, a treaty of personal amity between him and Edward. Lewis's designs were still more extensive. In order to deprive the Duke of Bretagne of all protection, he would have drawn the Duke of Burgundy into his intended alliance with England, and for that purpose agreed with Edward and Philip upon a congress of ambassadors at Hesdin, which was afterwards removed to St. Omer. He managed his affairs at London by the Lord Launoy Governor of Amiens, sent thither towards the end of the last year. But all these negotiations ended only in the conclusion of a sea truce, to last as long as that before made for the land[18].

Whilst these things were in agitation, Edward concluded with Scotland a fifteen years truce.

This affair being ended, Edward offered to all that had taken arms against him, an absolute pardon, excepting one Ralph Grey and Humphrey Nevil. Grey having been taken in Bamborough, where he commanded for Henry, had been degraded[19]. Shortly after, the King issued out a proclamation, commanding all his subjects from sixteen to sixty years of age to take arms.

In August this year, Edward received ambassadors from the Duke of Bretagne, who came to negotiate a truce. As the Duke then found himself pressed by the King of France, and was labouring to form the league of the public good, he was glad to secure himself against England. He obtained from Edward a truce for one year, beginning the 1st of October.

About the same time the see of York becoming vacant, George Nevil, brother of the Earl of Warwick, was promoted to it by the King's recommendation.

**A. D. 1405]** Meanwhile the Earl of Warwick, who was still at the court of France, having pressed Lewis upon the principal occasion of his embassy, Edward's marriage with Bona of Savoy was at length concluded and agreed. Presently after, Lewis appointed the Earl of Dammartin for his ambassador to Edward, to settle with him what still remained to be done in the affair; but all these projects were demolished by love.

Whilst the Earl of Warwick was hastening in France, with all his power, the conclusion of his negotiation, Edward by mere accident, rendered it useless in England. This Prince being in Northamptonshire near the manor of Grafton[20], had a mind to visit Jaqueline of Luxemburg, Duchess of Bedford, who had married Sir Richard Woodville. By him she had, among other children, a daughter called Elizabeth, who had been wife to Sir John Grey, of Groby, and upon his death was retired to her father's.

She had the affliction to see her husband's estate confiscated, on account of his attachment to the interest of the House of Lancaster, in whose service he had lost his life. The King's visit appearing to this young lady to be a favourable opportunity, she came and threw herself at his feet, imploring the restitution of her deceased husband's lands, and his pity upon her children. Edward, who was young and amorous, no sooner saw the charming widow at his feet, but he fell desperately in love with her. He immediately gave her hopes as he raised her from the ground, that he would grant her request, and even intimated, it was not in his power to refuse her any thing.

Afterwards, in his private conversation with her, he would fain have persuaded her to purchase the favour at a very high rate. All the historians agree, he was the handsomest man in England, and the most proper to make conquests on the fair sex. As he knew this, he did not question to gain this lady's heart, with the same ease which he had done many others. But she plainly told him, though she thought herself unworthy to be a queen, she was above being a concubine.

This declaration, which showed such great virtue in Elizabeth, made such impression on the King, that despairing to attain his ends any other way, he offered her marriage. A heart like Edward's, with a crown, could hardly be refused. The young lady, agreeably surprised at so advantageous a proposal, accepted it immediately in so respectful and grateful a manner, as completed the conquest of this monarch's heart. However, as he was unwilling to disoblige the Duchess of York his mother, he could not think of proceeding any farther without acquainting her with his intention.

The Duchess, surprised at this hasty resolution, used all her endeavours to dissuade him from it. She represented to him the injury he would do the Earl of Warwick, to whom he was so much obliged, and who, it was to be feared, would highly resent it: that by the affront he was going to put upon the King of France, he would make him his mortal enemy, and render a peace impracticable: that the nobles of England would behold with envy, the Woodville family raised so high above them, and their discontent might be attended with fatal consequences.

In a word, he was going to marry a woman with nothing, his subject, and who had children by another husband. Edward briefly replied, it was uncertain whether the Earl of Warwick would consider his change as an injury; but, as for him, he was sure of his affection: that the King of France was like to have affairs upon his hands, that would probably divert him from thinking of revenge: that a King's marrying a subject, instead of offending the great men, would rather be agreeable to them, since for the future all the noble families might aspire to the same honour.

Lastly, that a dower ought to be of no consideration in a King's marriage; and whatever else he could expect, would be supplied by his love and her virtue, whom he chose for his wife. The

Duchess perceiving the King was not persuaded by her arguments, added another, and, as she thought, a much stronger, reason. She remonstrated to him, that he was contracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, and could not in conscience take another wife. Edward positively denied, he was engaged to that lady. Nevertheless, for his mother's satisfaction, or for fear this pretended contract might one day furnish a pretence to dispute the validity of his marriage, he consented that Elizabeth Lucy should be examined by some Bishops.

Upon her examination, she confessed, the King had not made her a positive promise: but she said however, she should never have yielded to his desires, had she not been persuaded of his intention to marry her. This answer showing, there was no absolute promise on the King's part, the Bishops were of opinion that the King might with a safe conscience marry another. Accordingly, Edward espoused Elizabeth Woodville in the presence of a few persons at Grafton, so that his marriage was divulged only by the orders given to prepare for the new Queen's coronation.[21]

The nobles and people were extremely surprised to see the King married to one of his subjects, when he was negotiating his marriage at the court of France with the Princess of Savoy; nay, when this marriage was already concluded. Sir Richard Woodville the Queen's father was immediately raised to the dignity of Earl of Rivers, and his son Anthony Woodville, married to the only daughter of the Lord Scales, the greatest heiress in the kingdom[22].

This created great envy in the nobles, particularly in the Duke of Clarence, who could not forbear being angry that the King his brother should not think of procuring him so rich a match. But this was nothing in comparison of the Earl of Warwick's indignation for being thus mocked. He thought the King should have had more respect for him, than to use him so dishonourably. In this belief, he expressed his resentment to the King of France, who did not fail to inflame it to the utmost of his power.

Lewis himself could not but look upon Edward's proceedings as a deadly affront. But his affairs not permitting him to demand immediate satisfaction, he concealed his resentment, till he had a favourable opportunity to shew it. As for the Earl of Warwick, he left the court of France, and returned into England, with a heart full of hatred and revenge against Edward, whose ingratitude he abhorred. He took care however to conceal his sentiments, because it was not yet time to discover them; but his very dissimulation showed the King he was extremely disgusted.

In this belief, Edward himself began to consider him as a secret enemy, though he still gave him some slight marks of his confidence. Thus amidst the disguises of the King and the Earl, a mutual hatred was nourished, which induced the King to give him several mortifications, as well to gratify his passion, as to lessen the Earl's credit with the people. As he could not believe that he who had by his interest raised him to the throne, might likewise have it in his power to pull him down, he was not careful to show him any regard. Warwick plainly perceived the King's aim, but wisely dissembled, for fear an unseasonable resentment might oblige Edward to disable him to be revenged.

The rest of the year 1465 was spent in sundry negotiations with the King of France, the Duke of Burgundy, the Earl of Charolois, and the Duke of Bretagne.

Lewis XI. had begun to execute his project, by assembling an army in Anjou, ready to fall upon Bretagne and which only waited till the delay granted the Duke was expired. As for the Duke of Burgundy, Lewis had not thought proper to proceed so haughtily with him. He was too powerful a Prince to hope to succeed by attacking him openly; but he made use of a secret expedition, which partly procured him what would have been with great difficulty obtained by way of arms. He bribed the Lords of Croy and Clumay, brothers, Prime Ministers and confidants of the Duke, who persuaded their master to deliver to the crown of France, the towns on the Somme, for four hundred thousand crowns, pursuant to the treaty of Arras. Charles Earl of Charolois, only son

of the Duke of Burgundy, considered this restitution as a mortal wound to him and his house. He believed, the Duke his father should at any rate have kept those places, which rendered him more formidable to France than all the rest of his dominions.

He was so angry with the ministers, that he openly threatened to punish them one day for their pernicious advice to his father. This affair created between the father and son a quarrel, which the favourites took care to foment; so that the Earl at last in great discontent retired into Holland. He pretended, it was not safe for him to be any longer at court; that the favourites had counselled his father to apprehend him, and even bribed people to poison him.

Whilst the Earl of Charolois was in Holland, Lewis XI. sent thither privately the Bastard of Rubempré, in a vessel fitted out at Dieppe, with some chosen soldiers, who, without knowing where they were going, had orders to obey Rubempré's commands. The bastard landing with four of these soldiers, was known and discovered to the Earl of Charolois, who immediately caused him to be seized.

Some say, there was found upon him an order under the King's own hand to apprehend the Earl, and bring him away dead or alive. In the mean time, Lewis was upon the Somme, with a considerable army drawn together upon some pretence. He had appointed the Duke of Burgundy to meet him, on purpose, as it was afterwards reported, to seize his person as soon as he knew the success of Rubempré's plot. But the Earl of Charolois sending speedy notice to his father of what he had discovered, the Duke immediately rode away from Hesdin, where he was now come.

This greatly increased the Earl of Charolois's hatred to Lewis. He every where proclaimed, that the King of France designed to assassinate, or carry him away by force, and the report immediately flew all over Flanders.

Lewis easily perceived, his honour could not but be concerned in this affair, especially if the Bastard of Rubempré, whose trial was preparing in Holland, should be convicted of the fact laid to his charge. So, to prevent this trial, he sent the Chancellor de Morvilliers with some other ambassadors to the Duke of Burgundy, to require him to deliver the prisoners into his hands. The Earl of Charolois being present at the audience, the Chancellor spoke very haughtily to the Duke, and even used offensive expressions against the Earl his son.

The Earl would have frequently replied; but the Chancellor still interrupted him, with saying he was sent to his father, and not to him. The Duke of Burgundy's answer was, that being Sovereign in Holland, without any dependence on France, he would cause the prisoner to be tried, and either punished or acquitted, according as he should be found guilty or innocent. When the ambassadors of France took their leave of the Duke; the Earl of Charolois taking one of them aside, said to him: "The King your master has been very severe upon me by his Chancellor, but he shall repent it before a year is at an end." And was indeed, he was as good as his word.

This passed in the year 1464, whilst the Duke of Bretagne, to defend himself against Lewis, was labouring to form the League of the Public Good abovementioned. The Earl of Charolois was one of the first to come into it, and had obtained his father's permission to raise troops and join the Duke of Bretagne, with almost all the great men of France, who were to be near Paris in June 1465. When the Duke of Bretagne saw himself secure of a powerful assistance, he sent ambassadors to the King, under colour of desiring a longer delay, but in reality to corrupt the Duke of Berry his brother.

They succeeded so well, that they brought the Duke with them into Bretagne. As soon as he was out of the King's power, the confederates declared him head of the league, and every one went and prepared to be at the rendezvous. The Duke of Bourbon was the first that ventured to take arms, with design to draw the King into his country, at a distance from Paris. Lewis, who had yet no intelligence of the league, marched immediately towards Bourbonnois. But quickly after

he received advice, that the Earl of Charolois, at the head of a powerful army, was approaching Paris, and the Duke of Bretagne with the rest of the confederates were preparing to join him. Upon this news, he speedily left Bourbonnois, to save his metropolis.

In the mean time, the Earl of Charolois attempted to become master of it, but as he saw no appearance of success, went and encamped at Montlhery, expecting the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne. Meanwhile, the King, who was advancing with great marches, being come near Montlhery, the two armies met and joined battle. The success was so doubtful, that both sides claimed the advantage. But as the King decamped in the night, to throw himself into Paris, he gave occasion to his enemies to say, he owned his defeat.

Some days after, the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne joined the Burgundians. But the King had now so well provided for the defence of his capital, that it was impossible for the confederates to take it. At length, the war ended in a treaty signed at Conflans the 30<sup>th</sup> of October. Lewis restored to the Duke of Burgundy the towns upon the Somme, for which he had paid four hundred thousand crowns, and gave Normandy in appenage to the Duke of Berry his brother.

After the signing of the treaty, the Earl of Charolois retired into the Low-Countries, and the Duke of Berry, accompanied by the Duke of Bretagne, went and took possession of Normandy. But a few days after, the Duke of Bretagne quarrelling with the Duke of Berry, returned into his dominions. Then Lewis taking advantage of this dissension, marched, without loss of time, into Normandy, expelled his brother, and forced him once more to take refuge in Bretagne, where, notwithstanding their former quarrel, he was civilly received by the Duke.

Whilst the French Princes were employed in preparations for the war of the Public Good, they had not neglected the King of England. The Duke of Bretagne, and the Earl of Charolois had their ambassadors in London, and the Earl offered to make with Edward a treaty of alliance and friendship. Lewis XI. Himself, though very angry with him, did not fail to court him. But Edward willing, no doubt, to be better informed of his affairs, avoided coming to any agreement.

He proceeded otherwise with regard to the King of Scotland, with whom, after a long negotiation, he concluded at Newcastle a treaty, whereby the late truce was prolonged for forty years, till 1519.

In the beginning of the year 1466, the Queen was delivered of a Princess, called Elizabeth, who afterwards became the happy instrument to bring peace to England, after a long civil war. Edward having greatly affronted Lewis XI considered him as a secret enemy, who would not miss an opportunity to be revenged. He behaved however with great caution, during the war of the public good, for fear of affording him fresh cause to support the House of Lancaster; in case he subdued the confederate Princes.

The same reason induced him to hearken to the proposals of the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne; but he had taken care to conclude nothing, either with them or the King of France. It was not however for the interest of England, to suffer the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne to be ruined, which, as it evidently appeared was Lewis's grand design. Wherefore, October the 23<sup>rd</sup>, Edward signed a treaty of personal alliance, amity, and friendship with the Earl of Charolois. A few days after, he sent a safe-conduct to Lewis of Bruges Lord of Gruthuyse, appointed by the Duke of Burgundy to treat with him of a perpetual peace, and settle the articles of the marriage of the Earl of Charolois, with the Princess Margaret.

All this seemed to tend to a league between Edward and the Duke of Burgundy, for the Duke of Bretagne's defence, who was vigorously pressed. Since the Duke of Berry had been expelled out of Normandy, the Duke of Bretagne had undertaken to support him, and cause the treaty of Conflans to be executed. This was projected by him and the Earl of Charolois, who promised to make a powerful diversion in Picardy. But unhappily for the Duke of Bretagne, the Duke of

Burgundy was engaged in a war with the Liegeois, which hindered the Earl of Charolois from performing his promise. Meanwhile, Lewis XI. improving this juncture, pressed the Duke of Bretagne extremely, who being unable to withstand him alone, gave him hopes he would comply with his will. But this was only to gain time, till the Duke of Burgundy was ready. At length the war with Liege being suspended by a truce, the Earl of Charolois prepared to march into Picardy. But, when least expected, Lewis, by his secret practices, caused the Liegeois to take arms again. Thus the Duke of Bretagne was still greatly distressed.

Whilst these things passed in France, Edward concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance with the King of Castille. He had done the same with the King of Denmark, the beginning of this year.

The first part of the year 1467, was wholly spent in negotiations with France and the Duke of Burgundy. The Duke only waited the end of the war with Liege, to give all his forces to his son, and prevent, by a powerful diversion, the Duke of Bretagne's ruin, who having already lost his towns in Lower Normandy; saw himself upon the point of being attacked in his own country. On the other side, Lewis, who spared no cost to have good spies, was informed of what passed between Edward and the Duke of Burgundy, and easily perceived, their union tended to the Duke of Bretagne's defence.

As he still intended to ruin that Prince, he omitted nothing to divert Edward from the engagements he was entering into with his enemies. For that purpose, in February 1467, he sent the Bastard of Bourbon into England, and in June, the Archbishop of Narbonne. Edward pretending to be entirely disengaged, appointed immediately commissioners to treat with these ambassadors.

Such was the state of affairs between those two Princes, when the Duke of Burgundy died the 15<sup>th</sup> of June, in the 72<sup>nd</sup> year of his age. Charles Earl of Charolois his only son, succeeded him in all his dominions. He would immediately have posted to the Duke of Bretagne's assistance, had he not been detained by the war with Liege.

Meanwhile Lewis fearing his prey would escape out of his hands, sent and offered the new Duke of Burgundy to desert the Liegeois whom he had hitherto assisted, provided he would in return, abandon the Duke of Bretagne. If Charles had closed with this proposal, the Duke of Bretagne would have been irrecoverably lost, since there was now a French army of thirty thousand men in the heart of his country. But he bravely rejected it; declaring, let what would be the consequence; he would assist the Duke of Bretagne to the utmost of his power.

He only waited the end of the war with Liege, to throw himself into Picardy; and did not question that Edward would declare against France, when he saw himself secure of being so strongly supported. The very day of his father's death (October 23,) he ratified his alliance with Edward, and the new bond whereby they were going to be farther united, namely, his marriage; then upon the point of conclusion, seemed to promise him he should never be without the assistance of England. Meanwhile, the Duke of Bretagne fearing to be oppressed before the succours arrived, put Lewis in hopes of all the satisfaction he desired, and by that means obtained a truce which gave him some respite.

Whilst these things passed in France, considerable alterations were made in the court of England, which in the end occasioned great troubles. The Queen's relations daily increased in favour with the King and the Earl of Warwick with his brothers, who had been so powerful, were little regarded. The Archbishop of York was still chancellor, but at length was removed to make room for the Bishop of Bath and Wells[23], one of the Queen's most zealous adherents.

The Earl of Warwick was no longer employed as before in affairs of importance. As for the Marquis of Montague his brother, governor of the northern counties, that post being of no great consequence, since there was no danger from Scotland, he was not displaced. Besides, Edward had less inclination to displeasure him, because in the decline of his family's credit he behaved

with more circumspection than his brothers. On the other hand, the Earl of Rivers, the Queen's father, was raised to the highest degree of favour. Besides the Office of Lord Treasurer, he was made High-Constable, upon the voluntary or forced resignation of the Earl of Worcester, whom the King requited, by making him Lieutenant in Ireland, under the Duke of Clarence. Thus the Earl of Rivers held at once two of the greatest offices of the crown, and moreover, his son Anthony Woodville had a grant of the reversion of the High-Constableness. Probably it was about this time that the Earl of Warwick retired from court, and the Archbishop of York went and resided upon his diocese.

It was hard for a man of the Earl of Warwick's character to suffer such a disgrace without resentment. The favours, heaped by the King upon the Queen's relations, racked him with envy, and threw him upon the most violent resolutions[24]. If we may believe certain historians, he had a stronger reason to hate Edward than those already mentioned. And that is, Edward attempted the chastity of one of his daughters[25].

This Prince's character, who was not very scrupulous in that respect, makes the thing credible. Be this as it will, the Earl mortally hated Edward, though he concealed his aversion in order to show it effectually. It is certain that the King, to whom he was not unknown, committed a great error in not giving him some satisfaction, or in not ruining him entirely. The continuator of Monstrelet says, that in June 1467, the Earl of Warwick met Lewis XI. at Rouen, and staid with him twelve days. If so, it may be presumed, that being sent into France upon the King's affairs, he took that opportunity to secure Lewis's protection, and concert measures with him concerning the execution of his project to dethrone Edward[26].

**A. D. 1468]** Meanwhile, the negotiation of the marriage of Edward's sister with the Duke of Burgundy still continued, whilst Edward kept Lewis in hopes of concluding a perpetual peace with him. But it was only to amuse him, and hasten withal the marriage of the Princess his sister. However, for fear his embassy to Paris might give some suspicion to the Duke of Burgundy, he issued out a proclamation, expressly ordering the coasts to be well guarded, as soon as the truce with France, which was to end in March, should be expired.

Shortly after, the marriage was concluded, and Margaret was sent to Bruges with a splendid retinue, being attended by the Duchesses of Exeter and Suffolk[27]. There the nuptials were solemnized with a magnificence worthy the two Princes who were allied by this marriage. The same day the truce of commerce between England and the Duke of Burgundy's dominions was prolonged for thirty years.

The rest of the winter was spent, in negotiating an alliance between Edward and the Duke of Bretagne. The Duke of Burgundy strongly solicited the conclusion of that affair, because he was encumbered with the war of Liege, that it was not possible for him to assist his ally. The thing was not without difficulties, since it was to pass from a long war between England and Bretagne; to a strict alliance. So, all that could be done at first, was to prolong the truce till July. After that, Edward and the Duke of Bretagne sent each other letters patent, promising mutual assistance to the utmost of their power. The Duke of Burgundy sent the like to the King, to induce him the sooner to declare against France. Edward saw but too plainly how prejudicial Lewis's growth of power might be to him.

Wherefore by his orders, his commissioners signed, the 2nd of July, a treaty of commerce with Bretagne, and the next day a levy of troops. was ordered for the assistance of that duchy. In the beginning of August, he sent ambassadors to France, on pretence to treat with Lewis of a perpetual peace, and yet two days after he signed a treaty, whereby he engaged to send the Duke of Bretagne an aid of three thousand archers.

The fleet and troops designed for Bretagne being ready in the beginning of October, the King gave the command to Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, his brother in-law.

Whilst these affairs were negotiating at London, the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne were not a little embarrassed. The truce granted them by Lewis being about to expire, they saw the Duke of Burgundy too remote and too busy elsewhere, to hope to be delivered by his means. As for the succours expected from England, they were neither speedy nor strong enough to free them from their danger. Meanwhile, the Duke of Burgundy made all possible haste to end the war with the Liegeois.

At last he found means to force his enemies to a battle, wherein he obtained a complete victory, which obliged them to sue for peace. As soon as the treaty was signed, he marched for Picardy. He was now come upon the Somme, ready to enter upon action, when he heard, the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne had made a peace with the King of France, and after renouncing all foreign alliance, the Duke of Berry was contented with an appannage of six thousand livres a year in land, and an annual pension of sixty thousand in lieu of Normandy, granted him by the treaty of Conflans.

This news, which Lewis sent him by an express, was the most unwelcome. However, without being discouraged with this unexpected accident, he resolved to remain encamped where he was. He hoped, as the Duke of Bretagne had been compelled to a peace, he would repent what he had done, when he saw himself supported, and easily find an excuse to break it.

The Duke of Burgundy's resolution inspired Lewis with fear. He was apprehensive, the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne would recede, when they saw assistance so near. In that case, he might depend upon having to deal with the King of England, the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, and many of the most potent Lords of the kingdom, who were dissatisfied with him. In this uneasiness, he departed from Paris, where he then was, into Picardy, to treat with the Duke of Burgundy. This design succeeded to his wish. The Duke, uncertain of the resolution the Duke of Bretagne might take, agreed to retire for four hundred thousand crowns, which Lewis gave him to defray his expenses.

Hitherto Lewis had reason to be satisfied with his advantages. He had dispersed the league made against him, and reduced the Duke his brother to a very moderate appannage. However, he could not think of abandoning his first project. He was resolved to ruin the Duke of Bretagne, that he might afterwards attack the other Peers, and the Duke of Burgundy himself, with more safety. His extreme desire to execute this project, made him commit the grossest fault that so politic a Prince could possibly be guilty of.

After signing his treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, he would go and confer with him. He had such a conceit of himself, that he fancied he should persuade that Prince to relinquish the interests of the Duke of Bretagne. At least, he hoped to sow jealousies between them, from which he could not fail to reap great advantages. To that end, he demanded of the Duke a safe conduct to meet him at Peronne. As soon as it was received, he repaired to that town with a slender retinue, the better to gain the Duke by that extreme confidence.

But before, his departure, he forgot to recall the ambassadors sent to the Liegeois, to persuade them to break the peace with the Duke of Burgundy, upon his assurance of a powerful aid. This was sufficient to induce that people to take arms again, and the news of it was brought to the Duke of Burgundy at Peronne, the same, or the next, day, after the King's arrival. A proceeding so contrary to good faith, convincing the Duke that Lewis sought only to deceive him, he even imprisoned him in the castle of Peronne, where he was lodged, and detained him several days, uncertain what to resolve.

Lewis judging of his enemies by himself, was in mortal agonies. So, not knowing how to escape, he saw no other remedy, but to submit to what terms the Duke should please to impose upon him. He met with more generosity in that Prince than he could have expected. After a very short negotiation, it was agreed between them, that the King should give Champagne and Brie to his

brother, instead of Normandy, which he was to have by the treaty of Conflans, and should accompany the Duke in the war with Liege.

A few days after, they departed together towards the territories of Liege, and Lewis had the mortification to be himself witness of the destruction of the capital, which he had preposterously thrown into that misfortune. At last, he got out of the Duke of Burgundy's hands, after having been in continual fears either of losing his life, or undergoing a grievous captivity during the residue of his days. Meanwhile, having no inclination really to execute the treaty made at Peronne, he found means afterwards to evade it.

It is time now to leave these affairs, of which it was necessary to give a general knowledge, and resume those of England, where a more affecting scene is going to open, by the variety of the events which render this part of Edward's reign very remarkable. The 20<sup>th</sup> of October, Edward renewed the ancient alliance between England and Aragon. The English historians place this treaty in the year 1466, but in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, it is dated October 20, 1468. Probably they have confounded the alliance with Castille, in 1466, with that which was renewed two years after with Aragon. Edward is said, upon this occasion, to send the King of Aragon a present of some ewes and rams[28], which so multiplied in Spain, that it proved very detrimental to the wool trade of England.

It was about the end of the year 1468, or the beginning of 1469, that the Earl of Warwick believed himself in condition to begin the execution of his project against Edward. Since he had quitted the court, he had not been thought of, unless it was necessary to send him orders concerning his government of Calais. If he went to France the last year, as *Monstrelet's continuator* affirms, it is hardly to be doubted that he communicated his designs to Lewis XI: and took measures with him accordingly. However this be, the Earl passionately desiring to show that he was not to be offended with impunity, believed it proper to begin with gaining his two brothers, the Archbishop of York and the Marquis of Montague, whose interest was the same with his.

To that end, he represented to him the services they had all three done the King, and the little account made thereof, since their rewards bore no proportion to what they had done for him. He told them, he was determined to use his utmost endeavours to show the King that he who had raised him to the throne was powerful enough to pull him down, and for the execution of this design, desired their advice and assistance. The Archbishop of York was easily led to follow his brother's passion, but the Marquis of Montague was not so forward to resolve. He alleged arguments and objections which the Earl of Warwick answered with great vehemence. At last he was prevailed with, but intimated, it was more out of complaisance to his brother than inclination.

This first step being made, the Earl of Warwick addressed himself to the Duke of Clarence, the eldest of the King's brothers. He knew the Duke was dissatisfied, that the King his brother had done nothing for him, but given him an empty title which he did not want: that moreover he had seen with extreme jealousy the Lord Scales, the Queen's brother, married to the richest heiress in the kingdom, without any thought of procuring him so advantageous a match.

These considerations causing the Earl of Warwick to believe the Duke would gladly embrace an opportunity of being revenged, he imparted to him his design. The Duke was really inclined as the Earl wished him, and, as he burned with desire to be revenged for the little affection shown him by the King, readily entered into the plot.

The better to confirm him in this resolution, the Earl of Warwick promised him his eldest daughter in marriage, with a very considerable fortune. All the historians affirm, that presently after this conference, they went together to Calais, (of which the Earl of Warwick was Governor) where the nuptials were solemnized but do not say whether it was privately, or with the King's consent. That the Duke and the Earl staid at Calais till the insurrection, mentioned hereafter, cannot be

true. It appears, on the contrary, by several papers in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, that they Were in England most part of this year, before the insurrection, and even in the King's favour, who had no intelligence of their plot. It seems that he even began to repent his neglect of the Earl of Warwick, since on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August he made him Judiciary of South-Wales, and some time after, Seneschal of the whole country.

Notwithstanding these favours, the Earl of Warwick's projects began to be executed. In the beginning of October, there was a sedition in Yorkshire, which all the historians unanimously ascribe to the secret practices of the Marquis of Montague, and his brother the Archbishop of York. The pretence, was this. There was at York an hospital[29], to the maintenance whereof the whole country had always contributed, without however being obliged. In time, these voluntary contributions were changed into a kind of right, wholly found upon custom, and for which there were collectors appointed.

They who had been bribed to stir up the people, artfully spread a report, that the contributions were misapplied, and served only to enrich the directors of the hospital: that besides, the hospital being sufficiently endowed, these collections were needless. Whereupon the country people took fire; assembled, to the number of fifteen thousand; and, killing some of the collectors, marched towards York, under the command of one Robert Huldern.

Upon this news, the Marquis of Montage, who resided at York, assembling a body of the citizens, sallied out upon the rebels, slew a great number, and taking their leader, ordered his head to be struck off. Misconduct would give occasion to presume, the sedition was not raised by himself, had not his after proceedings been less ambiguous.

The first rumour of this commotion made the King apprehensive of the consequences. Indeed the cause was not very important, but knowing how numerous the Lancastrian party still were, he did not doubt that it was raised by some Lord, friend to that house. However, he was far from mistrusting his brother and the Earl of Warwick to be the chief authors. Whatever the issue might be, he dispatched orders to the Earl of Pembroke, Governor of Wales, to assemble all the forces of those parts, and keep himself ready to march[30].

Meantime, the Yorkshire malcontents, rather animated than discouraged at the ill success of their first attempt, took arms again, and set at their head Henry, son of the Lord Fitz-Hugh, and Henry Nevil, son of the Lord Latimer. These two young leaders had not much experience, but were directed by Sir John Conyers, a person of great conduct and valour, and well versed in the art of war, Their first project was to make themselves masters of York, but suddenly altering their resolution and route, they marched towards London, not at all doubting that their army would increase by the way, as it really happened. Then it was that the affair of York hospital appeared to have been only a pretence to draw the people together. For the hospital afforded the seditious no manner of pretence to take the route to London.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Pembroke having drawn together about ten thousand men, began his march in quest of the malcontents. He was joined on the road by the Lord Stafford, with eight hundred archers. The two armies being come near one another, the Earl of Pembroke sent Sir Richard Herbert his brother, with a detachment to view the enemy as near as possible. Sir Richard, who was a good officer, executed his orders with great conduct, without exposing himself to be attacked. But his men, who had not his experience, preposterously imagining, he would lose a fair opportunity to defeat the enemies, fell against his will, upon their rear. Conyers, who foresaw it, was so well prepared, that the detachment was routed with great loss.

Edward hearing this news, wrote to the Earl of Pembroke not to be discouraged for so inconsiderable a loss, assuring him he would come in person and join him, or send a strong reinforcement. Meanwhile, the seditious finding they had near them an army which might daily increase, and fearing to meet the King in the way, resolved to retire to Warwick, where, very

likely the leaders knew, they should be received. But the Earl of Pembroke, impatient to have his revenge, marched directly towards them, and forced them to halt near Banbury, where the two armies encamped at a small distance one from another[31].

Meantime, the Earl of Pembroke and the Lord Stafford quarrelling about an inn[32], Stafford withdrew in the night with his eight hundred archers. On the morrow, at break of day, the malcontents marched in good order to attack the King's army. They had heard by deserters of the Lord Stafford's retreat, and were resolved to improve it. Henry Nevil, one of their generals, advancing in order to engage, for fear the royalists should retire, was fiercely repulsed, made prisoner, and slain in cold blood.

This barbarous action inspiring the northern men with a sort of fury, they rushed upon their enemies, and notwithstanding the valour of Sir Richard Herbert, who performed that day actions extolled by all the historians[33,] the King's army was put to rout[34]. The Earl of Pembroke and his brothers fell into the hands of the conquerors, who, carrying them to Banbury, ordered their heads to be struck off, in revenge for the death of Sir Henry Nevil. After this victory, the malcontents continued their march to Warwick. Hitherto the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence had not declared themselves. It may be, they had gone some time before to Calais, to avoid the suspicion of being concerned in the, insurrection, in case it miscarried, and to improve it, in case of success.

A few days after the battle of Banbury, the people of Northamptonshire, following the example of the Yorkshire men, assembled in great numbers, under the conduct of one Robert of Riddisdale. This multitude, which continually increased, tumultuously assaulting Grafton, a seat belonging to the Earl of Rivers, the Queen's father, seized the Earl, and brought him to Northampton, where he was beheaded without any form of law.

On the other hand, the King justly incensed with the Lord Stafford for abandoning the Earl of Pembroke upon a frivolous quarrel, and by his retreat occasioning the loss of the battle of Banbury, commanded him to be publicly beheaded[35].

The death of the Earl of Rivers should, it might be thought, have convinced the King, that the Earl of Warwick, though absent, was the real author of these troubles; supposing the march of the malcontents towards London, and the battle of Banbury had not been sufficient to make him suspect it. Warwick was sworn enemy of the Earl of Rivers, he was angry with the King, and the malcontents had been received without opposition into Warwick.

In a word, these people had no reason to take arms against Edward on account of York hospital, if they had not been privately encouraged by some powerful enemy of the King, who could be no other than the Earl of Warwick. For, there was not then in the kingdom, any Prince of the house of Lancaster, or any Lord of that party, of sufficient power to cause these insurrections. As therefore, Edward could not be ignorant of the discontent and great credit of the Earl of Warwick and his brothers, he ought to have concluded, they were the secret authors.

**A. D. 1470]** The sharpness of the season interrupted' for some time the civil war lately kindled. Besides, the King, to whom it was very unexpected, wanted time to prepare. On the other hand, the mal-contents having yet no declared head, remained quiet, in expectation of more particular directions.

During this winter, Lewis XI sent ambassadors into England, under colour of renewing the truce. Probably, his sole aim was to be perfectly informed of the situation of affairs in that kingdom. At the same time Edward, desirous of strengthening his alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, sent him the Order of the Garter, which that Prince received at Bruges, the 4th of February, with great solemnity.

If the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick were at Calais during the late troubles, it is likely, they returned not to England till about February 1470. After their return, Edward was so far from suspecting them, that on the 7th of March he sent them, jointly, a commission to levy troops against the rebels in the north. Seven days after, he conferred on the Earl of Worcester the office of high constable, vacant by the death of the Earl of Rivers.

But, shortly after, the King's eyes were fully opened with regard to the Duke his brother, and the Earl of Warwick. They levied troops by virtue of his commission, but not for his service. Besides, the rebels made no scruple to own them for their heads. Thus, both sides were preparing more than ever to renew the war. Meantime, Edward was so prepossessed, that his brother and the Earl of Warwick durst not appear before him, that he imagined their design was to retire into Ireland, of which the Duke of Clarence was lieutenant.

In this belief he issued a proclamation, dated March the 23<sup>rd</sup>, forbidding the Irish to obey the Duke his brother, and ordering them to apprehend him as well as the Earl of Warwick, in case they came there. Moreover, he promised any person that should take them, a pension of a thousand pounds sterling, or the sum of ten thousand pounds in money. By the same proclamation, he conferred the government of Ireland upon the Earl of Worcester. Three days after, he gave orders to levy troops in all the counties under his obedience, which was very diligently performed[36].

But the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick were very far from any thought of retiring into Ireland. On the contrary, they were intent upon raising troops, each in different quarters. At last, having advice that the King was preparing to march against them, they thought proper to join, lest by remaining separate, they should give him too great an advantage. So, Edward when he marched to attack them, found them ready, and bent to decide the quarrel by a battle. However, the uncertainty of the issue keeping both sides equally in suspense, some of the most prudent Lords interposed, to procure an agreement.

The King passionately desired it, because he considered he was going to hazard his crown by the loss of a battle, whereas the victory could procure him no great advantage. On the other hand, he flattered himself, that the Earl of Warwick seeing him in so good a posture, would be glad, by an honourable composition, to get clear of his present ill state. So, thinking the negotiation could not fail of success, he neglected to take the usual precautions for the defence of his camp. Meantime, the Earl of Warwick being informed of the King's negligence, failed not to take the advantage.

After using all possible care to hinder his design from being discovered, he marched in the night directly into the King's camp, and suddenly attacking it, put it in the utmost confusion. Edward himself surprised, like all the rest of his army, saw himself in the hands of his enemies, before he could take any measures for his defence or escape[37]. The victorious Earl no sooner had him in his power, but he caused him to be conducted to Warwick. After that, he ordered him to be removed to Middleham castle in Yorkshire, under custody of his brother the Archbishop of York, who was no less concerned than he, carefully to guard such a prisoner.

This accident seemed to have ended the war. Indeed Edward being a captive, nothing more appeared that could oppose the two victorious Lords. Wherefore, they so relied on their good fortune, that they disbanded most of their troops, as not wanting them after this decision. They had only to resolve, in what manner the government should be settled; for it does not appear, they had any desire to restore Henry to the throne. But an unexpected event, no less surprising than what had just happened, broke all their measures.

Edward being confined in Middleham castle, in the custody of the Archbishop of York, behaved so obligingly to that prelate, that he had leave with a small guard to hunt now and then in the park. This first step being taken, he prevailed with one of his guards to deliver a letter to two

gentlemen of the neighbourhood, wherein he pointed out to them, what course they should take to free him. The gentlemen[38], overjoyed at the opportunity to do the King so great a service, privately assembled their friends, and lying in ambush near the park, easily carried him away. Edward being at liberty, contrary to all expectation, immediately repaired to York, and afterwards into Lancashire, where he found the Lord Hastings his chamberlain, who had assembled some troops.

After that, taking a circuit to deceive the vigilance of the Earl of Warwick, he went directly to London, where he was received without any difficulty. The Earl of Warwick so little expected such a turn, that he had neglected to secure the metropolis, not imagining it to be in any danger[39].

It is easy to conceive the Earl of Warwick's surprise, when he received this fatal news. The indiscretion of his brother the Archbishop, was so very great, that he could not help suspecting him of being bribed. But as it was not then proper to examine his conduct, he thought only of re-assembling his dispersed troops.

Edward was likewise in the same confusion, since he was without an army. So, however desirous both were to end their quarrel by a battle, they were obliged to stay till their forces were assembled. In the meantime, some peaceable Lords proposed to renew the negotiation begun before the King's imprisonment. The proposal being accepted, the mediators judged that an interview of the King, and the two chiefs of the opposite party, might conduce to a peace. In this belief, they so ordered it, that these last came to Westminster upon the King's safe conduct. But the conference had not the desired effect. It was wholly spent in mutual reproaches.

Presently after the interview, every one prepared for war[40]. The Earl of Warwick commissioned Sir Robert Wells, son of the Lord Wells, to levy troops in Lincolnshire, which he performed with great ease, by reason of his family's interest in those parts. Edward having notice of it, sent an express order to the Lord Wells, to come immediately to court. His design was to oblige him to use his authority, to persuade his son to forsake the rebels. The Lord Wells being come to London, and hearing how much the King was incensed against his son, in a dread of feeling himself the effects of his resentment, took sanctuary in Westminster abbey. But the King sending him a safe conduct, he immediately came to court.

He even wrote to his son, enjoining him to quit the Earl of Warwick's party, and dismiss his troops; but the son refused to obey. Then Edward, enraged at not being able to succeed, ordered the Lord Wells to be beheaded, with Sir Thomas Dymock his brother-in-law, who had accompanied him. Probably, he imagined them guilty of connivance.

This violent action was very injurious to Edward's reputation, and inspired young Wells with a desire of revenge, which occasioned his own ruin, and proved extremely prejudicial to the Earl of Warwick's affairs. The King perceiving that Wells's troops visibly increased, thought proper to fight him, before he was joined by the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, who were raising men in other counties.

Wells was encamped near Stamford, Where he might easily have retired; but the desire of revenging his father's death, made him resolve to await the King. He fought with an undaunted courage as long as he was supported by his troops. At last, finding victory declared for the King, he would have provoked his enemies to kill him, but they refused him that favour, and spared his life only to make him lose it, a few days after on the scaffold. In this battle Edward obtained a complete victory over his enemies, of whom ten thousand were slain[41].

Sir Robert Wells's defeat broke all the measures of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick. They were not yet ready, and the King was now marching to attack them. In this extremity they found no other remedy than to embark, in order to screen themselves from the impending danger[42]. The Earl of Warwick took his two daughters with him, the eldest of whom, wife of the

Duke of Clarence, was ready to lye-in. His intent was to retire to his government of Calais, where he had left for his Lieutenant Vauclair, a Gascon Captain, in whose fidelity he entirely confided. But how great was his surprise, when approaching Calais he saw the cannon fired at him!

He thought to move Vauclair by the consideration of the Duchess of Clarence's case, who was just delivered in the ship of a Prince, named Edward. But all he could obtain, was a present of two bottles of wine for the Duchess. Meanwhile, Vauclair took care to send this small present by a trusty messenger, who told the Earl of Warwick from him, that he was still devoted to him, though forced to behave in this manner, the better to serve him, because if he entered the town, he would not be safe; but he might depend upon his fidelity. Edward, who knew not the motive of Vauclair's proceedings, was so pleased with his conduct, that he gave him the government of Calais, to which the Duke of Burgundy, of his own accord, added a yearly pension of a thousand crowns.

Warwick seeing himself thus repulsed, steered his course to Dieppe, where he safely landed with the Duke of Clarence, and his two daughters. A few days after, they departed from thence to wait upon the King of France, then at Amboise, who received them very civilly. Lewis, as before observed, would not concern himself with the affairs of England, when Edward and Henry were contending for the crown. But when he saw the strict alliance between Edward and the Duke of Burgundy, he found it equally his interest to labour the ruin of both.

He accordingly received the fugitive English, and promised them a powerful aid. He also sent for Queen Margaret to court[43], who, some years since had retired to the King of Sicily her father. It was the Earl of Warwick that had been author of all that Princess's misfortunes, and the Earl, on his part, looked upon her as his mortal enemy. And yet, their common interest requiring them to stifle their animosity, Lewis easily reconciled them. At present, they could hardly proceed without each other.

Warwick perceived, he wanted a pretence to dethrone the King, and could find none more plausible than Henry's restoration; which he could not endeavour, without being united with the Queen. On the other hand, the Queen saw this to be the only way to restore the King her husband, or rather herself, to the throne. So, beholding a ray of hope from that quarter, she readily received her old enemy for protector.

Their reconciliation therefore was made by the King of France's mediation, upon these terms: that the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick should endeavour to restore Henry to the throne: that the Queen should promise with an oath to leave the government of the kingdom in their hands during the King's life, and the Prince his son's minority, in case he came to the crown before he was of age: lastly, to strengthen their union, the Prince of Wales-should marry the Earl of Warwick's youngest daughter Anne. The last article was immediately executed. Thus the brother of King Edward[44] became brother-in-law of the young Prince of Lancaster, and the Earl of Warwick was equally allied to both houses.

The Duke of Burgundy, who had spies at the court of France, being informed of these transactions, gave Edward warning, who was very unconcerned. He could never believe; that the Earl of Warwick, who had been forced to quit the kingdom for want of support, would be powerful enough, in his absence, to cause the people to rise in his favour. As for the preparations in France, they gave him no uneasiness. Thus, he neglected his principal. affairs to abandon himself to voluptuousness and sensuality.

What gave him most uneasiness was to see the Duke of Clarence his brother strictly united with his enemies. He believed therefore, he ought to endeavour to gain his brother to his interest. To that end he bribed one of the Duchess of Clarence's women, and instructing her in the part she was to act, granted her a passport, to go to her mistress. This lady departing for Paris, passed through Calais, where she saw the governor. It was very happy for Edward that Vauclair, who

was in the interests of the Earl of Warwick, was not acquainted with the affair; for he would have entirely discovered all. When the lady came to her mistress, she very artfully and successfully discharged her commission.

She represented to the Duke of Clarence from the King his brother. That the course he was taking must end in his own ruin: that supposing the designs he had formed with the Earl of Warwick should succeed to his wish, he could not expect, the house of Lancaster would put any trust in a Prince of the house of York, when there was no farther need of him, that his very life would be in danger: that instead of relying, on the Queen's oath, he ought rather to consider it as a snare to surprise him: that the Earl of Warwick would be the first to oppress as well to free himself from a colleague in the government, as to be rid of a Prince, who might one day have it in his power to revenge the injuries done to his house: that on the other hand, the King his brother having only a young daughter, whom death might easily snatch out of the world, he was next heir to the crown: but if the house of Lancaster was restored, he would lose all hopes of mounting the throne, since Henry's son very possibly would have a numerous issue.

To these reasons, which were very strong, she added motives taken from the ties of blood, some excuses from the King, with a positive promise to consider him for the future as his real brother and the chief support of their family. A man must have wanted common sense not to yield to such convincing arguments.

The Duke of Clarence seeing at last his true interests, charged this ambassadress to tell his brother, he would not fail to declare for him, when he could do it with safety and probability of rendering him a considerable service. Edward, being informed how the Duke of Clarence stood affected, grew perfectly easy, believing the Earl of Warwick's future attempts would be fruitless, when no longer seconded by the Duke his son-in-law. It must be confessed, the Earl of Warwick's policy was very extraordinary, in making the Duke of Clarence an instrument to ruin the King his brother. And indeed, he was afterwards very sensible, when it was too late, that he had taken false measures.

Whilst Edward lived in a deceitful security, the Earl of Warwick was preparing to return into England. He was sure of finding a powerful party, to which were joined all the friends of the house of Lancaster, whom he had taken care to acquaint with his design. Lewis XI. furnished him, though, sparingly, with money and troops. To facilitate the Earl of Warwick's descent, he also ordered the bastard of Bourbon to convoy him with some ships of war; but it was not easy to pass into England.

The Duke of Burgundy's fleet, much stronger than that of France, waited in the mouth of the Seine to engage the French if they sailed, and it was not likely, that the bastard of Bourbon would venture upon so unequal a fight. Notwithstanding this, the Earl of Warwick repaired to Havre de Grace, to be ready to embrace any opportunity that should offer. This precaution was not in vain. Some days after his arrival, a violent storm so dispersed the Flemish ships, that not being able to keep the sea, they were forced to retire to their ports. The storm being over, the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick set sail and arrived at Dartmouth[45], whence they had passed into France four or five months before.

The news of their landing was so far from alarming Edward, that he rejoiced at it. Possessed with the notion that it was impossible for the Earl of Warwick to accomplish his designs, he fancied he could wish, for nothing more advantageous, than to see his enemy come and deliver himself into his hands. Thus possessed, he desired the Duke of Burgundy to continue his fleet at sea, to hinder the Earl of Warwick's escape.

But the Duke of Burgundy thought otherwise of this expedition. He could not believe so prudent a person as the Earl of Warwick, would have thus ventured, if he had not been sure of a party in England capable of supporting him. And indeed Warwick had no sooner landed his men, but he

saw himself at the head of an army, which in a few days increased to sixty thousand. Immediately he caused Henry VI to be proclaimed, publishing an order in his name, for all his subjects from sixteen to sixty, to take arms and expel the tyrant and usurper. So unexpected an event opened Edward's eyes, and shewed him the folly of his expectations. Meantime, he gave orders to levy troops, and appointed the rendezvous about Nottingham[46].

The news he received, that the Marquis of Montague, who commanded in the north, had declared against him, troubled him exceedingly, apprehensive as he was, that this defection would be followed by many others. He wished to avoid a battle, but knew not where to retire, because he was ignorant who were his real friends. At length, he encamped near Lynn, in Norfolk, and lodged in the castle. This precaution, though perhaps taken without design, proved of great service.

The Earl of Warwick being come within three miles of his army, caused the cry of King Henry! King Henry! to be every where resounded. And the same cry, by some unknown practices, began likewise to be heard in Edward's camp. Whereupon he commanded the castle gates to be shut, and the bridge to be strongly guarded, whilst a council was held to consider of what was to be done. But the shouting, which grew louder in his army, not affording him time to deliberate, he saw no other remedy than to embark with four or five hundred of the most trusty men, on board three small vessels which had served to bring provisions for his army.

The Lord Hastings placed himself in the rear, to withstand the efforts of the soldiers, in case they attempted to oppose the King's flight, and when all were embarked, went himself on board one of the ships[47].

Edward being reduced to this sad condition, ordered his ships to steer for Holland. Whilst he was beating the seas, his ships were descried by eight corsairs of the Low-Countries or Germany, whom the English called Easterlings, from their country lying eastward of England. Immediately these corsairs gave chase to the three ships, but as these were lighter, they had time to get into Alcmaer road at low water, which hindered the Corsairs from pursuing them any farther.

Meanwhile they anchored in sight, designing to attack them at high water. In this extremity, Edward had no other refuge than to make signals to implore the protection of the country. Happily for him; the Lord Gruthuyse, then Governor of Holland, chanced to be at Alcmaer. As soon as he heard the King of England was there, he sent an order to the corsairs not to approach, on pain of incurring the Duke his master's indignation. These people durst not disobey. So, Gruthuyse went himself in a sloop to wait on the King. Edward was then conducted to the Hague, where Gruthuyse bore his expenses, till he received the Duke of Burgundy's orders.

The Queen who was at London, hearing of the King's flight, took sanctuary in Westminster abbey, where she was followed by a great number of Yorkists. There she was delivered (November 4) of a Prince called Edward, born heir of a noble kingdom, at the very time it was lost by his father. Whilst Edward's friends were in the utmost consternation, the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, victorious without drawing their swords, were marching to London, where they entered in triumph the beginning of October. On the 6th of the same month the Earl of Warwick, attended by several Lords and a great crowd of people, went to the Tower and freed King Henry, who had been prisoner six years.

Whilst these things were transacting, the populace of Kent flocking together marched directly to London, with a design to enrich themselves with the plunder of the city. But the Earl of Warwick meeting them. with part of his troops, easily repulsed this multitude, and ordered the most mutinous to be executed. He could not however prevent their plundering Southwark.

The tumult being appeased, Henry was solemnly proclaimed, as re-mounting the throne. Next day there was a procession, at which the new King assisted, with his crown on his head[48], and

followed by an innumerable crowd of people, who by their acclamations shewed their approbation of the late revolution. Thus the Earl of Warwick had the honour of restoring Henry to the throne, after having deposed him, and of pulling down Edward, who had been raised entirely by his means. Wherefore, he was commonly called, The King Maker.

## Notes to Chapter 1

- 1) Meaning only, as it is said, his own house, which had the sign of the crown. Rapin, not understanding the jest, says, it was for saying, he would make his son Prince of Wales. The man's name was Walter Walker, a grocer in Cheapside.
- 2) Having with him, John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, William Nevil, Lord Fauconbridge, Sir John and Henry Ratcliffe, Sir John Wenlock, John Stafford, Roger Wolferstone, &c.
- 3) Son of Richard Nevil, Earl of Salisbury.
- 4) A small village in Yorkshire.
- 5) Forty-eight thousand six hundred and sixty.
- 6) The reason of this was: Fauconbridge finding the enemy was blinded by the snow, ordered his men to shoot a volley of flight arrows, (provided on purpose) and then draw back. The Lancastrians feeling the arrows, and thinking their enemies were nearer than they were, shot all their arrows, which fell short sixty yards, and sticking in the ground, did them hurt when they came to close fight.
- 7) Because John Mowbray, Earl of Norfolk, was fallen sick. The rearward was commanded by Sir John Wenlock, and Sir John Dynham.
- 8) Or rather of the Earl of Kyme, and Sir William Hill, whom he caused to be beheaded at York.
- 9) The following persons were then attainted; King Henry VI. Queen Margaret, Edward, Prince of Wales, Henry, Duke of Somerset, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, Thomas Lord Ross. Henry, Duke of Exeter, William Viscount Beaumont, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, James Butler; Earl of Wiltshire, Robert Lord Hungerford, John Fortescue, Esq. And many others.
- 10) He married Isabella, the King's aunt, sister to the late Duke of York, the King's father.
- 11) This year, in the harvest-season, King Edward made a progress through several parts, of England; namely, Canterbury, Sandwich, and so along the sea-coast to Southampton, and thence into the marches of Wales, and to Bristol.
- 12) She took Bamborough Castle, and garrisoned it with Scots, making Sir Ralph Gray. Governor,
- 13) At Hegeley More, in June.
- 14) Having with him, the Lords Montague, Fauconbridge, Scrope,
- 15) By Sir James Haryngton, at Waddington Hall in Lancashire, whilst he was at dinner.
- 16) With his legs tied to the stirrups, as directed by the Earl of Warwick.
- 17) Rapin has related this adventure, which is understood to have taken place after the fatal battle of Hexham, very imperfectly. Margaret, flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured

to conceal herself, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of this rich booty raised a quarrel among them; and while their attention was thus engaged, she took the opportunity of making her escape with her son into the thickest of the forest, where she wandered for some time, overspent with hunger and fatigue, and sunk with terror and affliction. While in this wretched condition she saw a robber approach with his naked sword; and finding that she had no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting entirely for protection to his faith and generosity. She advanced towards him; and presenting to him the young Prince, called out to him, "Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your King's son." The man, whose humanity and generous spirit had been obscured, not entirely lost, by his vicious course of life, was struck with the singularity of the event, was charmed with the confidence reposed in him; and vowed not only to abstain from all injury against the Princess, but devote himself entirely to her service. By his means she dwelt some time concealed in the forest, and was at last conducted to the sea coast, where she made her escape into Flanders.

**18)** From May 20, till October 1.

**19)** This was done by cutting of his spurs, reversing and rending his coat of arms, and breaking his sword over his head.

**20)** He came there accidentally, as he was hunting in the forest of Wychwood.

**21)** She was crowned May 26.

**22)** And also Sir Thomas Grey, son of Sir John Grey, the Queen's first husband, was created Marquis of Dorset, and married to Cecily, heiress of the Lord Bonville.

**23)** Robert de Stillington.

**24)** He could not fail of drawing soon a large army together, if, as Stow relates, whenever he came to London, six oxen were eaten in his house at a breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat.

**25)** Or his niece. The certainty was not for both their honours, openly known.

**26)** This year, on June 3, or, according to other, July 3, a Parliament met at Westminster, wherein the King resumed into his hands all the crown lands granted away during his reign. This Parliament was prorogued to November 6, at Reading, and from thence adjourned to May 12, 1468, at Westminster, when it met again, and granted the King two-tenths, and two-fifteenths.

**27)** And the Dukes their husbands, John Holland, and John de la Pole. They set out June 18. The marriage was solemnized on July 8.

**28)** He gave licence and liberty for some Cotswold sheep to be transported into Spain. But the reader must not from hence infer, that there were no sheep in that country before: the contrary is evident, from a patent of King Henry II. granted the 31<sup>st</sup> of his reign, to the weavers of London, importing, that if any cloth were found to be made of Spanish wool, mixed with English wool, the mayor of London should see it burnt.

**29)** Dedicated to St. Leonard.

**30)** He also issued out orders, on November 16, to John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, John de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, and Anthony Earl of Rivers, to array, and assemble all persons able to

bear arms in Norfolk, and other parts and made Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, and the Prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, renew their oaths of fealty to him.

31) Upon Danes-Moor near Hedgecot, within three miles of Banbury.

32) Where it seems a woman lived, who was a mistress of the Lord Stafford's. They had agreed too beforehand, that whoever took possession of an inn, should keep it, and not be liable to be turned out.

33) With his pole-axe in his hand, he made his way twice through the main body of his enemies.

34) This battle was fought July 26, and there were above five thousand Welsh men slain.

35) He was beheaded on August 17, at Bridgewater, and buried at Glastonbury.

36) And appointed on August 9<sup>th</sup> his brother Richard, Duke of York, guardian of the West-marches towards Scotland.

37) This happened at a place called Wolney, four miles from Warwick.

38) Sir William Stanley, and Sir Thomas Burgh.

39) Hume has the following important note upon this obscure period of our history:—Almost all the historians, even Comines, and the continuator of the annals of Croyland, assert that Edward was about this time taken prisoner by Clarence and Warwick, and was committed to the custody of the Archbishop of York, brother to the Earl; but being allowed to take the diversion of hunting by this prelate, he made his escape, and afterwards chased the rebels out of the kingdom. But that all the story is false, appears from Rymer, where we find that the King throughout all this period, continually exercised his authority, and never was interrupted in his government. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of March 1470 he gives a commission of array to Clarence, whom he then imagined a good subject; and on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. of the same month we find him issuing an order for apprehending him. Besides, in the King's manifesto against the Duke and Earl (Claus. 10 Edward IV. in. 7, 8,) where he enumerates all their treasons, he mentions no such fact: he does not so much as accuse them of exciting young Wells's rebellion; he only says that they exhorted him to continue in his rebellion. We may judge how smaller facts will be misrepresented by historians, who can in the most material transactions mistake so grossly. There may even some doubt arise with regard to the proposal of marriage made to Bona of Savoy: though almost all the historians concur in it, and the fact be very likely in itself: for there are no traces in Rymer of any such embassy of Warwick's to France. The chief certainty in this and the preceding reign arises either from public records, or from the notice taken of certain passages by the French historians. On the contrary, for some time after the conquest the French history is not complete without the assistance of English authors. We may conjecture that the reason of the scarcity of historians during this period was the destruction, of the convents, which ensued so soon after: copies of the more recent historians not being yet sufficiently dispersed, these histories have perished.

40) The King retired to Canterbury, and the Duke of Clarence to Warwick.

41) This battle was fought near Stamford, not Strafford, as Rapin says by mistake, and from the Lincolnshire men throwing off their coats, in order to run away the lighter, was called, The Battle of Lose-Coat field.

42) They repaired to Exeter, and after a short stay there, hired a ship at Dartmouth, and embarked for France. This was done in May. The continuator of Monstrelet says, they went away with fourscore vessels, and landed in Normandy at Harfleur.

43) Hall says, she came thither of her own accord, attended by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and John de Were, Earl of Oxford, who, after a long imprisonment in England, had escaped into France.

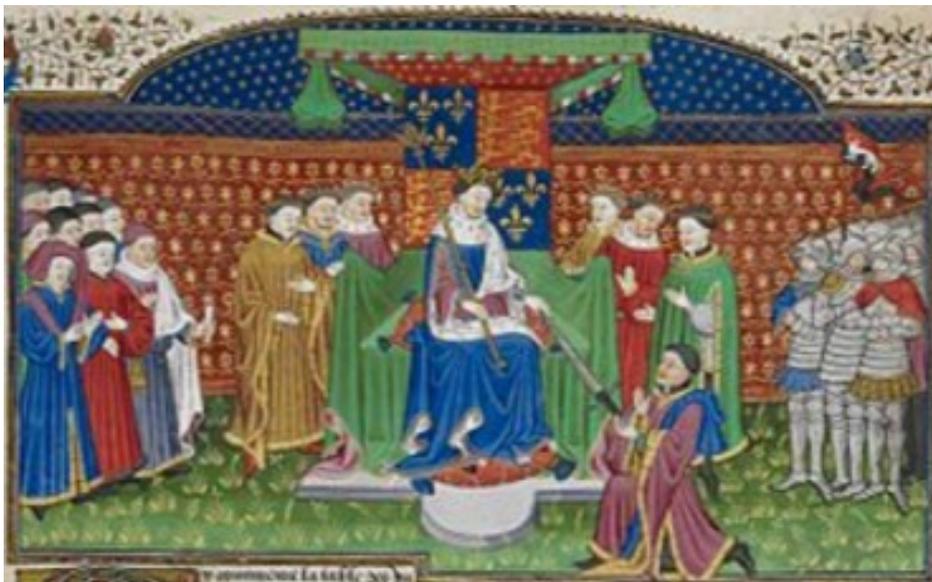
44) George, Duke of Clarence, who had married Isabella the eldest daughter.

45) September 13.

46) And marched towards that place, attended by his brother the Duke of York, the Lord Hastings his chamberlain, the Lord Scales, &c. &c.

47) Thus, as Hall observes, King Edward embarked (on October 5.) without bag or baggage, without cloth, sack, or mail, and perchance with a great purse, and little treasure. In fact, the only reward which he had the power of bestowing on the captain of the ship in which he escaped, was a robe lined with sables; promising him an ample recompense, if fortune should ever become more propitious to him in the tower

48) On October 25. He came from the Tower dressed in a long gown of blue velvet, to St. Paul's church; attended by the Duke of Clarence, the Earls of Warwick and Shrewsbury, the Lord Stanley, &c. And from thence went to the Bishop of London's palace, where he kept his court.



**Depiction of Henry enthroned, from the  
Talbot Shrewsbury Book, 1444–45**





## Chapter II HENRY VI RESTORED



**THE NEW KING'S, FIRST CARE, OR RATHER THE EARL OF WARWICK'S, WHO GOVERNED IN HIS NAME,** was to restore the Marquis of Montague to the government of the northern counties; which Edward had taken from him, and given to the Duke of Gloucester his brother. Then, a Parliament was called for the 26<sup>th</sup> of November to confirm the revolution. This Parliament voted Edward a traitor and usurper of the crown, confiscated all his paternal estate, and annulled all the statutes made in his reign, as wanting lawful authority.

By another act, the crown was confirmed upon Henry VI. and his male heirs. But in default of such heirs, the crown was to descend to the house of York, that is, to the Duke of Clarence and his heirs; Edward, eldest son of the late Duke of York, being excluded for his rebellion. Thus, by a hasty resolution, was established in England a kind of Salic law, which the English had so much censured and derided when Edward III. and Philip de Valois, were contending for the crown of France. This same Parliament restored to all their honours and rights, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, half brother to Henry, and John, Earl of Oxford, who were attainted under Edward.

In consequence of Queen Margaret's engagements at Amboise, the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick were declared and appointed governors of the kingdom. By this, the Parliament manifestly supposed Henry's inability, who indeed was considered only as the shadow of a King. A pardon was likewise granted to the Marquis of Montague, for his crime in serving Edward, since by deserting him at so critical a time, he was the principal cause of his flight. But this was not all. To give the Earl of Warwick a plausible pretence to be revenged on his private enemies, all that had borne arms in defence of Edward's pretended right[1], were declared traitors and rebels.

By virtue of this act, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Governor of Ireland, and High Constable of England, having been found hid in a hollow tree, was brought to London and beheaded. By these acts of private revenge, the nobles of the opposite party were forced, as it may be said to seek for safety in arms.

Shortly after the breaking up of the Parliament, the Earl of Pembroke went for Henry, Earl of Richmond his nephew, who had concealed himself in Wales[2], and brought him to the King. It is pretended, Henry stedfastly fixing his eyes upon that young Prince, foretold, he should one day mount the throne, and put an end to the quarrel of the two houses. This story probably was invented in the reign of Henry VII whilst the canonization of Henry VI was soliciting at Rome. For, the chief cause of the Pope's opposition, was, that though he was willing to own Henry VI for a good man, he could not see in his life any proof of an eminent sanctity. This pretended prophecy, well attested, would have been very proper to remove the objection.

The Earl of Warwick having forgiven the Archbishop of York his brother, for letting Edward escape, procured him a grant of Woodstock park, and many other manors, with the confiscation of the estates of several persons condemned for rebellion, that is, for having served Edward.

The news of Edward's arrival in his dominions, was by no means pleasing to the Duke of Burgundy. The Duke had made an alliance with him not out of affection, but solely for reasons of state. He had sacrificed to his interest his aversion for the house of York; an aversion wherein' he had been educated by his mother, daughter of a Princess of the house of Lancaster.

Meanwhile, he was reduced to the necessity either of deserting his brother-in-law, who was come for refuge into his dominions, or of exposing himself, in protecting him, to the danger of drawing upon him the united forces of France and England. On the other hand, the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, who made a different sort of figure at his court from what they did before this revolution, earnestly pressed him to abandon Edward, and threatened him, in case of refusal, with the indignation of England.

Moreover, the Earl of Warwick had now sent to Calais a body of troops, which only waited for orders to join the French, and invade the Low Countries. Vauclair had not only received these troops into the town, but by many other steps had shewn, that he was far from being unfaithful to the Earl of Warwick. Philip de Commines relates, that the Duke his master having sent him to Calais, for a confirmation of the truce of commerce between that place and the Low-Countries, found the governor, garrison, and townsmen entirely for Henry.

He adds, that he saw no other way to succeed in his negotiation than to tell the inhabitants of Calais, that the truce being made with England, and not with Edward's person, the change of King was not a sufficient motive to break it. In private, the Duke promised to give Edward assistance as soon as he could do it with safety; but this policy did not serve Edward's turn. He could have wished, the Duke of Burgundy would have openly declared for him, imagining such a declaration would have greatly conduced to the support of his party in England.

At last, finding the Duke remained firm to his resolution, and his Duchess's solicitations made no impression upon him, he demanded a private audience. As the Duke could not refuse it, he represented to him:—

"That a longer delay was extremely prejudicial to him: that he lost his friends and creatures in England, whilst the Earl of Warwick was daily strengthening himself in his usurped power: that therefore there was no medium between assisting him speedily, and abandoning him to his ill-fortune."

Then, he imparted to him his brother the Duke of Clarence's promises, adding, it was absolutely necessary to make haste, lest that Prince, who was naturally inconstant, should alter his mind, or the Earl of Warwick discovering his design, hinder him from executing it, by removing him from the government. To these reasons, which concerned him in particular, he added the consideration of their mutual oath, whereby they were bound to give each other proofs of a sincere friendship and a ready assistance, in case of necessity.

Moreover, he entreated him to reflect, that in acting for him, he was also labouring for his own family, which might one day stand in need of assistance; not to reckon the honour which would redound to him, by restoring a King his brother-in-law to the throne. Finally, he positively promised to enter into a strict alliance with him against France, the moment he was restored; adding, that such a league was the right way to resist their common enemy. He concluded with representing, that dissimulation would never be able to produce the effect he intended, since it would not hinder Lewis and the Earl of Warwick from jointly endeavouring to ruin him.

The Duke of Burgundy was moved with this discourse. He therefore devised an expedient, whereby he imagined he could at once salve the appearances with Warwick, and give some small assistance to the fugitive King. He equipped four large ships at Vere, a free port in Zealand, in other persons' names, who were furnished with money. Moreover, he privately hired fourteen ships of the Easterlings, to convoy the King into England, and keep upon the coast a fortnight

after his landing, to conduct him back in case of necessity. Then, giving Edward 50,000 florins, he left him in Holland, and went himself into Flanders.

When all these ships were ready; Edward disappearing, notice was sent to the Duke, who immediately ordered proclamation to be made, that none of his subjects should assist him directly or indirectly upon pain of death. It is likely, that if Edward's attempt had miscarried, the Earl of Warwick would not have been deceived by this artifice. Whatever care was taken by Edward and the Duke of Burgundy to conceal their designs, the Earl of Warwick received some intelligence of them.

The 2nd of January, 1471, the Earl therefore was made high-admiral. Doubtless, he did not dare to trust others with the care of equipping a fleet, which he foresaw would be wanted. The Duke of Clarence, who was by no means suspected of holding intelligence with his brother, was commissioned to raise an army to oppose his designs in case he should return into the kingdom. These measures being taken, the Earl of Warwick made haste to conclude with Lewis XI. an alliance, projected some time before.

But as it was difficult to make an alliance with a Prince actually at war with England, and as a peace could not be concluded by reason of Henry's pretensions to the crown of France, a long truce was resolved upon, almost equivalent to a peace. It was agreed, that the truce should last till one of the two parties desired to break it, in which case he was to give the other five years' notice, and the truce was to continue ten years without being revocable. It was farther agreed, that a place should be appointed to treat of a final peace. The same day the treaty was signed, the grand prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem set out for France, to bring home Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales.

Shortly after the Earl of Warwick, out of affection to the Duke of Clarence his son-in-law, or to attach that Prince the more to the King's side, restored him the government of Ireland, with several manors in England, forfeited by Edward's adherents. The Marquis of Montague, and Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, had likewise a share in the King's favours.

Meanwhile, Edward having finished all his preparations, sailed from the port of Vere about the middle of March, bringing with him two thousand men. He disembarked at Ravenspur, where Henry IV. had formerly landed when he came to wrest the crown from Richard II. He expected to be received with acclamations; but, contrary to his expectation, found the inhabitants of those parts extremely displeased with his coming.

Some were well affected to the house of Lancaster: others, seeing Edward so thinly attended, were afraid to venture openly to espouse his cause. Meanwhile, as there were no regular troops, he met with no opposition. But that was not all he desired. Obligated to march with circumspection, he caused it to be rumoured, that he was come only as Duke of York, to claim the private inheritance of his family, which had been confiscated. Henry IV. had formerly used the same artifice. Edward, though little pleased with the people's coldness, marched towards York, giving Henry every where the title of King, and styling himself only Duke[3].

The news of Edward's landing having reached the court, the Duke of Clarence and Earl of Warwick departed from London to levy troops. At the same time the magistrates of the town were ordered to shut their gates upon the enemy, and the Marquis of Montague, who kept at Pontefract with a body of troops, had orders to fight Edward before his arrival at York. But the Marquis, for what reason is unknown, remained at his post without making any motion to hinder his march[4].

Meanwhile, Edward approaching York (March 18), two of the aldermen came and entreated him, in the name of the magistrates, to march another way; representing, that they could not receive into their city; a Prince, that was come to take the crown from their lawful King Edward,

pursuant to the plan he had formed, replied, "that he was not come to take the crown from the King: that since the people had declared for Henry, he acknowledged him for his Sovereign, and had no intention to do him any prejudice: that he was come to request the King for the restitution of his estate, not with an army to use force, but only with a few followers, to secure him from the malice of his enemies: that the Parliament should be the judge of his cause, and desired only to have means to pass his days quietly, in the allegiance becoming good subject: that however, the inhabitants of York should of all others be the last to deny admittance, since his lands in the county, as well as his title of Duke of York, rendered him their countryman.

In fine, he prayed them to remember the favours which, on several occasions, the city had received from his family. This representation answered his purpose. The gates were opened to him and, entering the city, he went to the cathedral, and confirmed his engagement with a solemn oath. Everything being thus, transacted, on his part, with great mildness and moderation, he borrowed some money of the citizens, and leaving a garrison, departed for London. During his short stay at York, his army was greatly increased. He would not however have ventured to march towards London, had he not expected it would continue to increase in his route, and the Duke of Clarence perform his promise[5].

In the mean time, the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick were parted in order to assemble their' forces. Their design was afterwards to join their troops into one body, and set at the head the Prince of Wales, son of Henry, who was expected. The Earl of Warwick thought, he had sufficient time to prepare and join the Duke of Clarence; because he did not doubt that his brother Montague would be strong enough to stop Edward. But contrary to his expectation, he heard that Montague had suffered him to pass without opposition; and that his army continually increased upon his route with great numbers of officers and soldiers, that came to him from all parts of the kingdom.

He was extremely surprised with this news, and could not tell what to think of Montague, who behaved so remissly in an affair of such importance. He dissembled however, and after sending him express orders to come and join him, and desiring the Duke of Clarence to advance with all possible diligence, resolved to encamp near Coventry, and there expect Edward[6]. His design was to follow him in case he had the boldness to come between him and the Duke of Clarence or amuse him in those parts till his two other bodies were arrived. Indeed, Montague began his march to join his brother, and the Duke of Clarence likewise advancing, kept within distance, as if he intended the same thing.

Meanwhile, Edward, who was now about Coventry[7], approached the Earl of Warwick's entrenchments, with a show of attacking them. The Earl finding himself weak, sent frequent expresses to the Duke of Clarence, to desire him to advance with all possible expedition. But the Duke still found some excuse to defer the junction. Whilst the two armies were thus in sight, and ready, in all appearance, to engage, the Duke of Gloucester, with a small train, rode forth from the camp of Edward his brother, and without demanding a safe-conduct, went directly to the Duke of Clarence.

At their first meeting, the two brothers tenderly embraced each other. Then, after a short conference the Duke of Clarence having gained the, principal officers, caused Edward to be proclaimed in his army. The same day Edward headed his own troops and joined the Duke of Clarence with all the marks of a mutual friendship.

This was a stunning blow to the Earl of Warwick. However, in spite of this misfortune, which would have discouraged any other man, he could not resolve to hearken to any proposals of agreement, though the Duke of Clarence offered him his mediation. Presently after the junction of the two brothers; it was debated, whether they should attack the Earl of Warwick in his entrenchments, or march directly to London; and the last was deemed most convenient: First, because Edward having many friends in the city, it was likely, that seeing him approach with a

powerful army, they would use their endeavours to procure him admittance, and the Earl of Warwick's distance would greatly facilitate their attempt Secondly, nothing could be more for Edward's advantage than to have London on his side. He wanted money, and could not easily find it elsewhere.

Moreover, he could not absolutely rely upon his restoration, so long as he was not master of the metropolis. Lastly, it was of the utmost importance to have Henry in his power. He began therefore his march to London, (April 6), leaving the Earl of Warwick behind him, not without danger of being reduced to great straits, in case the Londoners refused to receive him.

When the news reached London, that the two brothers were joined, and approaching the city, the Earl of Warwick was given over for lost. This belief inspired the people with a terror which Edward's friends carefully cherished, by aggravating the city's danger of being exposed to Edward's indignation, unless it was averted by a speedy submission.

At the same time, they that after Edward's flight had taken sanctuary in Westminster-Abbey, came out and supported that Prince's, interest. On the other hand, those that were against him durst hardly open their mouth, for fear their endeavours should turn to their ruin. So, without waiting the resolution of the magistrates, the people were ready to open the gates to Edward, and run out to meet him.

In vain did the Duke of Somerset and the Archbishop of York oppose this resolution; they were not heard. In vain did they promise the people; that the Earl of Warwick would come to relieve in three days: Edward's army, which was now, at the gates of the city, wrought a contrary effect. In fine, Edward's party prevailing, the people went out in crowds to receive him with acclamations, which, whether real or feigned, were to him of great service.

Whilst Edward was thus received, Henry's friends withdrew from the city, without any one's thinking to help that unfortunate Prince to make his escape. Edward entered London the 11<sup>th</sup> of April, and immediately thanked the people for their affection, and promised to have it in everlasting remembrance. He seconded this promise with several acts of clemency, which entirely won him the hearts of the citizens.

Meanwhile Henry, who had not found means to escape; nor perhaps so much. thought of it[8], was again imprisoned in the Tower, whence he had been taken seven months before to re-mount the throne.

## Notes to Chapter 2

1) And it was enacted, that extreme punishment should be done without delay, on such of King Edward's adherents, as were apprehended, and were either in captivity, or went at large upon trust of their sureties:

2) He went into Wales to. visit his county of Pembroke, where he found Henry,- then between nine and ten years old, who was kept in a manner like a captive, but Well and honourably educated by the Lady Herbert, relict of William, Earl of Pembroke.

3) It is incredible, says Hall, what effect this new imagination (his claiming only the duchy of York) had upon the people. All men moved with mercy and compassion, began out of hand either to favour him, or else not to resist him.

4) Stow says, he had received letters from the Duke of Clarence, that he should not fight until he came.

5) In his march from York to London, instead of going through Pontefract, where the Marquis of Montague lay encamped, he took a compass of about four miles, and came to Nottingham, where Sir Thomas Parre, Sir James Harrington, Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas Burgh, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Sir William Norris, &c. repaired to him. Here they persuaded him to issue out a proclamation, as King, under the name of Edward IV. saying, they would serve no man but a King.

6) Where he came March 29.

7) Which they did upon these three accounts: 1. they were induced thereto by the many friends of his that had taken sanctuary, and particularly the Queen his wife. 2. Because he owed several merchants great sums, which would have otherwise been lost. And 3<sup>rd</sup>, Edward having been familiar with the wives of the chief citizens, they persuaded their husbands and relations to declare for him.

8) He was delivered to Edward by the Archbishop of York, who had made his peace with him.



**Illuminated miniature of Edward IV (left) watching the beheading of Edmund Beaufort, 4th Duke of Somerset at Tewkesbury, 1471**



### CHAPTER III

## CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD IV

AD 1471



**EDWARD HAD NOT TIME TO MAKE A LONG STAY AT LONDON.** Two days after his arrival, he put himself at the head of his army, hearing the Earl of Warwick had advanced to St. Albans. The Earl had decamped from Coventry, and marched with great diligence, in expectation that the city of London would keep Edward at least a few days before the walls, and the news of his approach hinder the inhabitants from receiving him. But he saw the metropolis lost, King Henry in prison, and the whole kingdom, as it were, ready to declare for his enemy.

In this extremity there was no other refuge, but to fight and vanquish Edward. But though he had a good army, it was far from being so strong as Edward's, which too continually increased, since his being master of London. Besides, the conduct of the Marquis of Montague his brother was so mysterious, he could not tell what to think of it.

It is true, he was come to join him, but this farther increased his suspicions. The Duke of Clarence his son-in-law's example, made him apprehensive, his own brother was corrupted. In this state of fear and uncertainty, he would willingly have dismissed him, if he had not been afraid of discouraging his army. In short, after many reflections upon the posture of his affairs, flight being with difficulty, dishonourable, and the success of the battle yet uncertain, he concluded, his only way was to venture a battle, and die honourably, if victory declared for his enemy.

But withal, he resolved so to order it, that the Marquis his brother should run the same fortune with him, since it was the event only that could assure him of his fidelity. In this resolution, he marched from St. Albans, and advancing to Barnet, which is but ten miles from London, met Edward, who was likewise advancing to fight. There, upon the 14<sup>th</sup> of April, being Easter Day, a terrible battle was fought, which decided the fate of the two competitors. Edward had brought Henry with him, not daring to commit him to any one's custody. Thus, that unfortunate Prince seemed born only to be the sport of fortune. Happy in being, by his natural weakness of mind, less sensible of his misfortunes than any other would have been.

The battle began early in the morning, and lasted till noon. Never perhaps had two armies been seen to fight with more bravery and obstinacy. Every one considering himself as a rebel in case the enemy was victorious, no favour was expected. The Earl of Warwick's troops, though inferior in number, fought desperately, being determined, by the example of their General, either to conquer or die. They had even reason to hope, for some time, that victory would declare in their favour.

Some squadrons detached by the Earl of Warwick from the third line, gained so much ground upon their enemies, that several posted to London with the news of their defeat. But Edward not losing the presence of mind so necessary to a general on such perilous occasions, ordered a body

of reserve to advance, who falling upon the victorious enemies in the flank, put them in extreme disorder. The small number of the Earl of Warwick's troops suffered him not to make a detachment to oppose that body. At the same time, the Earl of Oxford, who had beaten back Edward's troops, considering he had left the line: where he was posted, too much exposed, wheeled about to return to his post.

This precaution, though prudent, occasioned the Earl of Warwick's defeat. The Earl of Oxford's badge upon his arms and colours was a star with streams, and Edward's device was a sun. A mist, which arose during the battle, hindering the Earl of Warwick's troops from discerning the difference, they furiously charged these squadrons as they were returning to their post, and put them to rout before the Earl of Oxford had time to remove their mistake. This bred an extreme confusion in the army.

Some imagining they were betrayed, because attacked by their own men, ran away to the enemies. Others seeing them fly that way, thought themselves attacked in the rear, and knew not what course to take. Meanwhile, Edward improving this mistake, cut in pieces the troops that were flying towards him. The Earl of Warwick perceiving the disorder, did his utmost to remedy it, without effect. At last, willing to animate his troops by his example, he rushed, though on foot, among the thickest of his enemies, where he quickly fell, covered with wounds.

The Marquis of Montague his brother, desirous to rescue him, perished in the attempt a few moments after him. Thus ended the battle about noon, by the entire defeat of Warwick's army, ten thousand whereof were slain on the spot[1]. It is said, Edward, who in all the other battles were wont to publish before the fight, that the common soldiers should be spared, and the officers put to the sword, had ordered now that no quarter should be given.

The Earl of Oxford and the Duke of Somerset fled into Wales, to the Earl of Pembroke, who was levying troops for the Earl of Warwick. The Duke of Exeter was left for dead among the slain, but coming to life again, he crawled to the next house, whence he found means to be carried to London, where he took sanctuary in Westminster Abbey.

Such was the success of this bloody day, and such the end of the famous Earl of Warwick, who since the beginning of the quarrel between the houses of Lancaster and York, had made in England the greatest figure any subject had ever done before him. In a word, he had made and unmade Kings as he pleased. Nothing more glorious could be said of a private man, if true glory consisted in excess of power[2].

Edward having thus obtained a complete victory which seemed to secure him the crown, returned to London[3] where he was triumphantly received. The inhabitants could not sufficiently express their joy, to see themselves freed from the danger to which they would have been exposed, had the Earl of Warwick been conqueror.

The King's first care was to return God thanks for the victory at St. Paul's church; after which, he ordered the unfortunate Henry to be sent to his old prison. A few days after, he granted a pardon to the Archbishop of York, probably not to incense the clergy by the punishment of one of their principal members. Besides, he remembered the great service that prelate had done him, in suffering him to escape from his confinement at Middleham.

Whilst these things passed, Queen Margaret, who was just arrived from France in Dorsetshire,[4] saw herself in a state worthy of pity. She had scarcely time to refresh herself two days, when she received the fatal news of the defeat and death of the Earl of Warwick. Though she had hitherto withstood all the attacks of fortune, she was so affected with the new disgrace, that she fell into a swoon, out of which she recovered with great difficulty. She saw in an instant all the consequences, and perceiving no refuge, she gave way to her grief, and lost upon this occasion that wonderful firmness, by which she had ever been so gloriously distinguished. Thus yielding

to her unhappy lot, and thinking only of saving the Prince her son, she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire. She was still in the mortal agonies, caused by this fatal accident, when she saw arrive the Duke of Somerset, John Beaufort his brother, the Earls of Pembroke and Devonshire, and the Lord Wenlock. The two last had been for Edward, and unhappily for them had deserted him. The Queen had also with her the grand prior of St. John's, sent into France to conduct her to England. All these Lords, with several other officers of distinction, strove to comfort her and revive her hopes.

if Margaret was afraid to expose herself once more to the vicissitude of fortune, it was not upon her own account. The Prince her son was the cause of all her uneasiness. Her tenderness for him made her see all the fatal consequences of the undertaking proposed to her, in case it was not crowned with success. She plainly perceived, he could not attempt to recover the crown of his ancestors, without hazarding at the same time his own life, and that consideration was so grievous to her, as to hinder her coming to any resolution.

In this perplexity, she proposed sending the Prince into France, that in case the enterprise succeeded, he might reap the benefit, and if it miscarried, might at least be in safety. But the Duke of Somerset represented to her, that it was chiefly upon the presence of the Prince that her hopes could be founded, which alone would be capable of drawing multitudes into his service, and induce the troops to fight valiantly for him. At length the Queen, after enduring a violent conflict in her soul, between the fear of losing her son, and the desire of procuring him a crown which she believed his lawful right, consented to follow the advice of her friends.

This resolution being taken, it was agreed, that the queen and Prince should retire to Bath, and the rest go and assemble their friends, with the remains of the Earl of Warwick's army. The Earl of Pembroke undertook to levy an army in Wales, where his interest was great, and immediately departed, only desiring the Duke of Somerset, who was to command in chief under the Prince of Wales, to run no hazard till joined by the Welsh. The suddenness wherewith all these Lords levied or assembled their troops, would be most surprising, if in the first place, the astonishing effects usually produced by hatred and revenge, especially in civil wars, were not considered.

Secondly, it must be remembered, that the remains of the Earl of Warwick's army having dispersed themselves after the battle of Barnet, wanted only a leader to head them. Lastly, as it was but a few days since the battle, it was not yet known how the conqueror would behave to the vanquished. So most having greater reason to expect severity than mercy, chose rather to venture again their lives in a battle, than run the risk of dying on the gibbet and scaffold. Be this as it will, it appears in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, that the 27<sup>th</sup> of April, thirteen days after the battle of Barnet, the Lancastrian Lords had now reassembled an army.

Upon the same day, Edward issued a proclamation, setting forth, that his title to the crown was unquestionable: first, by reason: secondly, by authority of Parliament: thirdly, by his victories, and particularly the last, where the Marquis of Montague and the Earl of Warwick were slain.

That notwithstanding these three most firm foundations, namely, reason, parliamentary authority, and victory, sundry persons had taken arms against him: but to avoid' the effusion of more blood, he had thought proper to give his people a list of the names of those persons who were pronounced traitors and rebels, that their encouragers might not complain if any mischief befell them. The persons proscribed were, Margaret, stiling herself Queen of England, Edward her son, the Duke of Exeter, the Duke of Somerset, John Earl of Oxford, John Courtney Earl of Devonshire, William Viscount de Beaumont, John Beaufort brother to the Duke of Somerset, Hugh Courtney, with eleven others.

Meanwhile, Edward lost not a moment. As the troops were ready to march, he put himself at their head[5], to give his enemies battle, before the Earl of Pembroke joined them with his Welshmen. How diligent soever the Lords in league with the Queen had been; they were far

from being in so good a posture as the King, because of their want of arms and ammunition. So, they resolved to retire into Wales, where the situation of the country would help them to avoid fighting as long as they pleased. Besides, they expected to be joined very soon by the Earl of Pembroke.

The point was to pass the Severn before the King overtook them, and for that purpose they marched to Gloucester. But that city refusing her gates, and there being no likelihood of taking it at the first assault, much less of besieging it in form, they resolved to pass the Severn at Tewksbury, Meantime, Edward so closely pursued them, that upon their arrival at Tewksbury, they consulted, whether they should venture to pass the river, at the peril of seeing their rear put to rout, or entrench themselves in a park adjoining to the town, till the Earl of Pembroke arrived.

The Queen, who thought only of saving the Prince, was for passing. Some others, more out of complaisance to her than for any good reason, seconded her opinion. But the Duke of Somerset strenuously opposed it. He represented the enemy was so near, that before the army had all passed, he would certainly have it in his power to attack them, and cut in pieces those who should have the misfortune to be left behind: that such an accident, which seemed unavoidable, could not but prove very fatal, and discourage such as were still friends to the house of Lancaster: in fine, though their army was inferior in number to that of the enemy, that disadvantage might be repaired by entrenching in the park, and drawing lines which would balance the superiority of his troops.

After mature deliberation, this opinion was thought most advisable, considering the circumstances of time and place. Historians, of whom few understand the art of war, have taxed the Duke of Somerset with imprudence and rashness, solely because they considered not the difficulty of passing a river like the Severn, with the enemy in the rear. But if that General was guilty of no other fault, perhaps the Queen's affairs would have taken another turn. At least she might have waited the Earl of Pembroke's arrival, and by fighting upon equal terms, caused her enemy to run his share of the peril.

The resolution being taken of waiting for Edward, the whole night was spent in making entrenchments round the park, which were finished before day. Edward approaching to view them, judged it absolutely necessary to attack them, before they were rendered more impenetrable, and before the arrival of the Earl of Pembroke, who was hourly expected.

So, without loss of time, he drew up his army in two lines. He gave the command of the first to the Duke of Gloucester his younger brother, and headed the second himself with the Duke of Clarence. The Duke of Somerset ranged his army behind the entrenchments, in three bodies, of which he commanded the foremost himself, in order to sustain the first shock.

Wenlock conducted the second, under Prince Edward, who was considered as the commander-in-chief. The Earl of Devonshire was placed at the head of the third. Edward taking a closer view of the entrenchments, perceived an opening to be left to go out upon occasion; This made him think, the Duke of Somerset hoped to repel the first charge, and if he observed any disorder among the assailants; had resolved to sally out and improve the advantage. So, the more easily to draw him out of his lines, he ordered the Duke of Gloucester who was to begin the fight, to retreat with some precipitation, in case he met with too strong a resistance; and, if he was pursued, to face about, and vigorously attack his pursuers, in the assurance of being supported by all the rest of the army. This order was founded upon Edward's knowledge of the Duke of Somerset's intrepidity, and good opinion of himself.

Every thing being thus disposed, the Duke of Gloucester began the attack of entrenchment with great vigour. But finding, the enemies stood their ground, and appeared every where ready to sustain his assaults, he retreated toward the second line, with a precipitation that made the Duke of Somerset believe the whole body to be entirely disheartened. Then it was that the Duke, unable

to curb the impetuosity of his courage, and thinking he ought to improve the present advantage, sallied out of his entrenchments to press the enemy's army, which he imagined to be in confusion. At the same time, he sent Wenlock word to come immediately to his support.

The Duke of Gloucester, who was again drawn up at a good distance from the entrenchments seeing the Duke of Somerset advancing towards him in good order, saved him some part of the way. As he was sure of being supported by the King his brother, he furiously fell upon the troops that were marching against him, and by his vigorous and unexpected attack, so astonished them; that they saw no other refuge than to fly in disorder to their camp.

The Duke of Somerset was in a fury when he perceived himself unsupported: He had depended upon Wenlock, and instead of finding him without the entrenchments with the second line, to oppose the Duke of Gloucester, he saw him motionless in the very place where he first drew up his men. Not being able at this sight, to bridle his rage, he furiously rode up to him, and clove his skull with a battle-axe.

The Duke of Gloucester entering the enemy's camp, with the run-a-ways, made a terrible slaughter, Wenlock being dead, the young Prince knew not what to do, and the Duke of Somerset, transported with passion, was incapable of giving orders, and making himself obeyed. Thus confusion instantly spreading in the army, and the King, who closely followed the Duke his brother, entering likewise the camp, the Queen's troops thought only of saving themselves by flight, without making any farther resistance.

It is said, the Queen was found in a chariot, half dead with grief at the sight of her forlorn affairs, without knowing what was become of the Prince her son, and was brought in that condition to King Edward. Others, however, affirm, it was not till a day or two after the battle, that she was taken out of a Nunnery where she had fled for refuge, and conducted to the King then at Worcester.

In this battle, by which the crown was entirely secured to Edward, there fell on the Queen's side three thousand, because the two last lines ran away without fighting. Among the slain were found the Earl of Devonshire and Sir John Beaufort, brother-of the Duke of Somerset. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Somerset, and the grand prior of St. John's were made prisoners. But it would have been more happy for them to, have died in the battle, since they saved their lives only to lose them in a less honourable manner.

The young Prince being brought into the King's presence, appeared before him with an undaunted countenance, without debasing himself by submissions unbecoming his birth. Edward was surprised, and still more, when, asking him how he came to be so rash thus to enter his kingdom in arms; King replied, "That he was come to recover his own inheritance, which had been unjustly usurped." Edward, full of indignation at this boldness, struck him on the mouth with his gauntlet, and turned from him.

Was, as it were, the signal to take away the life of that unfortunate Prince. It is said; immediately upon the King's withdrawing, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his brothers, the Earls of Dorset, and the Lord Hastings; fell like wild beasts upon the young Prince; and stabbed him with their daggers. It is certain he was murdered that instant; but; whether these four Lords killed him with their own hands, is less clear. This Prince lost his life at eighteen years of age[6].

Next day the Duke of Somerset and the grand prior of the Order of St. John were beheaded. Queen Margaret was confined in the Tower, where she remained a prisoner till 1475, When Lewis XI: ransomed her for fifty thousand crowns[7]. Such was the sad catastrophe of this Princess, who, for attempting to rule England with an absolute sway, caused a great effusion of English blood, and wrought her own as well as the ruin of the King, of the Prince her son, and of all the house of Lancaster, of which there remained but a single branch, in the person of the

Earl of Richmond. There was, it seems, a sort of fatality with regard to the Kings of England, that married the daughters of France. Edward II., Richard II., Henry VI and Charles I were the only Kings (excepting Henry V.) that espoused French Princesses, and they all four underwent the same fate, three of them by the fault of their Queens.

Whilst Edward was employed, in pursuing the Queen; there arose afresh enemy against him. Thomas known by the name of the bastard of Fauconbridge, because he was a natural son to the Lord of that name, had been made a Vice-Admiral of the Channel, during the Earl of Warwick's administration, to whom he adhered. The Earl being dead, and King Edward re-enthroned, the bastard had lost his place. As he was a man of ill morals and without means, he saw no other way to subsist than by turning pirate.

When he found the King employed in the west in pursuit of the Queen, he assembled some ships, and many persons of desperate fortunes, with whom he came upon the coast of Kent, not imagining the war, newly kindled, would so quickly end. His design was to surprise London, and enrich himself with the plunder of the city. Accordingly, he began his march towards London, giving out, that he only intended to free King Henry from captivity.

On this pretence, drawing in many adherents of the house of Lancaster, he formed an army of seventeen thousand men. He presently became master of Southwark. At the same time, he ordered part of his troops, to pass the Thames, and assault two of the city gates, whilst himself attempted to force the bridge. But the citizens having had notice of his march, were upon their guard, and repulsed him on all sides. In the meanwhile, the bastard hearing of the success of the battle of Tewksbury, and knowing the King was diligently marching to London, retired in good order to Sandwich, where he fortified himself.

Edward being come to London, passed through the city without staying, and marched to Canterbury, where the bastard sent him word he was ready to submit, upon certain terms which were immediately granted him. The King even knighted him, and made him Vice-Admiral of the Channel as before. But he did not long enjoy these favours. Shortly after, he was beheaded, either for new, or the old crimes.

Edward arriving at London the 21<sup>st</sup> of May, after two victories in less than three weeks, granted an absolute pardon to William Wainfleet, Bishop of Winchester[8], a zealous Lancastrian. But he had not the same generosity for King Henry, head of that house. The innocent life of that unhappy Prince, seemed to screen him from the cruelty of his victorious enemy. It was doubtless upon that account, Edward had twice before spared his life.

Nay, it is very probable, he would have suffered him to die a natural death; had he believed it consistent with his safety. But he was afraid he should never enjoy a settled repose, so long as that Prince was alive; and this consideration made him resolve to dispatch him. It was properly Queen Margaret hastened her husband's death, by her last attempt to re-enthroned him. If she had won the battle of Tewksbury, and taken Edward prisoner, it is scarcely to be doubted, that she would have put him to death on the scaffold.

She ought not therefore to think it very strange, that the ill success of her enterprise fell upon the heads of her husband and son. However this be, Edward resolving to sacrifice Henry to his safety, ordered the Duke of Gloucester, to whom all the historians unanimously give the character of a brutish and bloody Prince, to put him to death in prison. It is pretended, this Prince would be the father's, as he had been the son's executioner, and that entering his room he himself stabbed him to the heart. But it is necessary to receive with some caution what the historians say of the Princes of the house of York.[9]

Thus died Henry VI. in the fiftieth year of his age, after a reign of thirty-eight years before he was dethroned, and of seven months only after his restoration. Never had Prince been the

occasion, though innocently, of more bloody tragedies, or caused more blood to be spilt in his quarrel. Though his natural weakness rendered him unfit to govern his kingdom, and for that reason, he always gave himself up to the guidance of others, he had some good qualities, which after his death, were extolled for virtues of the first class, on purpose to render the more odious the person that deprived him of his crown and life.

All that can truly be said of this Prince, is, that considering him in his private capacity, his life was innocent, or at least, free from the crimes but too common in the world. But if he is considered as a Sovereign he will appear in his whole life, to have acted neither good nor bad. He founded Eton College near Windsor, and King's College in Cambridge, for the benefit of Eton scholars. After his death, his body was brought to St. Paul's, where it was some time exposed to public view; after which it was interred without any pomp, in a village near London[10].

The twelve battles fought since the year 1455, and the consequent barbarous executions, had reduced the house of Lancaster to two persons only, namely, Margaret, (daughter of John Duke of Somerset, wife of Edmund Tudor Earl of Richmond, half-brother of Henry VI.) and Henry Earl of Richmond her son. Margaret had two other husbands, Henry Earl of Stafford, and Thomas Stanley, but had children by neither.

Jasper Tudor Earl of Pembroke, uncle of the young Earl of Richmond, not having been speedy enough to be present at the battle of Tewksbury, was not a little embarrassed. As he found himself too weak to support alone the interests of the house of Lancaster, he dismissed his troops, and kept with the Earl of Richmond his nephew in Wales, where he had many friends and great credit.

Edward passionately desired to have in his power these two Lords, the only persons that could give him any farther disturbances. To accomplish this design, it was by no means proper to march his troops against them. Besides that this would warn them to leave the kingdom, it was not easy even to seize their persons, in a country where they had as many friends as there were inhabitants. So believing policy to be more serviceable than force, he sent into those parts Roger Vaughan, with orders to use all ways to seize or kill them.

Vaughan not having been so secret as he ought, the Earl of Pembroke, who had notice of his design, pretended to fall into the villain's snare, slew him, and retired to Pembroke castle, whence he departed with Henry his nephew, and embarked in a vessel which was to carry them to France. Meanwhile, the winds driving them upon the coast of Bretagne, they were forced to put into a port of that country.

Their design was to go to Paris; but as they could not be excused waiting on the Duke of Bretagne; when they would have taken their leave; they were told, they were not at liberty to pursue their voyage, The Duke judging these two Lords might be of some advantage to him; assigned them the town of Vannes for their habitation; with an honourable allowance.

Meanwhile, though they outwardly received all the respect due to their birth and quality, they were narrowly watched: Edward seeing himself perfectly restored, without any appearance of being again disturbed, in the possession of a crown acquired with so much pains, assembled the Lords, spiritual and temporal at Westminster.

There, in a studied speech; wherein he endeavoured to display the title of the house of York to the Crown, and forgot not his victories; he expressed his desire; that they would take the oath to Prince Edward his son, as to his apparent successor; to which he found them all inclined. The two Archbishops, eight Bishops, five Dukes, with all the Earls and Lords there present; took this oath on the 3rd of July, Shortly after, Edward granted a pardon to six Bishops, who had declared against him in the late revolution. The rest of the year was spent in sundry negotiations. The first was with the King of Scotland. During the troubles in England, the truce between the English and Scots had been frequently violated, contrary to the intention of the two Kings.

After Edward's restoration, the King of Scotland sending ambassadors to him, it was agreed, to hold a congress at Alnwick, the 24<sup>th</sup> of September, for a mutual reparation of the outrages committed by the two nations upon each other. The two Kings were equally desirous to preserve the truce, and even to conclude a final peace.

This negotiation however, was not ended till 1437. It appears in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, that Edward empowered his ambassadors to propose a marriage between the King of Scotland and an, English Princess. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of September, the thirty years truce with Bretagne was confirmed.

Lewis XI. was very sensible Edward had no reason to be pleased with him; but he offered him a truce, that with Henry VI. being of no force, now Edward was restored. In the present situation of the English affairs, it was by no means proper for Edward to renew the war with France. So, he agreed to continue the truce, from the 1st of September this year, to the 1st. of May following. The year 1472 was almost wholly spent in, divers negotiations, tending to secure the tranquillity of the King and kingdom, by truces or alliances with foreign Princes.

It appears that some dispute arose concerning the truce of commerce for thirty years between England and the Duke of Burgundy's dominions; but as it was for both the interests of the two Princes to live in a good understanding, they did not fail to negotiate a final peace.

An affair of much the same nature with the Hanse Towns, created the King likewise some trouble; but Edward received their ambassadors civilly, and appointed commissioners, who agreed with them, that a congress should be held at Utrecht, to settle all things to the satisfaction of both parties. This affair, however, was not ended till 1474. Some time after, Edward, by his letters patent confirmed an ancient alliance between Richard II. And John King of Portugal, for them and their successors.

Whilst Edward was endeavouring to secure his peace, by renewing the truces or alliances with foreign Princes, the return of the Earl of Oxford into England, gave him fresh cause of uneasiness. The Earl, a great favourer of the house of Lancaster, had retired into France, after the battle of Tewksbury. But as he was not very favourably received by Lewis XI he had returned into England with seventy-five men, and had taken by surprise St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall.

Edward, ever apprehensive that the least spark might rekindle the flames so happily extinguished, ordered some troops to march immediately into the west, and invest the Earl of Oxford in the mount. But as the Earl had not time to provide against a siege, he surrendered before he was reduced to extremity. All he could obtain, was his life, but he lost his liberty and estate, which was all confiscated, without any allowance to his Countess, sister of the Earl of Warwick, for her subsistence. From St. Michael's Mount, he was conducted to the castle of Hammes near Calais, where he remained prisoner twelve years.

The Archbishop of York had much the same fate. Though the King had pardoned him, he was confined in the castle of Guisnes, where he died soon after[11].

Edward having nothing more to fear, after the death, imprisonment, or exile, of all the principal friends of the house of Lancaster, gave too great a loose to his revenge, upon persons of an inferior rank, whom he ought not to have dreaded. Some were put to death, and others fined immoderately, as a punishment for taking arms against him. But what troubled him most, was the escape of the Earls of Pembroke and Richmond.

Though they were both absent, and as prisoners in Bretagne, they made the King very uneasy, who wished to see the quarrel between the two houses entirely ended, by the death of the young Earl, to whom all the rights of the house of Lancaster, were fallen. For that purpose, he sent ambassadors to the Duke of Bretagne, entreating him to deliver the two English Lords he had in

his power ; but the Duke civilly desired to be excused. He promised however to guard them so carefully, that they should never be able to hurt him. Upon this consideration Edward paid him yearly a large pension, under the colour of a maintenance for the two prisoners.

After Edward had settled his affairs to his mind, he remembered the honourable and hearty reception he had met with in Holland, from Lewis de Bruges Lord of Gruthuyse, and resolved to make him an acknowledgment. He accordingly made him Earl of Winchester, and afterwards, by letters patent, allowed him to bear the arms of England in his scutcheon.

Lewis XI. at the suggestion of the Duke of Bretagne, and the constable de St. Pol, had begun the war with the Duke of Burgundy, and taken from him Amiens, and St. Quentin. He discovered at length, that he was engaged in that war, solely for the accomplishment of the projected marriage between the Duke of Guienne his brother, and the Duke of Burgundy's daughter. In order therefore to free himself at once from the troubles that were designed to be raised by means of his brother, he caused a poison to be given him, which was to operate slowly, that his death might be ascribed to a common distemper.

Meanwhile, for fear the Duke of Burgundy, finding himself too much pressed, should take new measures with the Duke of Bretagne and the constable, he sent to offer him a truce. A truce was accordingly signed for thirteen months, from the first of April 1472, to the first of May 1473. About six weeks after the conclusion of the truce, the Duke of Guienne died, and Lewis took possession of that duchy without opposition.

The Duke of Burgundy perceived then, that Lewis had granted him a truce only to have time to secure Guienne, and that upon all occasions, he should be that Prince's dupe, when their affairs were determined by way of negotiation. So, finding, that with such enemies, the surest way is to act with open force, and make them at least run an equal share of the danger, he entered France, and destroyed whatever he met in his way with fire and sword.

The Duke of Bretagne seeing his projects vanished by the death of the Duke of Guienne, resolved seriously to join with the Duke of Burgundy, being persuaded that the preservation of both depended upon their strict union. Meanwhile, Lewis perceiving the Duke of Bretagne would not fail to take that course, had already sent troops into Anjou, to keep him in awe.

Whilst Lewis was still employed in Guienne, the Duke of Burgundy made some progress in Picardy, and took Nesle and Roy. But unfortunately, he lost two whole months before Beauvais, without taking the place. This accident was the cause, that Lewis not perceiving himself much pressed left his troops in Anjou. So, the Duke of Bretagne not daring to stir from his country, was prevented from joining his ally according to agreement.

At length, the Duke of Burgundy raising the siege of Beauvais, came into Normandy, in expectation of the Duke of Bretagne. Meantime, Lewis was a little embarrassed. By leaving his troops in Anjou, he exposed Picardy and Normandy to the Duke of Burgundy's attacks, and if he marched to the assistance of these two provinces, he left the Duke of Bretagne free to make a powerful diversion in his neighbourhood.

But he soon freed himself from this difficulty. By the help of the Duke of Bretagne's minister, whom he gained to his interest, he found means to make a truce with that Prince[12], and persuade him to renounce the Duke of Burgundy's alliance. This unexpected defection obliged the Duke of Burgundy to accept a truce offered him by Lewis, and which was frequently prolonged. The year 1473 was so barren of events, that it has been frequently confounded or joined with the following.

**A. D. 1474]** The Duke of Burgundy, during this truce, employed his time in conquering the duchy of Gueldres. Arnold Duke of that name, being displeased with Adolphus his son, who had

for some time kept him in prison, made a grant of his duchy to the Duke of Burgundy. Upon this pretence entering Gueldres, he defeated Adolphus, and taking him prisoner seized upon the duchy. The truce being to last till June 1475, the Duke of Burgundy hoped to be master of Nuz, in Cologne, before it was expired. But Lewis put such obstacles in his way, that he could not execute his designs so soon as he imagined.

Whilst the Duke was employed in the siege, he saw no other way to free himself from the persecutions of his enemy, than to engage the King of England to make a powerful diversion in France. For that purpose, he sent ambassadors to Edward, to persuade him to make war upon their common enemy. The better to engage him in this undertaking, he promised to join him with all his forces, the moment he landed in Picardy.

He made him hope likewise, that the constable de St. Pol would deliver him St. Quentin, the Duke of Bretagne league with them, and by the help of that Prince's adherents in France, he would put the kingdom in such confusion, that the conquest of it would be rendered much easier than in the reign of Charles VI.

This was precisely the opportunity impatiently expected by Edward, to be revenged of Lewis XI. Every thing seemed to conspire to the downfall of that restless and turbulent Prince, since he was on the point of being attacked by three formidable powers, without reckoning his danger from his own subjects. And indeed, if all his enemies had acted with the same ardour as Edward, he would doubtless have run the hazard of seeing his affairs in great disorder. But, in all appearance, the Duke of Burgundy only intended to engage Edward to make a diversion in France, in order to prevent Lewis from disturbing him in Germany.

However this be, acting as if he really designed to undertake the conquest of France jointly with the King of England, he gave very ample powers to his ambassadors to treat with him. upon that head. The plenipotentiaries of the two Princes having settled all the articles, signed about the end of July several treaties concerning this important undertaking.

**The first** was a treaty of amity, alliance, and confederacy between the King of England and Duke of Burgundy, mutually promising to assist one another to the utmost of their power.

**The second** contained certain private conventions concerning the war they were to carry into France.

**The third** contained an explication of one of the articles of the first, where it was said that each of the two allies should assist the other with all his forces. As this expression was too general, they agreed upon the number and pay of the troops they were to supply.

**The fourth** was a grant from Edward to the Duke of Burgundy of several provinces of France, in consideration of the future services of that Prince, in aiding him to recover the whole kingdom.

**The fifth** was an agreement, whereby the Duke of Burgundy engaged to furnish for the war, an army of between ten and twenty thousand men.

**The sixth** and last act was in form of letters patent, whereby the Duke of Burgundy agreed that Edward and his successors, Kings of France, should have free liberty to enter Rheims in order to be crowned, and depart without any impediment.

This was properly selling the bear's skin before he was killed. However, it is not very difficult to discover the motives of the conduct of these two Princes, since it is certain they both intended

to deceive each other. They were both too wise, to expect to conquer France with the stipulated forces. But the Duke of Burgundy meant to engage Edward to make a powerful diversion in that kingdom, by persuading him, it would be very easy to conquer it. Edward feigned on his part to be allured with these hopes, the better to engage the Duke of Burgundy to lend him a sufficient supply, to recover Guienne and Normandy.

Edward having signed all these treaties, began seriously to make preparations for the intended war. His first care was to assemble a Parliament, which readily granted him a subsidy. Since the reign of Edward III. the Parliaments seldom wanted much solicitation to grant money for the war with France. As soon as Edward saw himself supported by his Parliament, he issued out commissions to levy a much greater number of troops, than what he had promised to supply by his treaty with Burgundy. Whilst he was hastening his preparations, he sent ambassadors to divers courts, as well to make alliances with several Princes, as to endeavour to hinder their union with his enemy.

At the same time, he secured himself against any diversions from the Scots, by concluding a marriage between Cecily his second daughter, and the King of Scotland's eldest son. This marriage was concluded the 30<sup>th</sup> of July, and October the 18<sup>th</sup> the young Prince and Princess were affianced by Proxies. Some days after, the truce of Newcastle, which was to last till 1519, was again ratified at Edinburgh. As the affianced couple were yet too young, it was agreed the marriage should be accomplished as soon as they were both of fit age, and in the meanwhile, Edward should pay at several times his daughter's dowry, consisting of twenty thousand marks sterling.

**A. D. 1475]** Edward having thus secured himself against the diversions his enemy might have caused, continued his preparations, with great hopes of succeeding in his designs. The subsidy granted by the Parliament not seeming sufficient, or part of it perhaps being applied to other uses, he borrowed money of all his subjects that were known to be rich.

Some contributed cheerfully; others were gained by the King's flatteries; and some feared to incur his displeasure, and perhaps some violence in case they refused. In general, there were but few who dared to disobey. This sort of aid levied after this manner was called by the new name of benevolence, intimating that private persons had granted it freely and of their own accord. These loans, however, raised without authority of Parliament, were of a very dangerous consequence: but as it was to make war upon France, there were no murmurs.

It is reported, the King himself asking a rich widow what she would lend him, she replied, "She could not refuse twenty pounds sterling to a Prince who borrowed with so good a grace." The King, as much pleased with the lady's politeness as her present, very courteously gave her a kiss, which she took as such an honour, that she doubled the sum she had promised.

Amongst the new raised troops there were three thousand men designed for the Duke of Bretagne, pursuant to a secret treaty between him and Edward. That Prince however had lately changed into a perpetual peace the truce made with Lewis. And yet, when he was informed of the league between Edward and the Duke of Burgundy, he desired to be included, but privately, for fear of being oppressed before his allies were ready. The Lords Audley and Duras were to command the succours intended for Bretagne.

Every thing being ready for the army's departure, Edward embarked at Sandwich the 20<sup>th</sup> of June, having appointed the Prince of Wales his son, but five years old, guardian of the realm in his absence.

Upon Edward's arrival at Calais, he sent a herald to Lewis to summon him to restore the whole kingdom of France, and in case of refusal, to proclaim war against him. Lewis hearing the herald in private, told him, he was very well informed, Edward was not come of his own inclination to

make war, but by the instigation of the Duke of Burgundy, and the constable de St. Pol, who, he might assure his master, would both deceive him. Then after asking him some questions, which gave the herald occasion to say, that when he made any offers of peace, he should apply to the Lords Howard and Stanley, he presented him with three hundred crowns[13], and thirty yards of velvet, to make him a robe. The herald failed not to magnify his present, and relate to the Lord Howard, who held the chief place in the King's favour, what passed between Lewis and him. Edward, advancing into Picardy, where he expected to meet the Duke of Burgundy, found not so much as a single man from him.

The Duke it appears, was intent upon the siege of Nuz, in hopes of taking that place, and Cologne too, before Edward's arrival in France. But the Emperor approaching the siege with an army four times as strong as the Duke's, without however offering him battle, the besiegers were so harassed, that the siege, instead of advancing, was retarded. Yet, the Duke, from a motive of vain-glory, obstinately continued it.

Nothing could be more advantageous to the King of France, or more prejudicial to the Duke's affairs, than this unseasonable obstinacy.

**In the first place**, it hindered his joining the King of England.

**2.** In the mean time, Sigismund Duke of Austria took from him the earldom of Ferette, and the Duke of Lorrain ravaged Luxemburg.

**3.** As soon as his truce with France was expired, Lewis made himself master of Roy, Corbie, and Montdidier.

In fine, when it was too late, and he was within eight days of being master of the place pressed by Edward's instances, he agreed, it should be delivered to a legate, to be disposed of according to the Pope's pleasure. After the raising of the siege, the Duke's army was so little able to march, that instead of speedily joining the English, it was put into summer quarters.

Edward seeing himself thus deserted, and not hearing that the Duke of Bretagne made any motion; or there was any appearance of the insurrections in France, he had been made to expect, found himself extremely embarrassed. In the meantime, a French prisoner; the only one taken since the English army's arrival, being released by the King's order, the Lords Howard and Stanley charged him, to present their respects to the King his master.

The prisoner discharging his commission, Lewis began to think it was not without design, that this compliment was made him, remembering what the English herald told him concerning these Lords. He perceived, the court of England desired to enter into a treaty, but would not make the first advances. For his part, who was not so scrupulous, he resolved to improve this sort of overture.

Philip de Commines says, he caused a certain person of little note, but of good sense, to be dressed like a herald, and fully instructing him, sent him to the English army, to demand a safe-conduct for ambassadors; and address himself for that purpose to the Lords Howard and Stanley. The pretended herald being admitted into the King's presence, told him, that he was ordered by the King his master to represent to him, that the war between their two kingdoms could not but be destructive to both, and the mutual trade of the two nations was on the contrary a manifest advantage, which ought to be cherished.

Then, he excused the King his master's countenancing the Earl of Warwick, assuring, it was not out of ill will to Edward, but on the account of the Duke of Burgundy, his irreconcilable enemy. He added, that the Duke of Burgundy's and the constable's insincerity was so evident, that it was needless to mention it, since he was very sensible of the effects. That he was come in arms into

a country where he had neither castles, nor friends, and he left it to him to judge, whether the conquest of France was so easy as he had been made to believe: that however, the King his master, knowing so great an armament could not be made without vast expense, was very willing so to make him amends, as he should have reason to be satisfied: that therefore he demanded a safe-conduct for ambassadors, with a train of one hundred horse, that they might treat in a proper place, with those of England, concerning a firm and lasting peace, between the two Kings and their subjects.

In Edward's circumstances, the King of France's proposal was very acceptable. Accordingly, the herald was dismissed with a present, and the desired safe-conduct. The same day, or the next, Edward called a council, at which were present all the Lords in the army, to the number of eighteen.

It was resolved, almost unanimously, that the Lord Howard and three others should confer with the King of France's ambassadors, and a full power was given them to conclude a peace upon these terms:

1. That Lewis should pay the King, within a fortnight, the sum of seventy-five thousand crowns, and from thence forward fifty thousand crowns yearly, at two payments, during the life of the two Kings.
2. That the King of France should promise to marry the Dauphin, his son, to the King's eldest or second daughter, and allow his daughter-in-law sixty thousand livres a year.

Upon these two conditions, the ambassadors were empowered to promise in the King's name, that he would return into England with his troops; to conclude a treaty of amity and alliance between the two Kings, with promise of mutual assistance against their rebellious subjects: and lastly, to sign a truce for seven years.

The treaty was accordingly concluded the 28<sup>th</sup> or 29<sup>th</sup> of August, as Edward desired, without any considerable alteration. Edward also promised to release Queen Margaret, for a ransom of fifty thousand crowns, which the King of France was to pay for her, within five years. She was accordingly released the beginning of November this year, and Lewis XI punctually paid the sum promised.

The Duke of Burgundy having notice that the two Kings were beginning to treat, departed immediately from his army, but found the truce was already signed. He fell upon Edward with bitter reproaches; to which Edward returned a suitable answer, telling him however he had taken care to include him in the truce. But the Duke fiercely replied, he wanted not his mediation, and valued it so little, that if he treated for himself it should not be till three months after his arrival in England.

Before Edward's departure for England, it was thought proper, that the two Kings should confer together upon Pequigny bridge, with a bar or gate between them. Lewis came first to the place, attended with the cardinal of Bourbon, and five other Lords, Edward arrived afterwards, accompanied likewise with a small number of Lords. After they had both sworn to observe the late treaty, Lewis inviting Edward to Paris, told him, he would procure him agreeable diversions with the fair ladies of that city, and if he chanced to trespass upon his chastity, the cardinal of Bourbon. should be his confessor, who would easily absolve him.

After a private conference between the two Kings, Lewis repaired to Amiens, where the Lord Howard followed him as hostage. Howard whispered him in the ear, that he would undertake to persuade the King his master to take a journey to Paris; to which Lewis. returned no answer. Howard frequently hinted the same thing at table, without the King's seeming to hear him.

However he caused him to be afterwards told, that the war he was going to wage with the Duke of Burgundy not permitting him to go to Paris, he was very sorry he could not enjoy the honour the King intended to do him. Philip de Combines remarks upon this occasion, that there was nothing more feared by Lewis, than to see Edward relish France, nor any thing more passionately desired by him, than to see him return into England.

He was under such apprehension that Edward would repent of the truce, that he privately bestowed pensions upon his principal counsellors, to induce them to keep him in the resolution to observe it. The English army approaching Amiens, Lewis caused the gates to be kept open, and sent orders to the public inns, to entertain at free cost all the English that came there.

Moreover, he sent to the King of England a present of three hundred wagon loads of wine, for the use of his army; so desirous was he to gain the hearts of the English, for fear some one of them should make Edward sensible of his error. At length, all Lewis's fears vanished with the departure of the English, who went away, extremely well pleased with the French gold and wine; the pensions assigned to Edward's principal courtiers amounting to sixteen thousand crowns a year[14].

The Duke of Burgundy not bearing the thoughts of desiring to be included in the truce, made by Edward, without his knowledge, stood out for some time, and at last accepted of a separate truce offered him by Lewis, for nine years. The constable, who had deceived the three Princes, saw himself forsaken by all, and was forced to retire into the Duke of Burgundy's dominions. He was however delivered by the Duke to the King of France, who commanded his head to be struck off.

Lewis would have been glad the Duke of Bretagne had been thus sacrificed to him. But that Prince had in his hands a pledge which obliged Edward to protect him; otherwise he would have regarded him no more than the Duke of Burgundy. This was the Earl of Richmond, who, though absent, made the English monarch extremely uneasy.

**A. D. 1476]** Edward's open demonstration of friendship for the Duke of Bretagne, causing him to imagine the Duke would be glad of an opportunity to shew his acknowledgement, he sent ambassadors to him, under colour of renewing their truce. There were but few difficulties in this negotiation. The Duke readily agreed to confirm the truce, though often violated on the part of the English. He even desisted from his demand of fifty thousand crowns, for the damages sustained by his subjects.

The King, on his side, quitted his demands upon him for the armament made in his favour. Every thing being thus upon the terms of a perfect good understanding between the two Princes, the ambassadors acquainted the Duke with the principal business of their embassy. They told him, the King their master was extremely desirous, entirely to extinguish the flames of the two factions which had been so long kindled in England; that the Earl of Richmond, who was in Bretagne, being the only surviving person of the house of Lancaster, he intended to marry him to one of his daughters, in order to unite the two houses; that therefore he desired him to send him the Earl, that he might give him marks of his favour, and thereby manifest to his whole kingdom his earnest desire of procuring them a happy tranquillity.

The Duke of Bretagne was a good Prince, who judging of others by himself, and not believing Edward concealed ill designs under these appearances of moderation, ordered the Earl of Richmond to be put into the hands of the ambassadors, to be conducted to England. Some however affirm, that a large sum of money presented to the Duke by the English ambassadors, rendered their application more effectual.

However this be, they departed with their prey, to embark at St. Maio's. But whilst they were on the road, one of the Duke's counsellors represented to him, that by this proceeding, he would be

eternally infamous; that besides, he could not in conscience deliver a Prince, who thought himself safe under his protection, to his most mortal enemy, who demanded him only to destroy him, under the false pretence of an honourable settlement; that he would be accountable to God for this action, whatever colour he might put upon it in the eyes of men; and conjured him to consider, what honour, justice, and religion required of him on this occasion.

Whether this remonstrance made the Duke sensible of what he had not hitherto fully known, or stung him with remorse of what he had done, he immediately dispatched Peter Landais his favourite to St. Malo, with orders to recover the Earl of Richmond out of the hands of the ambassadors, if they were not yet embarked. Landais arrived, just as they were entering the vessel that was to carry them to England. He immediately gave private orders to help the two prisoners to escape, whilst himself conferred with the ambassadors.

The conference being ended, the two Earls were found to have taken sanctuary in a church, whence Landais pretended they could not be removed. The ambassadors complained of this fraud; but, after some frivolous excuses, he plainly told them, the Duke his master upon second thoughts believed he could not deliver the Earl to the King, without an indelible stain to his honour; that however, he would promise to guard him so carefully that Edward should never receive any damage. The ambassadors were forced to be content with this promise, which eased in some measure their vexation to be thus disappointed.

The rest of the year 1476, affords nothing remarkable concerning the affairs of England, but a negotiation to renew the alliance with Denmark; the death of the Archbishop of York at Guisnes, where he was prisoner, and some other inconsiderable affairs.

**A. D. 1477]** The Duke of Burgundy did not long survive. After losing two battles against the Swiss, whom he had been desirous of humbling, he lost his life in a third against the Duke of Lorraine, on the 5th of January in this year. His death made a great alteration, not only in the affairs of the Low-Countries, but also in those of the neighbouring Princes.

He left but one daughter, called Maria, who was heiress to his large dominions, and whom he had in some measure promised to Maximilian of Austria, son of the Emperor Frederic. This Princess, about nineteen years old, saw herself not only forsaken by all the late Duke her father's friends, but exposed a prey to Lewis XI. who immediately deprived her of Burgundy; with the towns on the Somme, and even formed, the project to dispossess her of all the rest of her dominions.

In this pressing necessity; her only refuge was the King of England's assistance, whose interest it was to oppose the growth of Lewis's power. But Edward's whole council being bribed and corrupted by the King of France's bounties, Maria obtained from that quarter empty wishes only for her prosperity, and compliments, which ended in nothing. To complete her misfortune, the young Princess saw herself also exposed to the tyranny of the Gantois, who seizing her person, removed all her counsellors, beheaded two, and gave her a new council entirely composed of their creatures.

Edward acted directly contrary to the interests of England, in suffering the advancement of France, and the ruin of the house of Burgundy. Three principal reasons hindered his quarrelling with France. The first, that being grown corpulent and heavy, he was no longer fit to bear the hardships of war. The second; that his chief counsellors were pensioners to France.

The third, that having promised his daughter Elizabeth to the Dauphin, he was unwilling by any proceeding to obstruct the marriage. Meanwhile Lewis was extremely careful to keep him in these dispositions, by punctually paying him the pension of fifty thousand crowns, and ten thousand yearly for Queen Margaret's ransom. Thus Maria of Burgundy seeing herself forsaken by all whose interest it was to support her, had no other refuge than to marry Prince Maximilian,

from whom however she could expect no great assistance. The nuptials being celebrated in July, Lewis XI. out of regard to the emperor, granted the new Duke of Burgundy a truce for a year, and restored him some towns in Hainault which he had seized.

The beginning of the year 1478 was very quiet. Yet there passed at the court of England, things which wholly engrossed the attention of the public: we mean the tragical death of the Duke of Clarence, which it will be necessary to insist upon a moment. This Prince was haughty and ambitious, of ungovernable passions, and of an inconstant temper, taking no care to conceal his sentiments.

Whilst the King his brother lived unmarried, he could not help entertaining the hopes of sitting one day on the throne, though it was very unlikely, Edward would always remain in a state of celibacy. The King's marriage destroying these hopes, he was displeas'd with the King himself, and especially with the Queen and her family. As he was not careful to hide his discontent, he drew on himself the aversion of the Queen, and her creatures, who did not fail to do him ill offices.

So, Edward began by degrees to neglect him, and took no care to procure him advantages, which may easily be procur'd by a King for his brothers. The Duke so resented this contempt, that he scrupled not to join with the Earl of Warwick, to dethrone his own brother. He repented it afterwards, and his repentance, as hath been seen, prov'd Edward's preservation. He was in hopes a reward would quickly follow so signal a service. But Edward, prejudic'd against him, thought on the contrary, the bare pardon of the injury to be a sufficient recompense for the service he had received.

These sentiments were instill'd into him by his Queen, who having lost the Earl of Rivers her father during the rebellion, could not forbear looking upon the authors of it, as the objects of her vengeance. On the other hand, the Duke of Gloucester, to the utmost of his power, privately sow'd dissension between his brothers. He was a Prince of much greater ambition than the Duke of Clarence, but withal of a very different character, proceeding to his ends by deep and artful contrivances, which rendered his ways imperceptible.

He always thought before he spoke, whereas the Duke of Clarence ruin'd himself by too freely discovering his sentiments. It was difficult for two brothers of such contrary tempers to love each other. All the historians agree, that from this time, the Duke of Gloucester thought of securing the crown after the King's death, and therefore the Duke of Clarence could not but very much incommode him.

This was however an undertaking, the execution whereof seem'd very difficult, since his two elder brothers had children. But his ambition made him think it not impracticable, in proceeding by degrees. The first step was, to dispatch the Duke of Clarence. To that end, he endeavour'd to render him odious to the King, and cause him to consider him as a secret enemy, who was privately labouring to supplant his children. The Duke of Clarence's rash expressions were extremely subservient to this design. On the other hand, the Queen, who had a great influence over the King, fail'd not to confirm his suspicions.

Matters standing thus, the King, as he was hunting in a park belonging to Thomas Burdett[15], confidant of the Duke of Clarence, chanc'd to kill a white buck, in which that gentleman greatly delighted. Burdett was so concern'd for the death of his favourite buck, that in the first transports of his passion, he swore, he wish'd the horns in the belly of him that kill'd it. Whereupon he was accus'd of high treason, condemn'd, and execut'd, within the space of two days.

The design, no doubt, of those who so hotly prosecuted that unfortunate gentleman, was, to induce the Duke of Clarence to expose himself by some rash proceeding; of which his inconsiderate, impetuous, and haughty temper, afford'd great assurance[16]. Accordingly, the

Duke, who was then in Ireland, being returned to court, talked very boldly to the King, of his friend's death, and bitterly complained of his disregard for a brother, to whom he owed his restoration to the throne. In fine, he was so far transported with anger, that he threatened to be revenged. Neither was this all.

After leaving the King, he dropped some farther no less imprudent expressions, intimating, his brother was a bastard, and consequently had no right to the crown. Nothing being more agreeable to the desires of his enemies, than to see him thus run into their snare, they so exasperated the King against him, that he resolved to destroy him. For that purpose, he held a council, entirely consisting of the Duke of Clarence's enemies, where it was resolved to apprehend him, accuse him of high treason, and bring the accusation before the Parliament, then assembled.

All this was immediately executed, that the Duke might not have leisure to repent, and beg the King's pardon. For had he been allowed time to come to himself, and implored the King's mercy, his rash expressions must have been considered only as the effect of a sudden passion, which deserved not the rigorous punishment intended him. His affair being brought before the Parliament, he was accused of several crimes, under the eight following articles.

**I.** By his seditious discourses, he had endeavoured to draw upon the King, the hatred of his subjects, by accusing him of unjustly putting Burdett to death.

**II.** He had bribed some of his domestics, and others to spread such a report.

**III.** He had said, the King made use of necromancy to know the future.

**IV.** He had taxed the King with poisoning innocent persons, whom he thought he could not legally destroy,

**V.** He had affirmed, the King was not son of the Duke of York, but of an adulterer admitted by the Duchess their mother to her bed.

**VI.** Inferring from thence, that the crown was fallen to him, he had discovered his design to seize it, by requiring many persons to swear to be true to him and his heirs, without any exception to their allegiance to the King.

**VII.** He had accused the King of using magic to take away his life, by causing him to consume away like a taper.

**VIII.** Lastly, he had openly shewn his design to dethrone the King, in procuring an authentic copy of the act of Parliament passed during the Earl of Warwick's usurpation, whereby the crown was adjudged to him, after the death of Henry VI. and his issue male.

On these articles he was sentenced and condemned to die. There is in this sentence a very remarkable circumstance. One of the chief reasons of his condemnation was, his affirming the King not to be the Duke of York's son, and that very thing served afterwards for foundation to the Duke of Gloucester to mount the throne, in prejudice of Edward's children. The Duke of Clarence being condemned, all the favour he could obtain of the King his brother, was, to chuse the manner of his death.

To avoid appearing on a scaffold, he desired[17] to be drowned in a butt of Malmsey[18]. He left one son named Edward, who inherited from his grandfather by the mother's side[19], the title of Earl of Warwick, and a daughter called Margaret who was Countess of Salisbury. As the death of the Duke of Clarence raised among the people a general indignation, and murmurs against the King, it was designed to put a stop thereunto, by exposing his body in St. Paul's

church, and giving out, he died of immoderate grief. But this artifice was not capable of amusing the people, who too plainly saw, in the condemnation of that Prince, the terrible effects of his enemy's malice[20]¶

About three months before the King had created Edward his eldest son Prince of Wales[21], and his second son Richard, Duke of York. The rejoicings at court upon this occasion, expressed not so much the joy of the favourites, for the two Princes' promotion, as their satisfaction to see the project of the Duke of Clarence's ruin so near accomplished. Edward did not foresee, that his unjust plot against his brother, was the first step towards the ruin of his own sons. Had the Duke of Clarence lived, the Duke of Gloucester would never have thought of sacrificing them, as he did, to his ambition.

Shortly after the death of the Duke of Clarence, the term taken by Lewis XI. and Edward, to decide their differences by arbitration, was further prolonged, and the Duke of Gloucester appointed by Edward one of the arbitrators, in the room of the Duke of Clarence.

Whilst these things passed in England, the truce between Lewis and Maximilian being expired, Maximilian entered Burgundy, and took several places with great ease, by reason of the people's affection to the house of Burgundy. Probably, he would then have taken possession of the two Burgundies, if he had received from the emperor his father, a supply answerable to his occasions. This Lewis very much feared, and as he knew it to be Edward's interest to join forces with Maximilian, he forgot nothing to divert him therefrom.

In July this year, he sent a full power to prolong the truce, till a hundred years after the death of the two Kings, and oblige him to the payment of the annual pension of fifty thousand crowns, so long as the truce should last. Moreover the ambassador was empowered, to prolong for three years the term agreed upon, to decide the differences by arbitrators, and to promise for Lewis and his successors, to prolong it every third year, till all things were settled. The ambassador being arrived at London, Edward appointed commissioners to treat with him, and at length, the treaty was concluded as proposed by Lewis, though not till February 15<sup>th</sup>, 1479.

Thus Edward, contrary to his own, and the kingdom's interests, suffered himself to be managed by the King of France, or rather by his own ministers, bribed by that Prince. Lewis, not content with diverting him by his intrigues from assisting the Duchess of Burgundy sent him also a proposal to divide betwixt them that Princess's dominions, offering him for his part Flanders and Brabant. Edward closed with the proposal, but upon this condition, that in exchange for the towns conquered in Flanders, Lewis should give him others in Picardy, and particularly Boulogne. But Lewis was too apprehensive of the neighbourhood of the English, to accept that condition.

**A. D. 1479]** Edward, far from the thought of meditating war, entirely abandoned himself to his pleasures. Meanwhile, these pleasures cost him more than the most burdensome war. And therefore, his coffers being empty, he used divers illegal means to extort money from his subjects. The most terrible was, that of causing the rich to be accused of high-treason, in order to confiscate their estates, or exact large sums for their pardon. In the meantime, he continued, with several Princes, negotiations, tending to secure him the continuance of that repose he so passionately loved.

The first of these negotiations was with the King of Denmark, their alliance not having been well observed on either side. At last, that Prince sending ambassadors to London, the alliance was confirmed and renewed, and a congress appointed at Hamburg, to decide all their differences. Two days after the conclusion of this treaty, the French ambassador and the King's commissioners signed two others; by which, if one of the two Princes was driven out of his kingdom, the other should be obliged to receive him, and assist him with all his forces: they should make no alliance without a mutual consent: and the Dauphin's marriage with the Princess Elizabeth should be accomplished, according to the agreement at Amiens.

As Lewis amused Edward with the marriage of Elizabeth to the Dauphin, Maximilian used the same means to gain him to his interest. Though Philip his son was but a year old, he offered Edward to marry him to Anne his third daughter. Edward accepted the offer, and whilst the marriage articles were settling, the two Princes sent each other letters patent, promising not to marry their children without a mutual consent, during the space of three years.

About the same time, Edward had thoughts of marrying Catherine his fourth daughter to John, Infante of Castille and Aragon, son of King Ferdinand, and Isabella of Castille.

Lewis readily performed all the articles of the treaty .of Amiens, except the Dauphin's marriage, for which he still found some fresh excuse, though he still persisted in his promise to fulfil that engagement. Edward, surprised at all these delays, called an extraordinary council, where it was resolved to send ambassadors to Lewis, peremptorily to demand the performance of his promise. The Lord Howard and Thomas Langton treasurer of the church of Exeter, were chosen for this embassy. Howard, who was one of Edward's confidants, was, very likely, the chief of those that suffered themselves to be corrupted by the King of France's favours.

Lewis resolved to dissemble and continue to promise the completing of the marriage, whilst, by ambassadors sent into Scotland, he tried to persuade James to break the truce with England. This negotiation succeeded to his wish. King James suffered himself to be governed by three favourites, raised from the dust, without advising with any Lord of his realm. It was very easy, for the King of France to bribe those mercenary souls, who promised to induce their master to break the truce with the English. And indeed, presently after, James made preparation which plainly discovered his design.

Edward, surprised at the impending rupture between the King of Scotland and him, readily guessed the author. He dissembled however his resentment, and only ordered an army to be raised, the command whereof he resolved to give to his brother the Duke of Gloucester. Then it was, that he began to open his eyes, and turn his thoughts, though too late to revenge[22].

First, he sent ambassadors to Castille to make reparation for certain outrages committed by the English, during the Earl of Warwick's administration, contrary to the alliance between Castille and England. In the second place, he ratified the treaty concluded by his ambassadors at Hamburg, with the King of Denmark. Thirdly, he confirmed his treaty of alliance with the late Duke of Burgundy, and promised to send Maximilian and Maria an aid of six thousand men, pursuant to the treaty.

The archduke promised on his part to pay him fifty thousand crowns yearly, in case the King of France discontinued his pension, and a war ensued upon that account. Lastly, the marriage of Philip, Earl of Charolois son of Maximilian and Maria, with Anne, daughter of Edward was concluded with promise on both sides to cause it to be consummated as soon as the parties were of age. By another treaty, Edward promised to use his endeavours. to procure Maximilian a truce with the King of France to offer to be arbitrator himself between Lewis and him to try to be received as such; and if Lewis refused, engaged to declare against him.

Edward having thus settled his matters with Maximilian and Maria, sent again ambassadors to France, to press the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the Dauphin. Lewis according to custom, using some ill excuse, he equipped a fleet, and gave the command to John Middleton, to go to the assistance of his new allies.

**A. D. 1481]** Meantime, the King of Scotland continued his preparations. James III, who came to the crown at seven years of age, being out of his minority, had suffered himself to be so corrupted by flatterers, that he made their will the sole rule of his actions. In a word, he was a tyrant. He had three ministers or favourites, men of mean birth, who governed him entirely, and whose sole view was to render him independent of the laws, that they themselves might rule in

his name with an arbitrary power. The King had two brothers, namely, Alexander, Duke of Albany, and John. The last, speaking too freely of the King his brother's conduct, was thrown into prison, and there put to death by having his veins opened. As the favourites were afraid, that Alexander would revenge his death, they persuaded the King to confine him in a castle.

At this juncture it was that James, hated by his people, and, particularly by the nobility, undertook without the least pretence, to break the truce with the English, Edward was vexed to see the approaches of a rupture that would divert him from the war with France, to which he was much more inclined. Meanwhile, not to neglect all necessary precautions, he gave orders for the defence of the borders, and at the same time committed to certain persons of Ireland, the care of making an alliance in his name, with the Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles, to give his enemy a diversion from that quarter:

In June 1481, the Scots made an irruption into the borders before Edward's army was ready. Edward made no haste to send an army against Scotland, as well because he still hoped to end this affair amicably, as because he knew King James's circumstances to be such, that he could not do him much hurt. His grand design was to be revenged of Lewis XI.

For this reason he renewed his alliance with the Duke of Bretagne, and concluded the marriage of the Prince of Wales his son, with Anne eldest daughter of that Duke, or in case she died before consummation, with Isabella her youngest sister, upon these conditions: that if there should be several sons, the second, or next to the heir of the crown of England, should be Duke of Bretagne, and reside in the country; that if the Duke should hereafter have a son born in wedlock, he should espouse one of Edward's daughters that was most suitable to his age; That if Edward had no daughter to give him, the Duke should not marry his son without the King's consent. Lastly, it was agreed betwixt them that if the King of France made war upon the Duke of Bretagne, Edward should send the Duke three thousand men at his own charge. The Duke promised the same thing in case of a war between England and France.

In the beginning of the year 1482, Edward renewed his alliance with Portugal. Shortly after, he sent ambassadors to Castille, to conclude the marriage of his daughter Catherine with the infanta. But that affair did not succeed to his wish.

Whilst Edward was intent upon every thing conducive to the good success of his undertaking, Alexander, Duke of Albany, brother of the King of Scotland, escaped out of prison, and came by sea into England, to implore the King's protection. Besides the general reasons which all the Scots had to complain of their sovereign, Alexander had very particular ones. He made a treaty with Edward, wherein he assumed the title of King of Scotland, and promised to do homage for that kingdom to the crown of England.

He engaged moreover to break the ancient alliance of France with Scotland, and make one with Edward against Lewis XI; to deliver Berwick to England, and marry Cecily, Edward's daughter, affianced to Prince James his nephew, in case, by the judgement of the church, he could be divorced from his wife. That if he could not succeed, he promised to marry his son only to a Princess of England. Edward obliged himself on his part, to assist him with all his power to take possession of the throne of Scotland.

This treaty being signed, Edward sent an army against Scotland, under the command of the Duke of Gloucester his brother, whom the Duke of Albany would accompany, but without taking however the title of King. Probably, this treaty was a secret known to few persons. At the same time, Edward gave the command of a fleet to Robert Ratcliff, to act against Scotland. The Duke of Gloucester advancing to the borders of the two kingdoms, took the town of Berwick, and being unwilling to lose time in besieging the castle, left it invested and marched directly to Edinburgh.

Whilst the Duke of Gloucester was advancing at the head of his army, King James who had wantonly undertaken this war without concerting measures to prosecute it vigorously, was greatly embarrassed. The only means he had to resist the English was to assemble the nobility; but he durst not attempt it, knowing how much they were displeased with him and his ministers. He was forced however to resolve it, or cast himself upon the mercy of the English.

So, the Lords being summoned, came with their troops to Lauther, where they were expected by the King. But to what streights soever that Prince was reduced, he altered not his conduct. His three favourites were his sole council, and scarcely any dared to approach him but themselves or their creatures. The nobles, full of indignation at this conduct, resolved to embrace so fair an opportunity to be rid of those by whom the King was beset.

After consulting together upon what was to be done, some of them well attended came to the King's apartment, and carrying away the three favourites who had sheltered themselves in his room, brought them to the army, where they caused them to be immediately hanged. James, extremely terrified, dreading also an attempt upon his life, promised to reform his conduct for the future; but a few days after, withdrew to the castle of Edinburgh. So, the army being without a leader, disbanded themselves, and the Lords returned to their homes.

The Duke of Gloucester hearing of this disorder, hastened his march to Edinburgh, and entered the city without opposition. He would have conferred with the King, but it was not even possible to inform him of his desire. This obstinacy to hearken to nothing, obliged the Duke of Gloucester to publish, by sound of trumpet, in all the quarters of Edinburgh, that if, before September, the King of Scotland did not observe the treaties made with the King of England, he would destroy the whole kingdom with fire and sword.

King James's engagements were chiefly to keep the truce, and return the money received for the dower of the Princess Cecily, affianced to the Prince his son. To this the Duke of Gloucester added, that he should recall the Duke of Albany and restore him to his estate and honours. James, equally unable to resist his enemies and to perform his engagements, made no answer. Meanwhile, the nobles being assembled at Haddington, sent deputies to the Duke of Gloucester, to acquaint him, it was their earnest desire, the intended marriage should be consummated, and neither they nor the states were to be blamed, that the truce was not punctually observed.

The Duke of Gloucester replied, the marriage being projected only to maintain a good understanding between the two nations, and King James having wantonly broken it without any provocation, he did not know whether the King his brother desired the marriage to be consummated: that however he had orders to receive the sums that were paid in part of the Princess's dower: that as for the truce, it would be assuredly observed by England, provided the King his brother was put in possession of the castle of Berwick, or at least, the Scots would promise not to assist the besieged.

Matters standing thus, the Duke of Albany demanded of the Scotch Lords a safe conduct, and obtaining it, he went and conferred with them. In the conference it was agreed, that the Duke of Albany should be made Regent of Scotland: that the citizens of Edinburgh should be obliged to pay the King of England the money received by James, in case the projected marriage did not take effect: lastly, that the castle of Berwick should be surrendered to the Duke of Gloucester.

For the Duke of Albany's private security, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Bishop of Dunkeld, the High-Chancellor, the Earl of Argyle, promised to procure him a general pardon for all crimes whatever, even for attempting to dethrone the King; and to cause him to be restored to his whole estate.

On the other hand, the Duke promised to acknowledge the King his brother for his lawful sovereign, and to swear allegiance to him. This gives occasion to presume, his treaty with Edward

was known in Scotland, or the Duke thought proper to discover it, that this clause might be included in the pardon. This agreement being made, the Duke of Albany, either out of pure generosity, or because he thought he should meet with too many obstacles, relinquished his project of placing himself on the throne. On the other hand, the Duke of Gloucester spent some time at Newcastle, till the King his brother should acquaint him with his pleasure, concerning his daughter's marriage.

The Duke of Albany seeing himself thus master, of the kingdom, restored the King his brother to his former state, reserving to himself only his own estate, and the glory of his generosity. James, pleased, as may be imagined, that his fear was his only punishment, seemed at first to behave very differently from what he had done before. His dissimulation lasted not long. He resumed his former course of life, as well as his enmity to his brother, and resolved to dispatch him.

This design was kept so private, that when the Duke was told of it, he had but just time to throw himself into a fishing boat, and escape to the castle of Dunbar with some friends. From thence he sent into England the Earl of Angus and some others to renew with Edward the treaty made the last year, and which was set aside by the intervening agreement. This treaty was confirmed February 11, 1483, with additional articles. But Edward's death, which happened presently after, prevented the execution.

Meanwhile the Duke of Albany having now, pursuant to the treaty, delivered the fortress of Dunbar to the English, and seeing no appearance of being relieved, withdrew into France, where he was unfortunately killed with the splinter of a lance, at a tournament, by the Duke of Orleans, who was afterwards King of France by the name of Lewis XII.

The war with Scotland being ended, Edward turned all his thoughts to the war he designed to carry into France. But he was far from being in so favourable circumstances to be revenged of Lewis XI. as before the rupture with Scotland. Maria, Duchess of Burgundy, being killed by a fall from her horse in March 1481, the Archduke her spouse had so little authority among the Flemings, that he was forced to suffer her children by that Princess to remain in the hands of the Gantois.

Then Lewis XI. using all his policy to inspire the Flemings with a dread of the house of Austria's power, managed so dexterously with the Gantois, that he obtained their consent to give the Dauphin his son, Margaret daughter of their deceased Duchess, with the Earldoms of Artois, Burgundy, Maconnois, Auxerre, and Charolois. This treaty was made with such secrecy that Edward had no notice of it; so that Lewis still continued to amuse the English ambassadors, even after it was ended to his wish.

The first news they had of it, was the arrival of the young Dauphiness, two years old, who was brought to Paris in April, 1482. The nuptials were solemnized in July. This was a great vexation, and most outrageous affront to Edward, who caused the Princess his daughter to be stiled madame the Dauphiness. Edward, full of indignation and rage; bent all his thoughts to revenge; but it was too late, the opportunities he had neglected were irrecoverably lost. He could no longer rely upon the assistance of the Flemings, who had so openly shewn their attachment to the interests of France.

The Duke of Bretagne was seized with a melancholy, which rendered him incapable of any considerable undertaking. The King of Scotland had no reason to be pleased, and all that Edward could expect from his alliance with the Kings of Spain and Portugal, was, that they would not give any assistance to Lewis. So to be revenged, Edward must, like Henry V. attack France with the forces of England alone. But whilst preparations were making for this important war, Edward was seized with a mortal distemper, which discovered to him the vanity of all his projects. Edward died the 9th of April, in the forty-second year of his age, after a reign of two and twenty years

and one month. The cause of his death is variously reported. Some accuse the Duke of Gloucester of poisoning him. The most probable opinion is, that he died of a surfeit, being used to divert his cares with excessive eating and drinking[23].

We have hitherto spoken only of Edward IV's most shining, actions, by reason of their connection with the public affairs. It will be necessary now to say something of his person, and describe the good and bad qualities of his body and mind.

When Edward ascended the throne, he was one of the handsomest men in England, and perhaps in Europe. His noble mien, his free and easy air, his affable carriage, prepossessed every one in his favour. These qualities, joined to an undaunted courage, gained him among the people, an esteem and affection, extremely serviceable to him, in many circumstances of his life. Philip de Commines affirms, he owed his restoration, to the inclination which the principal London ladies had for him. But that would have been inconsiderable, had he not likewise acquired the affection of their husbands, and in general, of most part of the English.

If he had not depended upon the hearts of the people, he would never have ventured to attempt the recovery of the throne, with the help of two thousand men, who were mostly foreigners. For some time, he was exceedingly liberal, but at last became covetous, not so much from his natural temper, as from a necessity to supply the immoderate expenses, into which he was thrown by his pleasures.

Though he had a great extent of wit, and a solid judgment, he committed several great errors: The first was, when he suffered himself to be surprised by the Earl of Warwick. But that fault was in great measure repaired, by the dexterity and readiness wherewith he freed himself from the Archbishop of York. The second was, to trust such persons as betrayed him, and were sold to France. The third, to suffer himself to be so long deceived by Lewis XI, who was universally exclaimed against for his ill faith.

Most historians have extremely aggravated this error, as being ignorant, that from the year 1480, he began to take measures to make war upon Lewis, as appears from the *Collection of the Public Acts*. Two other errors are also ascribed to him, which may be more easily excused. The first is, his breaking off the war with France for an inconsiderable sum, at a time when he might have flattered himself with the hopes of success. But if the circumstances of this affair be well examined, it will be easily seen, that being forsaken by the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne his allies, it would have been very rash to pursue with his own forces alone, the execution of so great an enterprise, which, probably, would have proved unsuccessful.

Another error laid to his charge, is, his not joining with the heiress of Burgundy, to stop the progress of the King of France. That was a real fault. However, it may be considerably lessened, by the examples of several Princes eminent for their abilities, who observed the same conduct on the like occasions. Uncertain of the events, Princes often imagine they shall be great gainers by setting their neighbours. at variance, in hopes of their weakening each other. But the success sometimes happens not to answer their expectations.

It is certain, if Maria of Burgundy, and afterwards the Archduke her husband had more vigorously resisted the attacks of Lewis XI, nothing was more capable to render Edward the umpire of Europa, than the mutual weakening of these two powers. By this conduct it was that he made himself courted by the King of France, and the Duke of Burgundy, because he was always in condition to make the balance incline to one side. He hoped, perhaps, it would be always the same; but he had to deal with a more artful Prince than himself.

These are properly political faults, which are often considered as such, only because of the events which are not in man's power. But the crimes Edward is more justly charged with, are his cruelties, perjury, and incontinence. The first appears in the great number of Princes and Lords, whom,

after taking them prisoners he put to death on the scaffold. If ever there was room to exercise mercy in case of rebellion, it was at that fatal time when it was almost impossible to stand neuter, and so difficult to chuse the most just side between the two houses, that were contending for the crown. Yet, we do not find, that Edward had ever any regard to that consideration.

The death of the Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI. murdered almost in his presence; and that of Henry himself, notwithstanding his innocence, may perhaps be justified in some measure, by those who think nothing unlawful when a throne is in question; but they will never be excused by those who have any tincture of religion. As for the death the Duke of Clarence, it seemed scarcely possible to find the least softening, if it be true, that he was innocent.

Edward's breach of faith was visible, in the unjust punishment of the Lord Wells and his brother-in-law, after drawing them out of sanctuary by a safe-conduct; in that of the Bastard of Fauconbridge, whose crimes he had pardoned: and lastly, in his oath at York, taken even with intention to break it. All these actions are of the number of those, that can be excused only by reasons of state; weak excuse in things where honour and religion are concerned.

As for Edward's incontinency, his whole life may be said to have been one continued scene of lust. He had many concubines, but especially three, of whom he said "One was the merriest[24], the other the wittiest, and the third the holiest in the world, for she was always in a church, but when he sent for her." He had, however, but two natural children, both by Elizabeth Lucy, (to whom he is said to have been contracted before his marriage,) Arthur surnamed Plantagenet, created viscount L'Isle by Henry VIII[25] and Elizabeth, wife of Sir Thomas Lumley.

What is most surprising in the life of this Prince, is his good fortune, which seems to be almost miraculous. He was raised to the throne after the loss of two battles, the first by the Duke his father, the other by the Earl of Warwick, then devoted to the house of York. The head of the father was still upon the walls of York. when the son was proclaimed at London.

Edward escaped as it were by miracle, out of his confinement at Middlehain. He was restored to the throne, or at least received into London at his return from Holland, before he had vanquished, and whilst his fortune yet depended upon the decision of a battle, which the Earl of Warwick was ready to give, him. In a word, he was ever victorious in all the battles where he was present[26].

Elizabeth his Queen brought him a numerous issue, namely, three Princes, and eight Princesses, of whom one son and two daughters died in their infancy[27]. We shall see presently the fate of his eldest son Edward his successor, and of his brother Richard Duke of York.

Elizabeth the eldest of his daughters[28] was promised in marriage to the Dauphin, son of Lewis XI. afterwards King of France by the name of Charles VIII. In process of time, she was married to Henry VII. King of England.

Cecily, who was affianced to the Prince of Scotland, espoused the Lord Viscount Wells, and after his death, another[29].

Ann was contracted to Philip, son of Maximilian of Austria, and Maria of Burgundy. But that marriage not taking effect, she espoused Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, by whom she had two sons, who died without issue.

Bridget was a nun, at Dartford. Mary, who was promised to the King of Denmark, died at Greenwich before her marriage was solemnized. Catherine, whom the King her father would have given to the infante of Spain, was married to William Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, by whom she had a son created Marquis of Exeter, in the reign of Henry VIII[30].

By an indenture of the 4th of Edward, a pound weight of gold of the old Standard, was to make by tale twenty pounds, sixteen shilling and eight-pence; and a pound weight of silver, old sterling, was to make thirty-seven shillings and six-pence. By other indentures of the 5th, 8th, 11th, 16th, and 22nd of the same King, a pound weight of gold of the old standard, was to make forty-five nobles, going for ten shillings apiece; or ninety half nobles, or one hundred and eighty quarter nobles, or sixty-seven and a half of the pieces impressed with angels, going for six shillings and eight-pence each, and consequently was coined into twenty-two pounds ten shillings by tale; and the silver moneys were shorn at thirty-seven shillings and six-pence the pound weight troy.

These indentures were made between the King, and the Lord Hastings his chamberlain, master worker, and warden, of all his exchanges and out; changes in England and Calais. King Edward forth's monies are distinguished from those of Edward III. by the form of the letter particularly II. which is not made like II, as in those of Edward III; as also by the weight, his groat being above twenty grains lighter: moreover, the title of Ireland is wanting on his coins.

The outer circle on the groats is wanting, leaving the letters extended to the very edge, and generally worn part away, in other respects like his predecessors; and of several Mints, as London, York, Canterbury, Bristol; some of them, besides the name of the place of mintage on the reverse, have the initial letters E. C. B. on the King's breast. (Fig. 1.)

The Irish groats have the King's head within a rose, and generally make no mention at all of England, with the place of coinage on the reverse, as Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford; the power of coining money being taken from other places. These fall short of the English groats near ten grains; the first difference between the standards of the English and Irish money beginning in this reign.. Of this Irish money there is one piece. having on the reverse, **CIVITAS, DVBLINIE.** with a large star, that fills the whole area: this is reckoned a great curiosity. (Fig. 2) There is another in Speed, having on one side the arms of France and England quartered, inscribed, **REX. ANGLI. Z. FRANCIE.** Reverse, three crowns, denoting the three kingdoms, **DOMINVS. HIBERNIE.** (Fig. 3) The Royal is like Henry the Vth's rose noble, only here is added a flag at the stern of the ship, wherein is the letter **E. EDWARD. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. DNS. IB.** Reverse., **IHS. AVT. TRANSIENS. PER MEDIVM. IL—LORV. IBAT.** Instead of a cross, there is a rose in the centre, with rays like a sun, extending to the Lions and Fleurs-de-lis interchangeably. The Angelis exactly like that of Henry VI.





### Notes to Chapter III

1) Hall says, there were ten thousand slain on both sides; Fabian hath but about fifteen hundred; and Stow four thousand. They were buried in the field of battle, half a mile from Barnet, where a chapel was afterwards built in Memory of them. The most considerable persons slain on Edward's side, were, the Lords Cromwell and Say, the Lord Montjoy's son, Sir Humphrey Bouchier, son of the Lord Berners, &c.

2) His body, and that of his brother, John Nevil Marquis of Montague, after being exposed three days to all corners, in St. Paul's Cathedral, were conveyed to Bisham Abbey in Berkshire, and there buried.

3) On Easter-day, in the afternoon ; he went immediately to St. Paul's church, where he offered his standard.

4) She embarked, March 24, and landed at Weymouth on April 13 or 14.

5) He set out, April 19, with such forces as he had got together about London, and came to Windsor; whence he departed on the 24<sup>th</sup>, and the 27<sup>th</sup> came to Abingdon, where he waited the 28<sup>th</sup> for the coming of some troops. The 29<sup>th</sup>, he advanced towards Cirencester, and thence to

Malmsbury, and afterwards to Sudbury, on May 1, where he was informed the enemies intended to meet him.

6) He was buried without any solemnity, among some mean persons, in the church of the Black-Friars in Tewksbury.

7) Her father ransomed her for that sum, which he borrowed of Lewis XI. and mortgaged to him for it the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the county of Provence.

8) The founder of Magdalen-College in Oxford,

9) Some say, that when he heard what losses had happened to his friends, and how not only his son, but also his other chief adherents were dead, and dispatched out of the Way, he took it so to heart, that out of pure displeasure, indignation, and melancholy, he died on May 23.

10) His body was brought, in an open coffin, on May 29, through Cornhill, with a great company of armed men, to St. Paul's church, where it was exposed, for one whole day, to public view. The next day it was removed to the Black-Friars; and thence, without priest or clerk, torch or taper, singing or saying, conveyed to the monastery of Chertsey in Surrey; but it was afterwards removed by Edward IV. or, according to others by Richard III in the second year of his reign, to Windsor, and there buried, A monument was erected for him, of which there are no remains,

11) One day as he was hunting with the King at Windsor, for the King told him, he would come and hunt with him at his seat called the Mere in Herefordshire. Accordingly the archbishop made great preparations, and borrowed a good deal of plate from his friends: but the day before Edward was to come, the archbishop was apprehended, and all his goods and effects, valued at twenty thousand pounds, seized to the King's use.

12) By granting him a pension of forty thousand livres, the half of Guienne, and other places.

13) And promised to give him a thousand crowns more, in case matters were adjusted.

14) King Edward returned to London September 28, and was met on Blackheath by the mayor and aldermen of London, and about five hundred persons more, by whom he was conducted in great triumph to Westminster.

15) An ancestor of the present Sir Francis Burdett, Bart.

16) It is said that, on the death of the Duke of Burgundy, Clarence, who wanted not ambition, turned his attention towards a marriage with the heiress, and applied to his sister Margaret Duchess-Dowager of Burgundy to promote his views. That Princess who loved him better than either of her other two brothers, warmly espoused his cause, and every thing wore a promising aspect. But Edward, who ought to have promoted this scheme with all his power, from policy as well as from natural affection to his brother, opposed it, and caused his Queen's brother, Anthony Widville, Earl Rivers to be proposed as a proper husband to the young heiress; who was rejected with disdain. This cruel injury sunk deep into the heart of Clarence, who seldom afterwards appeared at court, or in council; and when he did appear, was sullen, silent, and visibly discontented. The execution of Burdett and Stacy, who were his friends, and owed their death to their attachment to him, overcame his patience and threw him off his guard. He went the next day to the council-chamber at Westminster, attended by W. Goddard, a celebrated divine, who had assisted the sufferers in their last moments, and gave in copies of the private and public declarations they had made of their innocence, and then withdrew.

17) That it was done at his own desire, seems to be a mistake. And Hollingshead says, he was privily drowned in a butt of Malmsey, on March 11, or rather February 18.

**18)** It seems that King Edward was afterwards very sorry for his death; insomuch, that when any one sued to him for the pardon of a condemned malefactor, he would break out into these words: Oh, unfortunate brother, for whose life not one creature would make intercession.

**19)** Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick.

**20)** His body was buried at Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, by that of his Duchess, Isabella, daughter and coheir of Richard Nevil, the great Earl of Warwick.

**21)** Edward was created Prince of Wales, July 26, 1471; and his brother Richard was created Duke of York, May 28, 1474, Earl of Nottingham, January 12, 1475, and Duke of Norfolk and Earl Warren, February 7, the same year; and also Earl-Marshal. On January 15, 1477, he married Ann, the only daughter and heir of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; by whom he left no issue.

**22)** A. D. 1180.

**23)** Hall says, he had been troubled, ever since his last journey to France, with a certain ague and fever, which suddenly turned to a quartan.

**24)** Jane Shore,

**25)** From Frances Plantagenet, his second daughter, married to Thomas Monk, Esq.; was descended George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

**26)** King Edward was buried at Windsor, in the collegiate chapel begun by him, and finished by the Lord Reginald Bray. He is said to have taken a thousand pounds a year from Eton and King's college to bestow on this his new foundation at Windsor. He also repaired the castles of Nottingham and Dover, the Tower of London, his palace at Eltham, &c.

**27)** The son was called George, who being a child, was created Duke of Bedford, and shortly after dying, was buried at Windsor. The daughters were, Margaret, (the sixth daughter, buried in Westminster abbey,) and another, whose name is not mentioned.

**28)** Born at Westminster, February 11, 1466.

**29)** She had by Wells two daughters, Elizabeth, who died without issue, and Ann Wells, buried at the Augustin Friars. Cecily's second husband was one Kyme of Lincolnshire, by whom she had no children. She was buried at Quarera in the Isle of Wight.

**30)** In the year 1483, the last of this reign, was, born Thomas Parr, a Shropshire man, noted for his extraordinary great age. He lived to the year 1635, being then brought up to London by the Earl of Arundel, as a great rarity, where he died, after having lived in the reigns of ten Kings and Queens, aged a hundred and fifty-two years





## Chapter IV King Edward V AD 1483



**A**FTER the death of Edward IV; the Prince his eldest son, between twelve and thirteen years of age, was proclaimed King by the name of Edward V. The reign of this Prince was short and unfortunate; if the two months and twelve days that he bore the title of King, and which were wholly spent in depriving him of the crown; even before he had solemnly received it, are not rather to be deemed an interregnum. But before we proceed, it will be necessary to shew the state of the court of England before the death of Edward IV.

Elizabeth Woodville, from the time of her marriage, had acquired an influence over the King which she preserved to the day of his death. As Queen, she had no right to interpose in the public affairs, but she artfully assumed it by her ascendant over the King. Though Edward often proved false to her, she bore it without any signs of uneasiness. Edward, charmed to find himself at liberty to pursue his inclinations, without danger of continual reproaches, repaired this moderation with all sorts of condescension, which the Queen knew how to improve.

The advancement of Sir Richard Woodville her father to the honour of Earl of Rivers; and the marriage of her brother with the richest heiress of the kingdom, were the first proofs she gave of her power. After that, Edward heaped honours and riches upon this family, even to the desiring to marry his brother-in-law Anthony to Margaret the King of Scotland's sister. When the Prince of Wales was of age to have a governor, this same Lord, become Earl of Rivers, was entrusted with that high office.

The Queen forgot not her own children by her former husband Sir John Grey, of Groby. Thomas Grey her eldest son, was made Marquis of Dorset, Governor of the Tower, and keeper of the King's treasures. Richard Grey his brother, was created a Baron, and had a considerable post about the Prince of Wales. The Queen also made an ill use of her power; by causing to be created Peers, many persons who would have had no pretension to that honour, if they had not been supported by her favour.

This gave occasion to the distinction in those days between the ancient and the new nobility. But if this distinction redounded not to the honour of the last, that disadvantage was amply repaired, by the places of honour and profit procured them by the Queen. By degrees she had as it were banished the ancient nobility from the court, where appeared scarcely any but Lords of the new creation, all attached to the Queen.

Her aim was to preserve her power during the King's life, and in case she survived him, to secure the government of the kingdom. in her son's name, when he should be on the throne. It was not, however, in her power to expel from the court three Lords of the ancient nobility whom the King loved, because they had done him signal services. These were Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, William Hastings, and Thomas Stanley.

The first, who was of a very ancient family, had moreover the advantage of being descended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, seventh son of Edward the third, and enjoyed the office of high constable.

The Lord Hastings, (ancestor of the Earl of Huntingdon) was high chamberlain. The King had a singular affection for him, because of his constant loyalty, of which he had given proofs in the time of his adversity; -particularly when he was forced to fly into Holland. This Lord was extremely attached to the King's person, but loved not the Queen. The Lord Stanley (ancestor of the Earl of Derby,) of an ancient family, was in the same disposition.

The King's concubines held likewise a considerable rank at court, by reason of their influence over him. There were three especially, of whom Jane Shore alone was concerned in the events of this new reign. She was wife to a citizen of London whom Edward had debauched, and taken from her husband. She, was surprisingly beautiful, and withal of a generosity very uncommon in persons of her character.

The King was as much in love with her temper as her beauty. He never heard her speak ill of any person, nor ever perceived her to try to prejudice him against any man whatever. If she importuned him sometimes; it was in behalf of the unfortunate; When she had done a good office, she scorned to take a reward being unwilling to give occasion to think she acted from a motive of interest. Therefore she had amassed but few riches, in comparison of other concubines, whose greediness can never be satisfied.

The Duke of Gloucester the King's brother was embarrassed between the two parties formed at court, and in the kingdom. The only way to please the King, was to make court to the Queen. But on the other hand, the Duke perceiving the Queen's aim was to engross the government in case the King happened to die, could not be attached to her, without forfeiting the affection of the ancient nobility, of which he might one day stand in need. As .he was naturally a great dissembler, he resolved: to make his court publicly to the Queen; but in private, he joined with the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Hastings, and the Lord Stanley.

It is needless to say. Much :of the two young Princes the King's sons, the eldest of whom was but twelve, and the Duke of York his brother but nine years old, when the King their father died. It will suffice to say, that. before Edward IV was seized with the distemper that laid him in his grave, he had sent the Prince, his eldest son, with the Earl of Rivers his governor, into Wales to appease some commotion. The young Duke of York remained at court with the Queen his mother.

Edward saw with some concern the two parties that were formed in his court. But his affection for the Queen not suffering him to hold the balance even, he took no care to prevent the consequences. So long as he enjoyed his health, he imagined, that during his life he should be always master of both, and by strengthening the new nobility hinder the old from being able to prejudice the Queen and her children after his death. But when he came to die, he beheld this division in another light.

He considered that he left for support to his house only new families, which had not had time to establish themselves, and owed all their authority and credit entirely to his favour, of which they Were about to be deprived. This thought sensibly troubling him, he sought in himself the means to repair his error, and in his present condition found no better way, than to persuade the two parties to be reconciled for his sake.

Weak expedient! The regard for a dying King, never beloved by the ancient nobility, was little capable of extinguishing their hatred and envy of the Queen's relations, which unhappily, had been but too much fomented. However, before he expired, Edward had at least the satisfaction to see this reconciliation, which he thought sincere, because of the seeming readiness and cheerfulness wherewith both parties consented to his request. The Earl of Rivers being absent,

the Queen his sister passed her word for him, and the Marquis of Dorset her eldest son, as representing the family of Grey, embraced the Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Hastings, who were the heads of the opposite party. The Duke of Gloucester being then at York, upon the King's affairs, had it not in his power to obstruct this reconciliation.

As soon as Edward's eyes were closed, the two parties forgetting their late mutual protestations of friendship, thought only of gaining the advantage of each other. Meanwhile, they unanimously agreed to proclaim the deceased King's eldest son by the name of Edward V. That done, each took such measures as were thought most proper to attain his ends. The chief thing was to become master of the King's person, in order to govern in his name.

The Queen hoped to maintain and even to increase her authority, during the King her son's minority, and the other party saw themselves irrecoverably lost, if the young Prince was once in the hands of his mother. However, thus far the advantage was entirely on the Queen's side. Immediately after the death of the King her husband, she had dispatched a courier to the Earl of Rivers her brother with the news. She told him withal in the letter, that she believed it absolutely necessary for him to raise forces in Wales, and the adjoining counties, to enable him to conduct the new King safely to London, in order to his coronation.

On the other side, the Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Hastings, sent an express to the Duke of Gloucester[1], acquainting him with the King's death, and the Queen's measures; and withal representing to him, that being the King's uncle by the father's side, the government of the realm belonged to him, during the minority; but if he did not prevent the Queen, it would be in vain to expect afterwards to obtain his right. At all adventures, they offered him a thousand men well armed, and ready to march at the word of command.

It is very difficult to judge, whether before the death of Edward IV. the Duke of Gloucester had thought of mounting the throne, to the prejudice of his nephews. But it is scarcely to be doubted; that he formed this design the moment he heard of his brother's decease. All his after proceedings, too plainly appear to be consequences of a scheme laid to compass that end. As for the Lord Hastings, his sole intention was certainly to take the government out of the hands of the Queen and her relations.

His constant attachment to Edward IV. would never have suffered him to be concerned in a plot to dethrone his son. As for the Duke of Buckingham, his conduct was more ambiguous: Besides his hatred of the Queen and her family, he had always preserved a particular respect for the Duke of Gloucester, which gives occasion to suspect, he had joined with him at first, in the design to place him on the throne.

However, the historians ascribe to him, (at least in the beginning of this reign,) the same intention only with the Lord Hastings, namely, to remove the Queen from the government of the King's person, and of the realm. Be this as it will, the Duke of Gloucester, upon news of the King's death, sent back the express, with orders to desire the Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Hastings, to come and confer with him at Northampton.

These two Lords, with some others of their party, repairing to the place appointed, the Duke of Gloucester, in a long speech, demonstrated to them, the great and impending danger, if the Queen was possessed of the government. He told them:—

They would be exposed to the mercy of an imperious woman, and of the two families of Rivers and Grey, newly raised by the King his brother, who would never think themselves perfectly safe, till those whom they considered as their rivals and enemies were destroyed. That the late King had kept them, by his authority, within some bounds, but when they should be possessed of the supreme power, in the name of the young King, nothing would be capable of curbing their insolence. He added, that no person had more right, or was more concerned than himself, to take

care of the affairs of the kingdom, during the minority of the King his nephew. That every one knew his constant attachment to the King his brother, and therefore his tender affection for his children suffered him not to leave them to the mercy of those, who had never appeared to have any other view than their own advancement.

That for these reasons he was resolved, zealously to apply himself to promote, to the utmost of his power, the good of the nation, and the honour of his nephew, principally by giving him an education that should render him capable of treading in the steps of his illustrious ancestors. But that he could not hope to execute such a project, without the assistance of all honest men, and particularly of those to whom he was speaking, who without doubt, had, like him, no other view, than the nation's welfare and glory.

That he had assembled them, to consult with them upon what was to be done in the present emergency, being resolved not to proceed without their advice.

This speech meeting with applause, all the Lords entered into a serious debate, concerning the means to be used to become, master of the King's person. To succeed by force was extremely difficult. The Earl of Rivers had not only assembled a good number of troops but it would have been also very easy for him to conduct the King to London, before they were in condition to prevent it.

Besides, they would have given him too great an advantage, if without, any apparent necessity, they had begun so soon to take arms. Such a step would have infallibly caused the people to side with their enemies, and been looked upon as tending to obstruct the King's coronation. These considerations made the Lords resolve to use policy. To that end, they agreed, that they should continue to show a great zeal for the King, in order to deprive the Queen of all pretence to raise forces, or keep those on foot that were assembled by the Earl of Rivers.

That the Duke of Gloucester should try to persuade her to dismiss these troops as useless, That in case he succeeded, it should be endeavoured to become master of the King, before his arrival at London; but if, on the contrary, the Queen was bent to keep these forces, she was to be amused with negotiations, till her designs could be openly opposed.

The conference being ended, the Lord Hastings posted to London, where his presence was necessary, by reason of his great interest in the city. Presently after, the Duke of Gloucester sent the Queen a letter<sup>[2]</sup> of condolence upon the King's death, expressing an extreme affection for the young Prince, his successor, and an extraordinary respect for her, advised her to dismiss her troops, that all the nobles of the realm might come, without fear and suspicion, to pay their respects to their young sovereign, and contribute, every one according to his power, to the preservation of peace and union in the state.

The Queen very imprudently followed, this advice, of which she perceived not the venom. Believing herself sufficiently supported, since the, Duke of Gloucester expressed so great an attachment to her interests, she wrote to the Earl of Rivers her brother, that she thought it proper, he should dismiss his troops, for fear of raising jealousies without occasion. The Earl immediately obeyed her orders, and keeping only the King's domestics, began his journey to conduct him to London.

The young King approaching Northampton, the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, who had brought into the town nine hundred armed men, went to meet him, and saluted him very respectfully. In discoursing with the Earl of Rivers, they told him, the town of Northampton was so full of strangers, and ill provided with provisions and other conveniences, that it would be very incommodious for their, and the King's retinues to lodge in that place. Then, they advised him to carry the King to Stony Stratford, which is but twelve miles further in the road to London. Upon parting, one of them proposed to the Earl, in a free and easy manner, to go and pass the

night with them at Northampton, whilst -the King rested at Stony Stratford. The three Lords being come to Northampton, spent the evening together in perfect harmony. Bedtime being come, the Earl of Rivers withdrew to his lodgings. But the other two passed the rest of the night in consulting what was to be done, since the Earl of Rivers had indiscreetly put himself into their hands.

Their consultation being ended, they secured The keys of the inn where they lodged. For the greater precaution, they sent a number of men to line the way, and suffer no person whatever to enter Stony Stratford. At break of day they were ready to mount, whilst the Earl of Rivers was still in bed. Meantime, one of his people waking him, and telling him, the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham were ready to depart, and that no body was suffered to go out of the inn, he immediately put on his clothes, to know the reason of this proceeding.

Upon his approach they began to quarrel with him, taxing him with alienating the King's affection from his most faithful subjects, adding, they should take care to prevent the like practices for the future. The Earl began to return a calm answer to this accusation, but refusing to hear him, they committed him to the custody of some of their servants, and mounting their horses rode away to the King.

They found the young Prince ready to depart, and paying him their respects, re-mounted in order to attend him. Before they were out of the town, they quarrelled with the Lord Grey, the King's half brother, and charged him, that jointly with the Marquis of Dorset his brother, and the Earl of Rivers his uncle, he had formed the project to become master of the King's person and that the Marquis of Dorset had moreover taken out of the Tower, the treasure committed to his custody by the late King.

At the same time, they ordered their people to arrest the Lord Grey, with Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawse, and instead of proceeding to London, carried the King back to Northampton. The same or next day the prisoners were conducted to Pontefract castle, the governor whereof was the Duke of Gloucester's creature. The King appeared extremely concerned for the disgrace of his brother and uncle, as well as for the violence to his own person. But he had no way to free himself from his new governors, but his tears, which were little regarded. Meanwhile, they paid him outwardly all the reverence usually paid to a sovereign.

The news being brought to the Queen, she perceived her error in relying on the Duke of Gloucester, and suspected immediately, he would not stop there, and had formed designs still more destructive to the royal family. So, finding herself deprived of the assistance of her brother and sons, as well as of their counsels, she saw no other refuge, than, with the Duke of York her son and the rest of her family, to take sanctuary in Westminster.

The Lord Hastings, then at London, having intelligence in the night of what had passed at Northampton, instantly sent the news to Dr. Rotherham, the Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, assuring him withal, he had no reason to be alarmed; that the King's person was in no danger, and very shortly what had happened would turn to the welfare of the kingdom. The Archbishop rising that moment, went to the Queen, and carried the Great Seal with him. He found her in a disconsolate condition, sitting upon the ground, lamenting her own and her children's fate, whilst her domestics were busy in carrying such goods as were necessary into the sanctuary.

He endeavoured to comfort her, telling her what the Lord Hastings had declared to him. But he found her very backward to believe, that any good could come from such an enemy; Then the prelate; to give her hopes, told her, the King's person was safe, Since the Duke of York his brother was not in the power of those whom she considered as her enemies. He added, if they should be so audacious as to put the King to death, or give the crown to another, he assured her he would immediately crown the Duke of York. In fine; to give her all possible assurances of his fidelity,

he left the Great Seal with her. But reflecting afterwards upon his error, in resigning so precious a pledge committed to him by the late King, he sent for it again as soon as he came home.

The whole city of London was now in commotion. The Lord Hastings being sensible, that an insurrection at London might break the measures of his friends at Northampton, instantly came into the city, and as his credit was great among the citizens, he assured them that the King was in no danger: that indeed the Earl of Rivers, the Lord Grey, and some others, were arrested for conspiring against the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, but would be brought to a legal trial: that however it was no just reason for them to take arms, and it was to be feared they would be called to an account for the tumult, if they did not lay them down as readily as they had taken them up.

The citizens supposing the Lord Hastings to be perfectly informed, by reason he was of the Duke of Buckingham's party, retired to their houses. Shortly after, the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham conducted the King to London, paying him all the respect due to his dignity. As they travelled along, they caused a report to be spread, that the Earl of Rivers and the rest of the prisoners at Pontefract had intended to kill them; and their servants showed the people barrels of arms, which were said to be found among the baggage of the conspirators.

The news of the extraordinary respect paid the King, flying to London before his arrival, the city grew much more quiet, because there was reason to believe, there had been no attempt upon the King's person or dignity.. At his approach, the people went out in crowds to receive him, and the young King entered the city<sup>[3]</sup>, attended by a great number of Lords, and particularly by the Duke of Gloucester, who followed him bare headed<sup>[4]</sup>.

He was lodged in the Bishop's palace, to show the citizens the great confidence placed in them and that his safety only was consulted. This management entirely removed the suspicions respecting the Duke of Gloucester.

The rejoicings for the King's safe arrival being ended, it was necessary to think of settling the government during his minority, which was to last seven years. This most natural way would have been to call a Parliament, as was practised after the death of Henry V. But as, during a Parliament, all other authority would have ceased, till the government was regulated, the Duke of Gloucester did not think fit to part with the power he had acquired by seizing the King's person.

This consideration made him think it more agreeable to his interests to call a great council, and not summon a Parliament till he had secured the crown. This council mostly consisting of the ancient nobility, and the Duke of Gloucester's friends, declared him protector of the King and kingdom, usurping a privilege belonging only to the Parliament.

As soon as the Duke was declared Protector, he took the Great Seal from Archbishop Rotherham, and delivered it to the Bishop of Lincoln. The Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Hastings were confirmed in their places; but there were great alterations made in all the rest of the posts.

To proceed with any appearance of success in his design, it was necessary for the Duke of Gloucester to have the young Duke of York in his power, as well as the King his brother. To dethrone or murder the King, would have been to no purpose, so long as the Duke of York was out of reach. In order to accomplish this design, he moved in the council, whether it would not be requisite to get the Duke of York out of the Queen's hands, and place him with the King his brother.

He made upon this occasion a very long speech, wherein, after testifying an extraordinary zeal for the royal family, and confirming what he said with a great oath, he displayed the reasons which required the young Prince's removal from the Queen. The first was, "That the Queen's flying to sanctuary without any apparent danger to herself and family, could not but be construed

as an affront to the government. In the second place, her sole aim must have been to raise disturbances by making the people believe the King was in danger, since no other consequence could be inferred from her conduct. That therefore it was necessary to undeceive the people by procuring the Duke of York, and causing him to be educated according to his quality.

That the more visible the Queen's malice was, the more it should be endeavoured to prevent its effects. That it was manifest, she was striving to form in the kingdom a party capable of setting her at the head of affairs, as she was in the late reign. That it was with difficulty and by great chance, that they were freed from the imperious rule of that Princess and her family; but if the King should happen to die, the realm will be again plunged into the same calamities, since she had the lawful heir in her power.

On the other hand, it was necessary to consider what foreigners would say when they heard, that whilst one of Edward the Fourth's sons was crowned, the other was forced to keep in sanctuary. That it would be dishonourable to the government, to suffer themselves to be thus braved by a woman, who had attempted to cause the King's council to be considered as enemies of the royal family.

That besides, the King' being young and wanting some diversion, he could not have a more agreeable companion than his own brother, and there was no reason to keep them asunder. In fine, it would be indecent to proceed to the coronation, in the absence of the Duke of York, the second person in the state, who having an evident right to be present, could not be debarred of it without injustice. Upon all these accounts, he concluded, that deputies should be sent to the Queen, to desire her to deliver the Duke of York to the King his brother.

He added, that, in his opinion, the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, was the properest person for his deputation. That if, notwithstanding all the Archbishop's arguments, she should obstinately keep the young Prince with her, and persist in her groundless suspicions, he saw no other reason why the council should not take him away by force. This was his opinion, and he desired every member of the council to speak his own with freedom.

The cardinal readily took upon him to go and acquaint the Queen with the council's pleasure, but by no means approved the motion of violating the privilege of sanctuary.

The Duke of Buckingham contended, that sanctuaries were intended only to protect such as had reason to fear oppression and violence, and not to countenance frivolous and malicious suspicions, detrimental to the King and kingdom. After many sharp reflections against the Queen, he enlarged upon the abuses of sanctuaries, particularly as they afforded those who fled thither means to escape. He added, though the Duke of York was neither guilty nor oppressed, there was room to fear the Queen his mother would carry him out of the kingdom, which might one day give the Queen opportunity to invade England, by the help of some foreign Prince, upon frivolous pretences, which would never be wanting.

In fine, after alleging sundry other reasons, he agreed with the Protector to take the Duke of York by force out of sanctuary, if the Queen refused to deliver him freely. This opinion of the protector and the Duke of Buckingham at length prevailed, notwithstanding the opposition of most of the ecclesiastics there present.

The Cardinal being come to the Queen[5], used all possible arguments to induce her to comply, and to persuade her that neither the King nor herself, nor the Duke of York were in danger. All his eloquence, however, was not capable to persuade the Queen, who plainly saw in the Duke of Gloucester's conduct too much reason to strengthen her fears, At last, the cardinal told her, that the council, apprehensive of her carrying the Prince her son out of the kingdom, had resolved to take him by force out of his sanctuary, if she obstinately insisted upon keeping him there.

The Queen, seeing herself so pressed to obey the council's order, freely declared to the cardinal the real cause of her fears. She could not help suspecting the Duke of Gloucester of having designs destructive of the royal family, which he could not accomplish without having both the brothers in his power; and that the only means to preserve the King, was to keep the Duke of York out of their uncle's reach.

The Cardinal growing warm at this discourse, replied, that for his part, he believed the Duke had never entertained such a thought, and that the council would be very sorry to see themselves taxed with treachery or extreme imprudence. The Queen felt herself much shaken by the assurances of a person of his character. So, suddenly resolving to give up the young Prince, she caught him in her arms, tenderly took her leave of him, and with a shower of tears delivered him to the cardinal, who brought him to the protector.

As soon as he saw his young nephew, he ran to him with open arms, to embrace him and give him marks of a feigned affection, telling him, he would always be to him instead of a father. Then, he carried him to the King, who, without knowing how he came there, was overjoyed at his company. A few days after, the protector found some excuse to convey them both to the Tower[6], whereas before they lodged. at the Bishop's palace, near St. Paul's.

It is generally believed, that hitherto the Duke of Gloucester had not communicated his most secret thoughts to the Duke of Buckingham, nor imparted them to him till after he had the two Princes in his power. Buckingham mortally hated the Queen and her family, because it was through their means that the late King refused to give him possession of certain lands in Herefordshire, to which he laid claim[7]. His hatred had even passed to the King's person, though he had not dared to show it.

He had joined with the Duke of Gloucester, to deprive the Queen and her relations of the government of the realm, during the King's minority; but it is not believed, his thoughts had gone any further. However, as he was a man of ill principles, it was not difficult for the protector to engage him in his plot, by the hopes of a reward. It is said, he promised not only to procure him the lands he desired, but also to give him part of the late King's wardrobe, to furnish his house in a stately manner, and secure to his heirs the office of High Constable, of which he was in possession. Be this as it will, the Duke of Buckingham so engaged in the project, to set the protector on the throne, that from thenceforward he appeared no less eager than the Protector himself to accomplish it.

From that time the conferences between the Duke of Gloucester and his friends became more frequent than before, and they came to the following resolutions, which were considered as the plan whereon they were gradually to proceed.

**First**, as the strongest opposition was probably to be expected from the Queen, it was resolved to dispatch the prisoners at Pontefract, in order to deprive the royal family of their chief support. The Lord Hastings, to whom this design was imparted, readily gave his consent, though he knew not the protector's real motive to put these Lords to death.

**2.** It was agreed to endeavour to engage in the plot the properest persons to accomplish it, that is in other words, villains capable of undertaking, without regard to honour, justice, or conscience.

**3.** It was judged necessary to find some foundation to support the Duke of Gloucester's pretensions, that the people might be amused with some appearance of reason.

4. As it was no less requisite to keep the plot secret till matters were ripe for execution, it was resolved still to show publicly a settled design to cause the King to be crowned, till it was no longer necessary to dissemble.

5. Lastly, it was agreed, that the Lord Hastings should either be gained or dispatched out of the way.

The plan being laid, the Protector wrote to Sir Richard Ratcliff Governor of Pontefract and his creature, to behead, on a day appointed, the four Lords that were under his custody. After that, he applied himself particularly to gain Sir Edmund Shaw then Mayor of London, and succeeded to his wish. The mayor engaged in the plot his brother John Shaw a famous preacher, and one Pinker, Monk and provincial of the Augustine Friars, who were much esteemed by the people: to these the protector joined one Catesby, a particular friend and confidant of Lord Hastings.

By means of these men the Protector's secret council resolved to spread among the people the reasons which might strengthen his pretensions. This seemed very difficult, since there were three Princes and six Princesses before him, namely, the King, the Duke of York his brother, Edward the Fourth's five daughters, the Earl of Warwick son to the late Duke of Clarence, and Margaret his sister. One single expedient seemed proper and sufficient to destroy the rights of these Princes and Princesses; which was, to intimate that Edward IV's children were all bastards, and Edward himself and the Duke of Clarence his brother not sons of the late Duke of York.

To exclude Edward's children, it was resolved to urge the validity of his pretended marriage-contract with Elizabeth Lucy before he espoused Elizabeth Woodville, whence it followed, that the children by the last marriage were illegitimate. This pretension was to be proved by the Duchess of York's testimony, who had used that argument to hinder the King her son from marrying Sir Richard Woodville's daughter.

Philip de Commines says, the Bishop of Bath and Wells then affirmed that he married Edward IV to a lady called Eleanor Talbot, before he espoused the Queen; that it was done without witness, and the King had strictly charged him never to mention it to any person whatever. But we do not find that the Duke of Gloucester, at the time we are speaking of, made use of this reason, which however would have been more plausible than that taken from Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Lucy.

For, Edward had taken precautions with regard to this last, whereas the first had been unanswerable, being supported by the evidence of the very bishop that pretended to officiate. It is therefore likely, that Philip de Commines was wrongly informed, or at least mistaken in the name of the King's mistress.

Meanwhile, as it was not easy to prove Edward's pretended marriage with Elizabeth Lucy; and as, on the contrary, the Bishops had declared, there was no mutual contract, the Protector's council judged that the other point should be chiefly insisted upon, namely, that Edward IV and the Duke of Clarence were notions of the late Duke of York. Thereby, were excluded at once the posterity of these two Princes, and then the Duke of Gloucester was next heir.

To support this assertion, it was resolved to plead the Duke of Clarence's own testimony, who, as was pretended, maintained that Edward IV was illegitimate. Moreover, some of the late Duke of York's servants were Already suborned, who took care to spread divers reports which confirmed what was intended to be intimated to the people. They gave out that the Duchess of York had taken to her bed certain persons perfectly resembling Edward IV and the Duke of Clarence, and that the Duke of Gloucester alone was son to the Duke of York.

As for the Earl of Warwick and his sister, another way was used to exclude them, namely, the attainder of the Duke of Clarence their father, which, as they pretended, rendered them incapable

of inheriting at all. Thus, the Duke of Gloucester did not scruple to accuse his own mother of adultery.

Every thing being thus prepared, the Protector feigned to hasten the King's coronation. For that purpose he appointed a particular council, which was to meet every day, and regulate the preparations. He took care to compose this council of such Lords as were most attached to Edward IV's family, among them the two archbishops, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Hastings and the Lord Stanley were the principal. At the same time, he had another council consisting of his creatures, which also met regularly, but whose consultations were only how to defer the coronation, and place the Protector on the throne.

The Lords appointed to hasten the preparations for the coronation, quickly perceived, all their orders were retarded by obstacles from another quarter. The Lord Stanley, a man of deep penetration, was the first to discover his fears of the Protector's ill designs. He, freely spoke his mind to his fellow councillors, and declared, he did not like the Duke of Gloucester's proceedings: that the other council which so frequently met, and whose resolves could not be known, was to him very suspicious.

That therefore it was his opinion, they should think betimes of Means to prevent the mischief which might happen. This advice was prudent; but the Lord Hastings, still prepossessed that the Protector thought only of humbling the Queen's party, removed all these suspicions. He affirmed there was no danger from the other council, and he would pawn his life, that if any thing were transacted detrimental to the King and the state, he should be instantly informed of it by one of the members who was entirely devoted to him. He meant Catesby his friend and confident[8].

But he did not know that Catesby betrayed him, and was therefore trusted by the Duke of Gloucester. So, Stanley and the other Lords of the same party preferring the Lord Hastings's assurances to their own judgment, took no measures to stop the Protector's progress, which they might easily have done, had they endeavoured it in time.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Gloucester, knowing what a firm friend the Lord Hastings was to the King, thought it time to execute the project he had formed concerning him, that is, to engage him in the plot, or destroy him. To that end, he ordered Catesby to sound him, but with all the caution imaginable for fear of discovering the design before he was sure to be gained. Catesby having put the Lord Hastings upon discoursing of state affairs, told him, people talked very much of the Duke of Gloucester's title to the crown preferably to Edward IV's children, and many were persuaded this title was not groundless.

That it was openly said, it were to be wished, the reasons alleged in his favour were good, since it would be more advantageous to the nation to be governed by a man, than by a child. That for his part, he had not yet examined the matter, and should be glad first to know his opinion. Hastings not suspecting his friend, disclosed all his thoughts, and imparted to him the Lord Stanley's suspicions of the Duke of Gloucester. He added, for his part, he had rather see the ruin and destruction of the Protector, and the Duke of Buckingham, than the late King's children deprived of their right.

That if he perceived any plot in favour of the Duke of Gloucester, he would employ his credit, his estate, and his very life, to prevent its succeeding. This reply was immediately carried to the Protector, by the treacherous Catesby, with many aggravations, to hasten the Lord Hastings's destruction, for fear he should one day discover his treachery.

The Duke having thus sounded the Lord Hastings, was greatly embarrassed. At length he resolved to dispatch him, looking upon him now as his real adversary. This resolution taken, he called a council at the Tower, under colour of finishing the affairs of the King's coronation. He came himself at nine o'clock in the morning, with a cheerful countenance, courteously saluting all the

Lords, as if he had nothing in his mind that gave him the least uneasiness. Having paid some compliments to Morton Bishop of Ely, on the good and early strawberries which he raised in his garden at Holborn, he begged the favour of having a dish of them, which that prelate immediately dispatched. a servant to bring to him. After that, he went out, and desired the Lords of the council to continue their deliberations in his absence.

About an hour after, he returned with an angry countenance, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and showing all possible signs of the perturbation of his mind. Remaining some time without speaking, he broke silence with these words: "My Lords, what punishment do they deserve who have plotted against my life?" The Lords not immediately answering, the Lord Hastings replied, "Whoever was guilty of such a crime ought to be punished as a traitor." "It is," answered the Duke, "that sorceress my sister-in-law with her accomplices."

These words astonished many of the council who favoured the Queen, being afraid this accusation concerned them. But the Lord Hastings was far from any such fear. All knew he was sworn enemy to the Queen, and consequently there was no likelihood of his joining with her in such a design. Besides, he had lately approved of the order sent to Pontefract, to behead the Lords prisoners, who were to be executed that very day.

After a short pause, the Protector, unbuttoning his left sleeve, showed the council his arm, dried and withered, saying with extreme. emotion, "See what that sorceress, and Shore's wife have done by their witchcraft. They have reduced my arm as you see, and my whole body would soon have been the same, if by God's mercy their infamous plot had not been discovered."

These words caused a greater surprise than the former, the whole council knowing the Duke's arm had long been in that condition. Besides, if the Queen had framed such a project, Jane Shore would have been the last person, she would have imparted it to, since of all women she most hated her. The Lord Hastings, who since Edward's death had kept Jane Shore, perceiving she was involved in the accusation, could not forbear to show how much he doubted her being guilty, saying, "If they had committed such a crime, they deserved to be punished."

Then the Protector raising his voice, "What," says he, "dost thou answer me with ifs and ands, as if I forged this accusation? I tell thee they have conspired my death, and thou thyself art accessory to the crime." As he ended these words, he struck the table twice with his fist, and immediately the room was filled with armed men. As soon as they were in, the Protector turning to the Lord Hastings, said to him, "I arrest thee for high-treason."—"Who, me, my Lord," answered Hastings? "Yes, thee, traitor," replied the Protector.

At the same time he delivered him to the custody of the soldiers. During the bustle, one of the soldiers would have cleft the Lord Stanley's skull with a battle-axe. But he avoided part of the blow by sinking under the table; however, he was dangerously wounded. Probably, the soldier had orders to kill him as it were by chance, under pretence he would have defended the Lord Hastings. Stanley was arrested with the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Ely, it being the Protector's interest to put it out of their power to hurt him, whom he knew to be zealously affected to the young King.

As for the Lord Hastings, he would scarcely, give him time to make a short confession to the next' priest that came, swearing by St. Paul, "he would not dine till his head was struck off" Accordingly, he was beheaded upon a log which was found on the green before the Tower chapel, the time fixed by the Protector being too short to erect a scaffold.

Historians enlarge upon sundry presages he had of his death[9]; but it suffices to observe here, that the Lord Hastings died the same day and hour that the Pontefract prisoners were executed, to whose death he greatly contributed. The Lord Hastings being dead, the Protector judged it necessary to palliate so hasty and illegal an execution, for fear the Londoners should take fire

upon hearing it, and for that purpose, he sent for the Lord Mayor and aldermen. In the meanwhile, he and the Duke of Buckingham put on two old rusty coats of armour. The Mayor being come to the Tower, the Protector told him, the Lord Hastings, and some others had conspired to take away his life, and he had no intelligence of their plot till ten o'clock that morning.

That the fact being fully proved, the King and council had thought necessary to execute him immediately, by reason they were informed, a great number of people were all ready to rise in his favour. That this conspiracy had put his person in extreme danger, and forced him to harness himself in old rusty armour, for his defence.

That he had sent for him to inform him of the truth, that he might, when he acquainted the Londoners with this sudden execution, take care to appease or prevent the commotions, which ill-affected people might raise in the city. The Mayor and aldermen easily perceived, the Protector did not tell them the whole truth, but not daring to express their doubt, they withdrew, assuring him his orders should be obeyed.

What the Protector had said to the Mayor and aldermen, was only to prepare the people to receive proclamation, published in the city two hours after the death of the Lord Hastings. The King, in whose name it was published, was made to say in it, That the Lord Hastings had conspired to seize his person, in order to govern the kingdom as he pleased, and to kill the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham.

That to prevent this design, he was forced, by advice of his council, to cause the criminal to be immediately punished, and that never man more deserved to die. That it was he that persuaded the late King to do so many things contrary to the rights and privileges of the people. That he had endeavoured to debauch him by his persuasions and example, and had lain the night before with Shore's wife, the accomplice of all his crimes, and particularly of that for which he was executed.

There were several other things in the proclamation, tending to lessen the people's affection and compassion for the Lord Hastings, and to show that his death was a judgment upon him. It was observed that the proclamation was elegantly composed, and fairly written on parchment, though published so very soon after that Lord's death. This bred a suspicion that it was ready prepared in order to be published immediately after the execution. Accordingly, it produced but little effect[10].

As Jane Shore was accused of being an accomplice of the Lord Hastings, the Protector was obliged to, proceed against her. So, giving orders[11] to arrest her, he commanded her to be brought to the Tower, where she was examined before the council. The Duke of Gloucester accused her himself of intending, by her sorceries to waste his flesh by degrees, and of conspiring with the Lord Hastings to assassinate him, besides that he could allege nothing in proof of these accusations, she made so good a defence, that the council could find no reason to condemn her.

However as the Protector was unwilling she should escape without punishment, she was sued for incontinency, as being guilty of leaving her husband, and living with other men. These were facts she could not deny, since the whole court was witness, she had been kept by the late King, and afterwards by the Lord Hastings. Whereupon she was delivered over to the Bishop of London, and condemned by the ecclesiastical court to do open penance in St. Paul's church in a white sheet, with a wax-taper in her hand, before all the people[12].

The late executions at London and Pontefract without any form of process, the imprisonment of the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and the Lord Stanley, left no room to question the Duke of Gloucester's designs. Fear and consternation having seized the great men, the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham thought the advantage should be taken, and that it was time to discover their designs[13].

There remained but one difficulty, and that was to get the Londoners to approve of the intended change. After several consultations, the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham resolved, that by emissaries, it should be continued more than ever to be spread among the people, that Edward the Fourth's children were illegitimate; that their father himself and the Duke of Clarence his brother, were not the Duke of York's sons; and, that these rumours should be supported by a sermon of Dr. Shaw, whose eloquence was applauded by the whole city.

These measures being taken, the Doctor mounted the pulpit one Sunday morning at St. Paul's-cross, and preached upon these words: "*Bastard slips shall take no deep root.*" He began with showing the blessings God usually bestowed on the fruits. of the marriage bed, and the calamities which on the contrary fell upon the children, born out of wedlock.

Then he enlarged on the noble qualities of the Duke of York, slain in the battle of Wakefield, and showed how happy the English would be to have a Sovereign of the race of that great Prince. From thence he took occasion to remark, that it was to be feared, the reign of Edward V would be fatal to England, since he was born of an illegitimate marriage. Moreover, that neither Edward IV nor the late Duke of Clarence were sons of the great Duke of York, as was certainly known from officers of the household, witnesses of the Duchess their mother's scandalous life.

That she had taken to her bed, in the sight of all her servants, men whom the two brothers perfectly resembled. But that the Duke of Gloucester alone could truly be called the Duke of York's son. That besides, Edward IV was not lawfully married to his Queen, since he had before plighted his faith to the lady Elizabeth Lucy, as could be shewn by good evidence. That consequently his children could be no better than bastards. That therefore the Duke of York's real posterity was not to be looked for in the children either of Edward, or of the Duke of Clarence, and that their race would infallibly perish, because "*Bastard plants shall take no deep root.*" But my Lord Protector, continued he, raising his voice, that noble Prince, the pattern of all, virtue, carries in his countenance, in his air, in his carriage, in his soul, the perfect image of his illustrious father.

At these words, it was designed the Duke of Gloucester should appear, in hopes that the people, moved by the preacher's eloquence, would salute him King. But the Duke happening to stay a little too long, the doctor had begun another subject, when he saw him entering; which, however, he left, and repeated the same words before mentioned, whilst the Duke was pressing through the crowd to come to his place. But instead of hearing the cry of long live King Richard as he expected, he perceived all kept a sullen silence, the people detesting the baseness of the preacher; instead of applauding his eloquence.

The sermon being ended, the doctor went and hid himself for shame, neither durst he ever show his face again in the world. It is said, he died presently after with grief at his ill success, and for losing the esteem of his audience.

Shaw's sermon not producing the expected effect; other means were to be used; for the Protector had proceeded too far to recede. So, the Duke of Buckingham, being a fine speaker, took upon him to harangue the people, imagining, a polite speech would be more successful than Shaw's methodical sermon.

To that purpose, the Lord Mayor had orders to assemble the aldermen, common-council, and principal citizens, in the Guild-Hall[14]. Which being done, the Duke of Buckingham came to the assembly[15], and taking his place near the Mayor, told the people, he was come from the council, to acquaint them with a matter of the greatest importance to the whole kingdom, but especially to the inhabitants of London.

His speech ran at first upon the calamities endured by the people of England in the last reign. He aggravated in very violent manner, the cruelty, avarice, and incontinency of Edward IV. and endeavoured to the utmost of his power, to render him odious. Then, he put his audience in mind,

the Sunday before, that that excellent Man, Dr. Shaw, had clearly proved to them, that Edward was not lawfully married to his Queen, and consequently their children were bastards. That neither Edward himself, nor the Duke of Clarence his brother, were the Duke of York's sons, and to the proofs alleged by the doctor, he himself could add many more, did not his respect for the Protector, hinder him from dwelling upon the Duchess his mother's loose life: that for these reasons:-

The Lords of the council, and the commons of the realm particularly of the northern counties, had declared, that a bastard should not sit on the throne of England, and petitioned, that, the crown should be adjudged to the Duke of Gloucester, only son of the late Duke of York: that indeed, there was reason to fear, the magnanimous Duke would refuse the offer; but on the other hand, it was to be hoped, all the people, and especially the inhabitants of London, uniting with one accord, he would be prevailed with to take upon him the burden of the government, too weighty for a child: that upon all these considerations, he required them in his own, and the name of the Lords of the council, to declare their intention.

Here he stopped, in expectation to hear the people cry, Long live King Richard; but every one stood speechless; so great was their surprise, to hear so unjust a proposal. The Duke, surprised in his turn at so unexpected a silence, asked the Mayor the reason, who replied, perhaps, they did not well understand him. If that's the case, answered the Duke, I will make myself better understood. Then raising his voice, repeated the sense of what he had said in other words, with a gracefulness and eloquence worthy a nobler subject. But the people still kept a profound silence.

The Duke, in confusion that his rhetoric should produce so little effect, talked some time in a low voice with the Mayor, to consult with him what was to be done. At length, the Mayor told him, perhaps the people were silent because they were used to be harangued only by the recorder, who was the mouth of the city. Whereupon he commanded the recorder to speak to the people, which he did with great reluctance.

However, he so managed his speech, that without any addition of his own, he repeated to the people the substance of what the Duke had said. He concluded, with requiring the people[16] to give a positive answer, whether they would have the Duke of Gloucester for King or not? At these words there was a confused murmur in the assembly, and as it was yet uncertain whether the people answered aye or no, some of the Duke of Buckingham's servants, who had slipped in amongst the crowd, fell to crying, Long live King Richard!

Some of the citizens who had been bribed, but would not venture to begin, seconded the cry, and the apprentices, with. the rabble, who stood near the door, followed their example, and throwing up their hats in token of joy, cried out, King Richard! King Richard! The Duke of Buckingham plainly perceived, the cry came from the rabble without, and not from the principal citizens in the hall. Nevertheless, improving this advantage, he commanded silence, and resuming his speech, said, he was overjoyed to see so general and unanimous an approbation to his proposal,

Wherefore, continued he, my good friends, I desire you to meet me here tomorrow about this time, that we may all go together, and present our humble petition to his highness, and entreat him to condescend to our request. Then, the Mayor dismissing the people, the citizens returned to their houses with tears in their eyes, and grief in their hearts, without daring to show it, for fear of offending those whose interest it was to have it concealed.

Next day the Duke of Buckingham, with the mayor, aldermen, and many other persons of the cabal came to the Protector's palace[17] and sent a message to him, that the magistrates of London desired an audience. The Protector scrupled to appear, pretending to fear, that such numbers were assembled for no good design. Whereupon the Duke of Buckingham observed to the Mayor and those about him, that his highness was not conscious of their intent, intimating thereby that he was not concerned in the transactions of the foregoing day. At length, upon the repeated desire,

that his Highness would be pleased to grant an audience, he came forth with signs of great mistrust, and as not daring to approach such multitudes, for fear of some mischief[18].

Then the Duke of Buckingham, without giving the Mayor time to speak, briefly set forth the grievances of the nation in the late reign. After that, he said to the Protector, the people had found no better way to free themselves from their evils, than to pray his Highness to assume the royal authority, which of right belonged to him. He added, the Mayor and aldermen of London whom he saw there, were come to petition him in the name of all the people, who were united in the same intention.

The Duke of Gloucester seeming surprised at this proposal, answered, "he was convinced that all he had heard was true. But he had so great a veneration for the memory of the late King his brother, and so tender an affection for his children, as outweighed all the crowns in the world, and therefore he could not comply with their request. However he willingly pardoned their petition, and thanked them for their affection: but advised them to be obedient to the sovereign under whose dominion they lived: that for his part, he would continue to the utmost of his power, to give the King his nephew such counsels, as he should judge most conducive to render his kingdom flourishing, and his people happy, as he believed he had hitherto done to the satisfaction of all the world."

The Duke of Buckingham seeming dissatisfied with this answer, murmured some words to himself expressing his discontent, and at length desired leave to speak once more, and having obtained it, he plainly told the Protector, "that all the people were unanimously resolved not to acknowledge for King any of Edward IV's children: that they had proceeded too far to go back, and therefore if he would not receive the crown, the people would be forced to offer it to one who would not refuse it."

At these words the Protector began to be a little more compliant, and at last spoke to the people in this manner: "Since I see the whole kingdom is resolved not to suffer Edward's children to reign, for which I am extremely concerned, I am fully convinced, the crown can of right belong only to me, who am the undoubted son of the late Duke of York my father. To this title is now joined the free election of the Lords and Commons of the realm, which, of all titles, I shall consider as the chief and most effectual. From these considerations I graciously receive your petition, and instantly take upon me the government of the two kingdoms of England and France, the former to be governed and defended, and the latter by God's help, and my people's assistance, to be subdued."

At the close of this speech was heard a great shout of long live King Richard III. The comedy being over, the people retired to their homes, making upon this occasion such reflections as were suggested by their respective understandings, interests, or passions.

## Notes to Chapter IV

- 1) He was then at York, to keep all things quiet in those parts.
- 2) Sir Thomas More does not say, that he sent the Queen such a letter, but only, that he secretly, and by divers means caused the Queen to be persuaded, that it was unnecessary, and would be dangerous for the King, to come to London with an army of attendants. He and his associates sent letters, but it was to the Lord Rivers, and others of the Queen's friends, that were about the King's person.
- 3) On the 4th of May.

- 4) He rode bare headed before him, and often with a loud voice said to the people, Behold your Prince and Sovereign.
- 5) Attended by several Lords of the council; the Duke of Gloucester, and the rest of the council, remaining in the star-chamber to expect the event.
- 6) Which was the usual place whence the solemnity of the coronation began; for he still feigned to be making preparations for Edward's coronation.
- 7) It was no less than half the earldom of Hereford, and the lands-belonging to it, (which were then in the crown.) He claimed them, as being descended from Ann, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, who had married Eleanor, one of the youngest daughters and coheireses of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.
- 8) Richard Catesby was a lawyer, who had, through the Lord Hastings's means, been put into a place of considerable trust in the counties of Leicester and Northampton, where this Lord's power and interest lay.
- 9) The presages historians dwell upon were, a remarkable dream of the Lord Stanley's, who dreamed, that a wild boar with his tusches, had wounded his and the Lord Hastings's head, and therefore advised him to fly from danger; the solicitations of his concubine, Jane Shore, that very morning not to go to the council, nor to trust the wild boar; the often stumbling of his horse as he was riding to the Tower, and some other like observations. He was afterwards buried at Windsor near King Edward's tomb.
- 10) People jested and said, "it was written by the spirit of prophecy."
- 11) To Sir Thomas Howard, to apprehend her person, and seize her goods, which were valued at between two and three thousand Marks.
- 12) Which she accordingly did the next Sunday morning, after this manner: she was brought, 'clothed in a white sheet, by way of procession, with the cross carried before her, and a wax taper in her hand, to St. Paul's church, from the Bishop's palace adjoining. In all this action she behaved with so much modesty and decency, that such as respected her beauty more than her fault, never were in greater admiration of her, than now.
- 13) In the meantime, he issued out a proclamation, importing, that the King's coronation, for divers great and urgent causes, should be deferred to the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November.
- 14) On the Tuesday following, which was the 17<sup>th</sup> of June.
- 15) Attended by several Lords, who were privy to the design.
- 16) It was not the Recorder, but the Duke of Buckingham, who, renewing his speech, required the people to give a positive answer.
- 17) At Baynard's castle in Thames-street, where the Protector then lay.
- 18) He is said to have appeared in a gallery, with a Bishop on each side of him.





## Chapter V Richard III - Surnamed Crookback

A. D. 1483



**THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER HAVING ATTAINED HIS ENDS BY SUCH EXTRAORDINARY WAYS,** and in spite of all the obstacles that opposed his ambition, was proclaimed the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June, by the name of Richard III. He might have been crowned the next day, since the preparations for Edward the fifth's coronation were finished; but he delayed the ceremony till the sixth of July, expecting the arrival of five thousand men, which he sent for out of the north, because he did not entirely confide in the citizens of London.

During the interval, he gave the Great Seal to the bishop of Lincoln, one of his favourites. On the 28th of June he conferred the office of Earl Marshal upon the Lord John Howard, and the next day, the title of Duke of Norfolk. The day following, he commissioned him to exercise the office of High-Steward during the coronation. A few days after, he created Thomas Howard his son, Earl of Surrey; Berkeley Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord Lovel one of his confidants, viscount of the same name.

Thomas Rotherham Archbishop of York, and the Lord Thomas Stanley, who were imprisoned the day the Lord Hastings was executed, were released at the same time, and the new King made the Lord Stanley, Lord Steward of the Household. It was not from a motive of affection or confidence, but out of fear the Lord Strange his son[1], who was beginning to levy forces in Lincolnshire, should raise commotions, the consequences whereof he much dreaded.

As for Dr. Morton Bishop of Ely, who was arrested the same day, the King designed not to do him the same favour. But the University of Oxford, of which that prelate was member, having presented a petition in his behalf, he did not think proper wholly to reject it, at a time when he wanted to gain the affection of his new subjects. However, as he mortally hated that Bishop, he could not resolve to release him entirely. He only took him out of his confinement in the Tower, and committed him to the Duke of Buckingham's custody, who sent him to the castle of Brecknock in Wales.

The 6th of July, the coronation of the King and Queen was performed with great solemnity. All the Peers of the realm were present for fear of being suspected by the new King, whose jealous temper was well known. Margaret Countess of Richmond, wife of the Lord Stanley, and mother of the Earl of Richard, detained in Bretagne, held up the Queen's train.

Richard enjoyed but two years and two months the crown he had so eagerly desired. He spent his whole reign in devising means to support himself on the throne, which having mounted by bloodshed and other crimes, he endeavoured to keep possession of by the same methods, but all his measures proved ineffectual. The present circumstances seemed, however, to be very favourable for him. The Lancastrian family was quite extinct in England. Henry Earl of Richmond, the only branch of that house, was in the hands of the Duke of Bretagne, who had

promised Edward IV. to hinder him from going out of his dominions. Margaret his mother shewed no inclination to prosecute her rights. Besides, she was subject to a husband whom Richard had attached to his interest, by one of the most considerable posts at court. In fine, there was not a Lord in the kingdom that seemed to have credit enough to excite insurrections, the civil war having swept away great numbers, and entirely destroyed many ancient families.

As for the Yorkists attached to the family of Edward IV, namely, the Woodvilles, Greys, and others of the new nobility, he had already dispatched some, in the last reign, and the rest were fled. The Queen-widow was still with her five daughters in sanctuary, whence she durst not stir, and where she seemed unable to hurt him. The Marquis of Dorset her son had likewise taken sanctuary, and Sir Richard Woodville had absconded. Edward V. and the Duke of York his brother were in the Tower, where, since the 27<sup>th</sup> of June, Richard had taken care to place as Governor, Sir Robert Brackenbury his creature. Thus, nothing seemed capable to shake the new monarch's throne.

Meanwhile, to be provided against whatever might happen, he formed the project to secure Castille and Portugal, the Archduke Maximilian, who governed the Low-Countries in the name of Philip his son, France and Bretagne, whence he feared his enemies might procure some assistance. In fine, to break all the measures which the friends of Edward the fourth's family might take against him, he resolved to murder his nephews, young King Edward V. and the Duke of York his brother.

To execute all these resolutions, the 12<sup>th</sup> of July, he appointed for his ambassador to Castille, Bernard de la Force, with orders to renew, the ancient alliance with Queen Isabella and Ferdinand King of Aragon her husband. The next day he gave the like commission to Thomas Hutton, to treat of the prolongation of the truce with Francis II. Duke of Bretagne. Probably, Hutton had secret instructions to endeavour to procure the Earl of Richmond, or at least to renew the treaty upon that subject between Edward IV and the Duke. Three days after, he appointed commissioners to treat with France, concerning some breaches of the truce, in order to have occasion to confirm it.

These measures being taken, nothing remained but to execute the principal article, the murder of his two nephews. For that purpose, he resolved to remove from London, that their death happening in his absence, he might be the less suspected. With this view, he departed from London, to visit several counties, under colour of reforming certain abuses introduced to the great detriment of the people.

His progress into the north was particularly necessary, to curb the insolence of the troops he had sent for from thence, and who, after their return, had committed great outrages. But before he proceeded to York, he made some stay at Gloucester, not to be too far from London, whilst his orders concerning his nephews were executing.

The Duke of Buckingham, his intimate friend and confident, attended him to Gloucester. He had loaded that Lord with estates and honours, both while he was Protector, and after he was King. But the Duke still expected another favour, of which he had received a positive promise. And that was, the moiety of the lands of the house of Hereford, to which he thought he had a just right, as descended from one of the daughters of Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford and Northampton.

The Duke, who was very high spirited, was so offended at the King's refusal[2], that he desired leave to go and look after his own private affairs[3]. Richard not imagining, this refusal had made so deep an impression upon the Duke, or perhaps, not fearing the effects of his resentment, gave him the leave he desired, and parting from him at Gloucester, he pursued his journey to York.

During the King's stay at Gloucester, he sent an express order to Brackenbury, Governor of the Tower of London, to murder Edward V. and the Duke of York his brother. Brackenbury, more conscientious than his master, returned a very submissive answer, but withal, told him, he should never be able to execute his commands. Richard, vexed to be deceived in his opinion of that officer, sent him by James Tyrrel a written order, to deliver to the bearer the keys and government of the Tower for one single night.

Brackenbury obeyed, and Tyrrel brought in his agents[4] to execute the King's orders. That very night, whilst all were asleep, he went into the Princes' room, and smothering them in their bed, caused them to be buried under a little stair-case. This is what Tyrrel himself afterwards confessed, who was executed in the reign of Henry VII. In 1674, whilst some alterations were making in that part of the Tower, bones were found, which were thought to be those of Edward V. and the Duke of York, and upon that supposition, Charles II. who then reigned, ordered them to be put into a marble urn, and removed to Westminster among the tombs of the Kings[5].

As the two Princes were never more heard of since the day Tyrrel went into the Tower, and as their servants were dismissed, the public doubted not that they were sacrificed to their uncle's safety.

Richard having received the news of the death of his two nephews, continued his journey into the north, and came to York about the end of August. As the pretence of his journey was to cause justice to be impartially administered to the people, he could not help executing some of the northern soldiers, who in returning from London had committed great outrages. Then, he caused himself to be crowned a second time at the cathedral of York, the beginning of September, and the same day he created Edward his son, ten years old, Prince of Wales, with the usual formalities.

A few days after his coronation, he received the agreeable news, that Ferdinand and Isabella had prevented him, by desiring themselves the confirmation of the alliance between England and Castille, by an ambassador sent on purpose, who was then come to York. The renewing of that alliance pleased him extremely. He found that Ferdinand and Isabella acknowledging him for lawful King, were forming no project to restore the house of Lancaster.

Lewis XI, King of France died in August this year.

Charles VIII his only son being a minor, succeeded him under the guardianship of his sister Ann, wife of Philip de Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu, pursuant to the late King's directions. But Lewis Duke of Orleans, first Prince of the blood, disputed the regency with her. This contest raised, in the court of France, disturbances which prevented the ministers from attending to the renewal or confirmation of the truce with England, which Richard earnestly solicited.

Whilst the King was flattering himself with having taken all necessary measures to support himself on the throne, a conspiracy was forming against him, which ended in his reign, after proving the destruction of its author. The Duke of Buckingham was a person of a lively and penetrating genius, exceedingly proud, ambitious, revengeful, and not very strict in his morals. He had retired to his castle of Brecknock, where Dr. Morton Bishop of Ely was prisoner under his custody.

In his frequent conversations with that prelate, he could not help discovering his resentment against the King. At length, after mutually sounding each other for some time, they opened their minds to one another, and lamented together the state of the kingdom under such a King.

They concluded, that since he had not spared his own nephews, no lord in the kingdom could be sure of his life. These conversations ended at length in the Duke's request to the Bishop, to tell him freely, whether he saw no way to prevent the mischief they had reason to fear; promising with an oath to keep the secret inviolably. Morton, who till then was under some apprehensions

that the Duke designed to ensnare him, being encouraged by this oath, told him in plain terms, it was his opinion, there was no other way than to dethrone Richard, and set up another King. That the whole race of Lancaster being extinct, at least in England, there remained of the house of York only the Tyrant and his son, with the young Earl of Warwick son of the Duke of Clarence. The last could not pretend to the crown, his father's attainder having debarred his heirs of the right of inheriting.

The present King had by his crimes rendered himself unworthy, and to preserve the son's right after destroying the father, would be acting imperfectly. Therefore, he saw only the Duke of Buckingham capable of lawfully claiming the crown.

The Duke listened very attentively to this discourse, but deferred his answer till next day; when, resuming the conversation, he freely confessed, he had once an intention to aspire to the throne, but upon mature deliberation had entirely dropped it. He considered, that in acting for himself, he should stir up against him all the friends of the two houses of York and Lancaster, equally concerned to oppose his pretensions. That there was a Prince nearer than he, whom the house of Lancaster looked upon as their head, and he it was on whom he had cast his eyes to raise to the throne. Then he named Henry Earl of Richmond, who was in Bretagne.

Adding, that the project to restore the house of Lancaster to the throne, would draw one half of the kingdom to that Prince's interest, and he had devised a happy expedient to gain him the other half and that was his marriage with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. which would make all the Yorkists his friends. That moreover, the nation would receive great advantage from thence, inasmuch as all the seeds of the civil wars would be destroyed, by the union of the two contending houses.

That by this means even those who were indifferent for either party, would be forced, to promote the common good of their country; and then Richard's few friends would not be able to balance so great a power. Whereas if he pretended to set up himself, the whole kingdom would be united against him, since there was not the least colour to exclude from the throne, two houses that had been in possession above fourscore years. In fine, he added, that in his way to Brecknock, he met the Countess of Richmond, and having sounded her upon this head, believed he could be sure, she would be easily disposed to promote the advancement of her son.

The Bishop liked this expedient, as more conformable to justice and equity, and more adapted to the good of the realm, especially as it came from the only person who would have had reason to oppose it, had it been proposed by another. They, therefore, came to this conclusion: that all hope of success was founded on the marriage of the Earl of Richmond with the Princess Elizabeth; that therefore, before all things, that point was to be secured, without which it would be to labour in vain, or at least with great uncertainty.

To that end they agreed, that they should without loss of time acquaint the Countess of Richmond with their project, that she might inform her son of it, and persuade the Queen dowager, mother of the Princess, to consent to the marriage.

But as conferring with Margaret would have been very dangerous for the Duke of Buckingham, considering the King's extreme jealousy of the house of Somerset, the Bishop told him, he had an old friend in the Countess's service, one Reginald Bray, who might safely be trusted with the secret. The Duke approving this expedient, Bray was privately sent for to Brecknock, and the project being imparted to him, the proposing of it to his mistress was left to his care. More especially, he was charged to tell her, that the marriage of the Earl her son was the basis and foundation on which the whole project rested.

As soon as Bray was gone to execute his commission, the Bishop of Ely desired the Duke's leave to retire to his bishopric. He was justly afraid of his life, in case the plot came to be discovered.

It may be he did not wholly depend upon the Duke's sincerity. But the Duke gave him two invincible reasons why he could not comply with his request. The first was, that he should be guilty of letting his prisoners escape, which alone would be sufficient to inspire the King with suspicions.

The second, that in an undertaking of this nature, he could not proceed without his advice. The Bishop seemed to yield to these reasons, but had to try more strongly, to free him from the impending danger, in case the affair was discovered. And therefore, as he was not so narrowly watched by his keepers, since his frequent conversations with the Duke, he found means to escape, and retire to Ely; whence he fled into Flanders.

Upon his arrival, he wrote to the Duke to excuse his escape, and withal, endeavoured to convince him, it was much more in his power to promote the execution of their intended design, than whilst he was prisoner. He conjured him likewise, to continue in his resolutions, and showed him how he might carry on a private correspondence with him.

Meanwhile, the Countess of Richmond being informed of what was projected in favour of the Earl her son, sent back her servant to the Duke of Buckingham with her compliments of thanks; and withal let him know, she was endeavouring to obtain the Queen-dowager's: consent to the marriage, and then would take the most proper measures to send to the Earl of Richmond.

There had never been any particular friendship between that Queen and the Countess of Richmond. One was wife to a King of the house of York, and the other was of the family of Somerset, sworn enemies of the Yorkists. Wherefore the Countess could not visit the Queen in her sanctuary, without causing great suspicion. To avoid this inconvenience, she made use of one Lewis her physician, and having communicated the whole affair to him, ordered him to go to London and so manage to see the Queen, and inform her of what was in agitation.

Lewis being come to London, got admittance to the Queen. He communicated to her what he had, in charge, intimating it would be in her own power to be revenged of her mortal enemy, the murderer of her children, and dethrone the usurper, provided she would consent to the marriage proposed. The Queen gladly listened to the overture. She charged the doctor to tell his mistress, she approved of the project, and would so order it, that all the King her husband's friends should join with the Earl of Richmond. But she added, she wished the Earl would swear to marry Elizabeth, or in case she happened to die, Cecily her Younger sister.

Matters being thus settled between the Queen-dowager; and the Countess of Richmond, and the Duke of Buckingham, they endeavoured to engage in the plot, their most trusty friends who likewise drew in others. The English were as favourably disposed as could be wished, by three principal reasons.

First, because of the people's universal hatred of the King, who had made himself extremely odious, as well by what he had done during his Protector-ship, as by his late crime, in putting his nephews to death, after robbing them of the crown. He had thereby lost most of the friends of the house of York, who only wanted an opportunity to revenge the family of Edward IV.

In the second place, all the Lancastrians saw with pleasure, a project tending to restore the house of Lancaster to the throne. Lastly, those that without regarding the interests of the two factions, had only the good of the nation in view, could not but consider as a great happiness, the success of an enterprise, which by uniting the two contending houses, would put an end to the civil war, wherewith the kingdom had been afflicted thirty years.

The Duke of Buckingham being the author and head of the enterprise, it was his part to conduct it to a happy issue. For that purpose, he first secured some friends in Wales, where his power was great, who undertook to enlist soldiers privately, to enable him to bring suddenly and

seasonably, an army into the field. Then, he settled a correspondence with some gentlemen of Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, who promised to raise forces, and receive the Earl of Richmond at his arrival. His design was to join them himself, with his Welshmen, that Richard might be less able to oppose the Earl's landing. At the same time, several Lords and Gentlemen were to rise in other counties, that the King might be at a loss whereto march first. The Marquis of Dorset, who had lately quitted his sanctuary, Sir Richard Woodville his uncle, the Bishop of Exeter, Sir Edward Courtney his brother, and several other persons of quality engaged in the plot.

These measures being taken, the Countess of Richmond sent two expresses[6] to the Earl her son, by different ways, to let him know what was resolved in his favour, and how far the project was advanced. The two expresses informed him of all the circumstances of the plot, and prayed him to repair into England without loss of time.

The Earl of Richmond was then at Vannes in Bretagne, where he had been several years, really a prisoner, because of the Duke of Bretagne's engagements with Edward IV, but his confinement was not strict, the Duke contenting himself with narrowly watching him, in order to hinder his escape, in case he attempted it. In other respects he enjoyed an honourable freedom. He heard with great joy, that he was thought of in England. But when he came to consider his present condition, and how little it was in his power to return into his own country, so as to procure a welcome reception, he found it would be almost impossible to succeed in his enterprise, without the Duke of Bretagne's consent and assistance.

For unless that Prince supplied him with money, troops, and ships, it was not practicable to take just measures to accomplish his designs. Besides, the Duke might have made him close prisoner, by which means the whole affair would have miscarried. So, perceiving he could not proceed without him, he resolved to tell him the secret, and engage him, if possible, to assist him. He found the Duke more ready to countenance him than he expected. The Duke was not engaged with Richard, as he had been with Edward his brother. Besides, the unjust and violent actions of the new King had rendered him odious to all the Princes of Europe, and especially to the Duke of Bretagne.

Another thing likewise induced him to hearken to the Earl's proposals. He had pretension to the Earldom of Richmond in England, formerly enjoyed by his ancestors, and imagined; the Earl would readily promise to restore it, if, by his means, he arrived to the crown. It is pretended, this was the principal article of their agreement, for which the Duke very willingly engaged to supply him with men and ships.

When the Earl was sure of the Duke of Bretagne's assistance, he sent expresses to the Countess his mother, and the Duke of Buckingham, to acquaint them that he hoped to be ready by the beginning of October. This good news presently put all the conspirators in motion. Every one repaired to the post assigned him, as well to raise forces, as to excite insurrections, There was no time to lose, good part of September being now past.

How careful soever the conspirators had been to conceal themselves, all these things could not be done, and have no intelligence that some plot was contriving against him. He was then at York; but these advises obliged him to leave the north, and approach the centre of the kingdom. At the same time he ordered his troops, which were dispersed in several parts, to be ready to march at a moment's warning.

Meanwhile, he prepared very slowly, not imagining the danger so near. As the intelligence he had received, made him uneasy, he ran over in his mind all the Lords of the realm, who could be dissatisfied, or had sufficient credit to excite insurrections against him. He found none but the Duke of Buckingham. The Bishop of Ely's escape served also to strengthen his suspicion. Richard resolved to send for the Duke to court, but he desired to be excused, on pretence of

indisposition: This refusal confirmed the King in his belief. Nevertheless, he sent him positive orders to come to him, without alleging any excuse. The Duke perceiving dissimulation was to no purpose, sent him word, he would not expose his person to his mortal enemy, whom he neither loved nor would serve. Perceiving, that after such a declaration there was no more ceremony to be used, he drew together the forces which himself and friends had privately enlisted in Wales, and began to march towards the western counties, where he knew the Earl of Richmond intended to land.

Richard was not a little surprised to hear, that the Duke was so ready. However, as he had taken some precautions to assemble his forces in case of necessity, he appointed the rendezvous at Leicester, where he repaired himself, with a resolution to give his enemies battle, before their number was increased. He would have found it very difficult, however, to prevent them, if an extraordinary and very unexpected accident had not hindered the Duke from joining his friends, who were all ready to rise in arms in the counties of Devon and Cornwall.

The Duke was advancing by long marches, to Gloucester, where he designed to pass the Severn. But at the same time the river was so swollen, that the country on both sides was overflowed, and great damage done by the waters. Never had so terrible an inundation been heard of in that country. It held six whole days, during which the Duke's army could neither pass the river, nor subsist on the other side, where was nothing but desolation[7].

In fine, the Welsh soldiers, tired with being exposed to hunger, rains, and numberless hardships, returned to their homes, notwithstanding all the Duke's entreaties to the contrary[8]. The desertion was so general, that there remained with the Duke only one single servant. Reduced to this sad condition, he saw no other remedy than to conceal himself till he should take new measures. Unhappily for him, he chose for his retreat, the house of one Banister, who had been his servant, and to whom his father and himself had been very kind.

The King hearing of the dispersion of the Duke of Buckingham's troops, issued a proclamation against him and the Marquis of Dorset, with some other of his adherents, or whom he supposed to be in league with him. But as the Marquis had not yet appeared in arms, and so could not be stiled a rebel, he made use of another pretence to involve him in the sentence. He said, that having taken an oath at his coronation, to punish vice and wickedness, he was obliged to punish the Marquis of Dorset, notorious for his debaucheries, who had succeeded and ravished several virgins, been guilty of sundry adulteries, and publicly kept Shore's wife.

Then he promised a reward of a thousand pounds sterling, or a hundred pounds a year to any person who should bring the Duke to justice; a thousand marks, or one hundred marks a year for the Marquis, and so in proportion for the rest that were named. in the proclamation[9]. The villain Banister[10], not being able to resist so strong a temptation, betrayed his master to the sheriff of Shropshire, who causing the house to be surrounded by a company of armed men, seized the Duke of Buckingham, disguised like a peasant, and conducted him to Shrewsbury.

The Duke was desirous to speak with the King, but could never obtain that favour. Some say, he intended to kill him with a dagger which was found upon him after his death. But this is only conjecture. However it be, he was beheaded at Shrewsbury, without any legal process, by the King's bare order. Thus, this Lord, who had helped to take away the lives of the Lord Hastings, the Earl of Rivers, and the other prisoners at Pontefract, by an arbitrary sentence, perished himself in the same manner, contrary to all right, by the absolute orders of him whom he had placed on the throne.

On the other hand, we shall see presently, that this very conspiracy, formed by the Duke of Buckingham, accomplice of all the King's ill actions; whilst he was but Protector, proved the occasion of that monarch's ruin. Is it possible, not to perceive the direction of providence in such events?

Upon the first news of the dispersion of the Welsh army, the Duke's friends, who expected him in the west, ready to take arms the moment they should hear of his passing the Severn, dispersed themselves. Some lurked among their friends, others fled to sanctuary. But the greatest part embarked and sailed to the Earl of Richmond, perceiving there was no safety for them in the kingdom. The Marquis of Dorset was of this number.

Whilst these things passed in England, the Earl of Richmond imagining that all went there to his wish, sailed from St. Maloes the 12<sup>th</sup> of October with five thousand men and forty ships, furnished by the Duke of Bretagne. But the fleet being dispersed by a storm, some of the ships were driven on the coast of France, others returned into Bretagne.

The ship in which was the Earl of Richmond, resisting the seas better than the rest, arrived, after the storm, upon the coast of Cornwall[11], where he saw the coast crowded with troops, who made him a signal to approach. But happily for him, he resolved not to land till his fleet had re-joined him, expecting they would soon be at the rendezvous. Meantime, he sent to inquire whether the troops he saw were friends or enemies.

The commander answered, he was posted there by the Duke of Buckingham to wait for the Earl of Richmond, and favour his landing. But the person sent by the Earl easily perceived the contrary, and informed his master of it, who finding his design was discovered, put to sea, and arrived at a port in Normandy. The truth is, the troops he saw on the coast of Cornwall were the militia of the county, posted there by Richard, with intent to surprise his enemy by that artifice.

The Earl of Richmond heard in Normandy of the Duke of Buckingham's misfortune, As after that, there was no more appearance of pursuing his enterprise without taking new measures, he returned to Bretagne, where he found the Marquis of Dorset, with the rest that had made their escape Out of England. The fugitives told him, Richard was extremely hated in England, which he took for a good omen. On the other hand, the Duke of Bretagne promised him to continue his assistance.

So, resolving to make a fresh attempt, he solemnly swore on Christmas day, in the cathedral of Rennes, that he would marry the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, or in case she died; Cecily her younger sister. Then all the English there present swore allegiance to him, considering him as King of England by right though he, was not so in fact. From thenceforward, the strict enquiry made in England after those that were concerned in the plot, forced great numbers to retire into Bretagne, so that the resort of the English was very great for sometime.

Meanwhile, Richard having freed himself from this danger more happily than he had reason to expect, commanded several persons to be seized, some of whom were immediately sacrificed to his vengeance. Of this number was Sir Thomas St. Leger his brother-in-law who married his sister Ann, widow of the Duke of Exeter: In order to make short work, and avoid the usual formalities of the courts of justice, he commissioned Sir Ralph Ashton to exercise the office of vice constable, with so extensive a power that he could condemn and execute upon the spot all persons whatever, guilty, or suspected of the crime of high-treason, with out having regard to any appeal.

By virtue of this commission, Ashton, who was, probably, a man after the King's own heart, came into the western counties, where he signalised his zeal by bloody executions of such as were found guilty, or only suspected of having favoured the conspirators Thus were spent the first six months of the reign of Richard III. This ambitious Prince was no sooner on the throne, but he had occasion to perceive, with what difficulties he should preserve a crown so eagerly desired and by so many unlawful practices procured.

In January 1484, the King summoned his first Parliament. This was done at. a very seasonable juncture The Duke of .Buckingham's conspiracy seeming, entirely stifled by the death of that

Lord and the retreat of the Earl of Richmond, there was not in the kingdom any person in condition to lift up his head. So the Parliament, consisting no doubt of representatives devoted to the King, declared Edward the Fourth's issue illegitimate, and confirmed. Richard's irregular election, with his pretended right to the crown.

Then an act of attainder was passed against Henry Earl of Richmond and all his adherents, by virtue whereof all their estates were forfeited to the King. By this act; which declared all those rebels:and traitors that were concerned in the Duke of Buckingham's and the Earl of Richmond's conspiracy, all the late executions were in some measure justified, because such as had suffered, were considered as guilty of the crime condemned by this act[12].

By good fortune none of them discovered that the Countess of Richmond was concerned in the plot. However, Richard thinking it hardly possible for the Earl of Richmond. to form an enterprise without his mother's knowledge, ordered the Lord Stanley her husband to keep her confined to prevent her from any future attempts. He had then a perfect confidence in the Lord Stanley, whom he had made high-constable, after Ashton, as Vice-constable, had been. instrumental in his designs.

Richard had reason to believe, that after all the rigours exercised upon the parties concerned; the conspiracy was entirely rushed[13]. But Thomas Hutton, who was returned from his embassy to Bretagne, told him, the same plot still subsisted, and the Duke of Bretagne had promised the Earl of Richmond the continuance of his assistance. He gave him the names of those conspirators:who were with the Earl, and informed him, they had frequent conferences together, and were very busy.

Last year, he confirmed the alliance of England with Castille, and in June this year did the same thing with regard to Portugal. There remained only Bretagne and Scotland that could give him any uneasiness. Francis II Duke of Bretagne, being old and infirm, was entirely governed by Peter Landais, his treasurer, and committed to him the sole management of his affairs. This favourite, who was the son of a tailor, used his power so insolently, that he drew upon himself the hatred of all the Bretons.

This very. year 1484, the great men combining against him, would have seized him, in the Duke's palace, but missing their aim; saw themselves exposed to the favourites' vengeance, who caused them to be declared guilty of high-treason. Meanwhile, as the whole country was against him, he believed it proper to support himself by some foreign aid. To that end he sent in his master's name ambassadors to Richard, Richard, on pretence to make a truce with him, which was accordingly concluded in June at Pontefract, where the King then was, and which was to last till the 24<sup>th</sup> of April following.

Thus Richard thought. himself so secure from Bretagne that instead of fearing the Duke would assist' the Earl of Richmond, he flattered himself with the hopes of having his enemy very soon in his power. As he might also be apprehensive that the King of Scotland, descended from a Princess of the house of Somerset, would countenance the malcontents, as being concerned to place the Earl of Richmond on the throne of England, he believed he ought to secure himself too from that quarter.

To that end, he negotiated with James III a truce concluded in September this year, and, which was to last from the 29<sup>th</sup> of that month to the same day of the year 1487. At the same time, he concluded the marriage of his niece Ann de la Pole, daughter of his sister Elizabeth and the Duke of Suffolk, with the Duke of Rothsay, the King of Scotland's eldest son.

All these precautions appeared so just, that he seemed to be screened from all danger. However, to rob the Earl of Richmond of all hopes of accomplishing his designs, the Prince of Wales his son dying in April this year, he declared his nephew the Earl of Lincoln his presumptive heir,

intending to have this declaration ratified by the Parliament. The Earl of Lincoln was son of Elizabeth his sister, and brother of Ann, who was to marry the Prince of Scotland. Moreover, he sent an ambassador of obedience to Pope Innocent VIII. lately elected to the papal throne.

Shortly after, he had the satisfaction to see that Charles VIII. King of France, desired a safe conduct for ambassadors he intended to send to him. Thus every thing seemed to be happily disposed in his favour. Meanwhile, the Earl of Richmond was still full of life, and so long as that Prince was out of his power, he could not think himself thoroughly fixed on the throne.

The truce with Bretagne being to last but till the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1485, Richard took occasion from thence to send ambassadors to the Duke to cause it to be prolonged. That was the pretence of the embassy. But the ambassadors had orders to treat of another more important affair, with Landais, prime minister and absolute master of the Duke. And that, was to persuade this minister to deliver up the Earl of Richmond. Argentré affirms, he saw among the Records of Bretagne,

Richard the Third's letters patent, whereby he gave to Duke Francis the Earldom of Richmond with all its dependencies, as enjoyed by his ancestors, with the sole reservation of its return to the crown-in case the Duke died without issue. With respect to Landais, is not well known what reward be expected for his intended service. Thus much is certain; Richard made him, very advantageous offers. But as he was a man not to be satisfied with bare promises, there was often occasion to send expresses to the King.

These delays; which, as Argentré positively affirms, were upon the minister's account, proved the Earl of Richmond's security. Though he was then in Bretagne, he was entirely ignorant of what passed at the Duke's court; But the Bishop of Ely, who though absent, had good spies about Richard; being informed that the Bishop of Leon, ambassador of Bretagne, was treating very privately with the King, warned the Earl of Richmond that he was not safe in the Duke of Bretagne's dominions. This advice coming from so good a hand, put the Earl upon seriously thinking of freeing himself from the impending danger.

As he knew Landais to be a person capable of committing the vilest actions, he resolved to retire into France, and for that purpose sent privately to King Charles for a passport, which was readily granted him. Meanwhile, informed as he was of Landais's ill designs, he did not question that he had ordered him to be narrowly watched. So, the difficulty of escaping was not small, especially as he was surrounded with a great number of English, in respect of whom it was very hard to conceal the secret, and very dangerous to reveal it.

To remedy this inconvenience, the Duke of Bretagne being fit that time recovered from a long illness, the Earl took occasion to send the principal Lords of his retinue to congratulate him upon it[14], ordered them to take with them all their servants, under colour of doing him the more honour. His aim was not only to be more alone at Vannes, but chiefly to remove from his keepers all suspicions of his desiring to escape, whilst he had so many hostages at the Duke's court. Accordingly, this artifice succeeded to his wish; so that, two days after he departed from Vannes in disguise, attended by five persons only.

As soon as he was out of the town he left the great road, and riding cross the fields and through bye-ways, without stopping anywhere, safely arrived at Angers, the capital of Anjou. Those who were Charged to watch him, hearing of his escape, pursued him so closely, that they came upon the borders of Bretagne, but one hour after him, In a few days the Duke being informed that the Earl was retired, gave all the English in his dominions leave to go to the Earl with his compliments and offers of service.

Thus the Earl of Richmond escaped, as it were miraculously, out of Richard's snares. The English belonging to his retinue, thought themselves no less fortunate than he, to be freed; by the Duke's

generosity, from his unworthy minister, who not long after atoned on a gibbet for all the ill actions his avarice had prompted him to commit.

The Earl of Richmond making but a short stay at Angers, went to Charles VIII. then at Langeais, who received him civilly. However, as the court of France was not yet free from troubles, it was no favourable juncture for the Earl to procure the assistance he could no longer expect from the Duke of Bretagne. Nevertheless as the, young King seemed well inclined to him, he despaired not to obtain some aid of that Prince, when the disturbances at his court were appeased.

Whilst his affairs were in this state of uncertainty, he saw the Earl of Oxford arrive, whom King Edward IV. had confined in the castle of Hammes in Picardy. This Lord who had been one of the principal friends of the house of Lancaster, hearing in prison that the Earl of Richmond pretended to the crown, had wrought so effectually upon the Governor of Hammes[15], that he had persuaded him to release him, and declare for the Earl. He even brought him along with him to salute that Prince, and offer him his service.

The advantage of having the Earl of Oxford in his party, was very beneficial to the Earl of Richmond in England. Several other Lords privately sent him word that he might depend upon their assistance, when they see a proper season to declare against Richard. Stanley desiring permission to retire upon his own estate, the King required him to leave his son[16] at court as a sort of hostage.

Richard knew he was not beloved in England. At length, by planting spies in the country, he came to find, that the projects in favour of the Earl of Richmond were founded upon his promise to marry the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. Finding therefore, that the plot which was contriving against him, rested upon a more solid foundation than he had imagined, he applied himself wholly to break the Earl of Richmond's measures, by preventing this fatal marriage. He found no better way to accomplish his ends, than to marry himself the Princess designed for his enemy.

But the execution of such a project was clogged with several difficulties, which to a Prince less scrupulous than himself, would have appeared insuperable. The first was, he had a wife already, whose constitution afforded no signs of her leaving this world. But, he despaired not to surmount that obstacle, either by a divorce, or some other less lawful means. The second difficulty was to draw Elizabeth out of the sanctuary at Westminster, where she was with the Queen her mother. Besides, it was no easy task to persuade the Queen-Dowager to give her daughter to the murderer of her sons.

Lastly, the Pope's dispensation to marry his niece must be obtained. But this obstacle seemed inconsiderable in comparison of the others, well knowing, it was not impracticable to adjust that affair with the court of Rome.

To begin the execution of this strange project, he sent several persons to the Queen-Dowager, to insinuate to her, that he wished to live in friendship with her, and to shew her marks of his good will. That he confessed, he had dealt too rigorously with her, but to repair in some measure the injury he had done her, he intended to assign her an honourable pension, and give her two brothers such posts as they should have reason to be satisfied with.

Moreover, he would take care of her daughters, and help them to marriages suitable to their quality. But as the Queen would hardly be induced to credit his promises, after having been so cruelly deceived, the persons he employed hinted to her, that his alteration proceeded from the death of the Prince of Wales. That the King being now childless, and without hopes of having any issue, his interests were no longer distinct from those of his brother's family, and therefore he could do nothing more advantageous to himself and his house, than to marry his nieces into the most considerable families in England.

In fine, she was told, the King's design was, that after his death, the Princess Elizabeth should ascend the throne what he had done in favour of the Earl of Lincoln his nephew being easily revocable, since it had not yet passed into an Act of Parliament.

These last insinuations, made deep impression in the Queen's mind. Her interest made her imagine, what was said to be very probable. On the other hand, she was heartily tired of her sanctuary, which was properly a prison, whence she could not stir without being liable to greater mischief. She had an extreme love for her brothers, as she had plainly shewn in her lifetime of the King her husband, and the hopes Richard gave her concerning them, agreeably flattered her. In fine, she considered that the plot in favour of the Earl of Richmond having miscarried by the Duke of Buckingham's death, she could expect for herself and daughters only a still more rigorous fate, if by her denial she should farther incense the King.

These considerations causing her to forget the grievous outrages received from that Prince, she was so excessively blind, as to put her five daughters into his hands. Moreover, she wrote to the Marquis of Dorset, her brother, to advise him to relinquish the Earl of Richmond, and throw himself into the King's arms. The Marquis, as inconsiderate, and less ambitious than the Queen his sister, flattering himself with the hopes of honours and preferment, privately withdrew from Paris, in order to pass into England. But the Earl of Richmond caused him to be pursued with such diligence, that he was brought back to Paris, and, by strong reasons, persuaded to stay with the Earl.

As soon as Richard had his nieces in his power, he thought of means to execute another part of his project: and that was, to be rid of his Queen, in order to marry his niece. Those historians that speak most favourably of his conduct, say, he made the Queen die with vexation, by shewing an aversion for her which she did not deserve, and by grievously mortifying her every day.

Others speak plainly, and affirm, he hastened her death by poison. Some add, he privately acquainted the Archbishop of York with certain secret infirmities of the Queen, which rendered her very disagreeable to him. This was on purpose that the Archbishop might tell her again, which he thought would cause her to languish away, and shorten her days. It is said further, that the Archbishop, after hearing the King's discourse, told some of his friends the Queen had not long to live. And indeed, she died presently after.

Her fate would have been more worthy of pity, if her death had not been observed to be a manifest judgment upon her, for marrying the murderer of the Prince of Wales her first husband, son of Henry VI. Richard shewed an extraordinary sorrow for his loss, and made a pompous funeral for his deceased Queen. But this feigned grief was not capable of deceiving the people, who openly accused him of murdering his Queen[17] as he had done his nephews.

Notwithstanding the extreme sorrow he expressed in public, the Queen was no sooner in her grave, but he had the assurance to make his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth, and offer her marriage. But she so answered him, as shewed her abhorrence of such an union, and desired him never to mention it more[18].

Richard being sensible it was no proper season to use violence, was satisfied for this present with the first step, till time should furnish him with a more favourable opportunity to press the execution of his project. Meanwhile, as he daily became more odious, many Lords and Gentlemen went over and offered their service to the Earl of Richmond. Others took the same course, to avoid the persecutions of that bloody Prince, if unhappily he came to suspect them. Those that remained in the kingdom were no better affected, and waited only a favourable opportunity to declare against him.

Richard hearing that the Earl of Oxford and the Governor of Hammes were gone to the Earl of Richmond, sent orders to the Governor of Calais to besiege that castle, and reduce it to his

obedience. This order was so readily executed, that the Earl of Oxford, who was marching to relieve this place, arrived not in the neighbourhood, till after the capitulation. However, he reaped this advantage by it, that he brought away the garrison for the Earl of Richmond.

After the Earl of Richmond's attempt, Richard had fitted out a squadron of ships to oppose his passage in case he endeavoured to make another descent. But the beginning of the year 1485, the truce with Bretagne being prolonged for seven years, and France showing no great willingness to assist his enemy, he believed he might save the charge of a fleet, which he now considered as useless. Accordingly the ships were unrigged and laid up in the springs.

This proceeding encouraging the Earl of Richmond, he earnestly solicited the court of France for aid. King Charles's ministers at length seriously considering his request, believed it could not but be advantageous to France, to cherish the troubles in England. It was solely with this view that they promised the Earl an aid of two thousand men, with ships to transport them, and gave him a sum of money. Philip de Commines says, he never saw such wretched troops as those designed for this expedition.

The Earl was required to leave hostages in France, that satisfaction should be made for what was expended by the court. Having reason to mistrust the Marquis of Dorset, he embraced this opportunity to leave him in hostage at Paris, with Sir Thomas Bourchier. Then he repaired to Rouen, where the troops were to assemble.

When he came to Rouen, he received the disagreeable news of the Queen's death, and of Richard's design to marry the Princess Elizabeth his niece, and to give Cecily her younger sister to one of his favourites. His measures being broken by this marriage, which was represented to him as ready to be accomplished, he consulted with the Lords that attended him. The result of their opinions was, that since he could have no hopes of espousing one of Edward the Fourth's marriageable daughters, he ought to think of some other.

For that purpose, he was advised to gain to his interest Sir Walter Herbert, a person of great power in Wales, by an offer of marrying his younger sister, the eldest being already married to the Earl of Northumberland. The resolution being taken, he dispatched an express to Sir Walter Herbert to make the proposal. Happily for the Earl, the messenger found the roads so narrowly watched, that he durst not venture to pursue his journey to Herbert. It is extremely probable, if this affair had succeeded according to the Earl of Richmond's desire, he would have been forsaken by all the friends of Edward the Fourth's family, who were very numerous. For, they had engaged in his party, only out of hopes of uniting the two houses of York and Lancaster, by his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth.

Not many days after, he received letters from England, and acquainting him, that if he would make haste and land in Wales, he could not have a more favourable opportunity. That all the nobility of the country were for him. That he would find the people ready to take arms in his favour, and a sum of money, which had been privately gathered to supply his occasions.

This news obliged the Earl to hasten his departure, without staying for Sir Walter Herbert's answer. So coming to Harfleur, where his ships waited for him, he embarked his troops[19], and set sail the last day of July. He arrived the sixth of August, at Milford-Haven, in South-Wales, and next day came to Haverford, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants.

From this place he sent an express to the countess his mother, to inform her of his arrival, and design to march towards London, desiring her withal to assemble all his friends, that they might join him upon his route with as many troops as possible. This route was to be very long, since having no town upon the Severn at his command, he was necessarily obliged to cross almost all Wales, to get to Shrewsbury to the head of that river, where he was told he should be received.

So making but a short stay at Haverford, he began his march to North-Wales, in order to reach Shrewsbury before the King should be ready to dispute his passage.

Richard, hearing the Earl of Richmond had landed so few troops, did not imagine he would be able to make any great progress. However, he sent orders to Sir Walter Herbert, to raise the militia of the county, thinking that Herbert might easily stop him till he was himself ready to march. But Herbert having been privately gained, suffered him to pass unmolested. Some days after, Sir Rice ap Thomas, a man of great power in Wales, met the Earl upon his route, and offered his service, which was gladly accepted. He had with him a good body of Welshmen.

The Earl of Richmond's army being greatly increased by the junction of Sir Ralph. ap Thomas, and several Welsh Gentlemen, and the whole country supplying him in his march with all necessaries, he arrived in a few days at Shrewsbury[20].

The King had justly suspected Lord Stanley of being a secret friend to his son-in-law. Stanley had in deed assured the Earl of Richmond, he would favour him to the utmost of his power. But as he was forced to leave his son in hostage with the King, he could not openly espouse his cause without endangering his son's life. For this reason he pretended to take the King's part, and having levied about five thousand men, posted himself at Lichfield, as though he intended to oppose the Earl of Richmond's march. On the other hand, Sir William Stanley, his brother, drew together likewise a body of two thousand men, ostensibly with the same view.

The King was then at Nottingham, where, at the first news of his enemies' landing he had given orders to assemble his forces[21]. He at first considered the Earl of Richmond's attempt as a sort of bravado, which he hoped to make him quickly repent. But when he heard that Sir Walter Herbert had suffered him to pass without opposition, that Sir Rice ap Thomas had joined him, that all Wales had taken his part, and that he was marching to Shrewsbury, he perceived, the affair was likely to become more important.

So, without hesitation, he resolved to give him battle before he had made greater progress, and his army was reinforced. Meanwhile he had every day the mortification to hear his officers and soldiers deserted to the Earl. He was still in hopes, the Lord Stanley and his brother would join him with their troops, though the little correspondence they kept with him, gave him but too much cause to suspect them of treachery. Be this as it will, having received certain advice, that the Earl of Richmond intended to march towards London, he resolved to meet him upon his route between Leicester and Coventry, in order to put a speedy end to their quarrel by a battle.

Though the Earl of Richmond's army was not considerable, he was no less desirous to engage, because he expected that the Lord Stanley and his brother would not fail him in his necessity. With these hopes, he advanced to Lichfield, whence, upon his approach, the Lord Stanley retired to Atherston. Whilst his army was upon the march, he came privately to Stafford, where he had a conference with Sir William Stanley, in which were concerted the measures, the effects whereof will presently be seen.

The Earl being come to Lichfield, heard that the King was at Leicester. So, perceiving he could not possibly proceed to London without fighting, he resolved to march directly to his enemy. Whilst he was on the road to Tamworth, he happened to be behind his company, and attentively musing upon his affairs, mistook his way, and lost the track of his army. He roved about till night, not daring to enquire the way to Tamworth for fear of addressing some one of Richard's party.

At last, not being able to find the road, he was forced to pass the night in a village, without knowing where he was, or daring to inquire. However, next morning he found means to get to Tamworth, where his army was in great pain for him, not knowing what was become of him. To excuse such a blunder which, had it been known, must have done him great injury, he pretended

he had been to confer with some private friends who did not care to appear openly. That very day, he went with few attendants to Atherston, where he had a long conference with the Lord Stanley[22]. On the morrow hearing that Richard was gone from Leicester, he advanced to meet him. The two armies met at Bosworth, so near each other, that there would be no avoiding a battle, supposing either of the two leaders had desired it. But they were both very far from such a thought.

The 22<sup>nd</sup> of August was the day famous for the battle which decided the quarrel of the two contending houses.

Richard perceiving his enemy to advance, drew up his army, consisting of between twelve and thirteen thousand men. He gave the command of the vanguard to the Duke of Norfolk, and led the main body himself, with his crown on his head, either to be better known, or to put his troops in mind they were fighting for their King. The Earl of Richmond, who had but five thousand men, drew up his army likewise in two lines, of which the Earl of Oxford commanded the first, and himself the second[23].

Whilst the two armies were preparing for battle; Lord Stanley, who till then had continued at Atherston, posted himself with his troops over against the space, between the two armies, and his brother, who was come from Stafford, took his station on the other side, opposite to him. Richard had been hitherto in doubt, whether the Lord Stanley was for or against him, because he had not yet made any public demonstration in favour of the Earl of Richmond. But, when he saw him in that post, it was easy to perceive, he was not there to assist him, since he had not given him notice of his design.

Meanwhile, willing to know for certain what he had to fear or hope, he sent him orders to come and join his army. Stanley answered, he would come when it was convenient. This answer not satisfying the King, he commanded his son to be immediately put to death. But his Generals represented to him, that though the Lord Stanley's behaviour was very doubtful, and even gave cause to suspect him, he had not yet declared for the Earl of Richmond: that it was not probable, he was meditating some great action in favour of his sovereign, or perhaps intended to stand neuter during the fight, in order to join the conqueror.

That in both these cases, it was better to defer examining his conduct till after the event, than to provoke him by putting his son to death, to give the Earl of Richmond an assistance capable of making victory incline to his side that after all, in the King's present circumstances, the death of the young Lord Strange, could procure him no advantage.

These arguments seemed to the King of sufficient strength to cause him to revoke his orders. But he was guilty of an unpardonable error, in remaining doubtful as to the two brothers, who plainly enough discovered their design. As his army was still superior to the forces of the Earl of Richmond and the two brothers together, he should have opposed to these last, two bodies equal to theirs, with orders to attack them the moment they offered to stir.

He would surely thereby have debarred them of the advantage of taking their time to declare, as they afterwards did. Such an oversight in so able a Prince as Richard, cannot be looked upon but as proceeding, from a particular direction of the providence of God, Who had determined his destruction.

The two armies approaching each other, the battle began with a shower of arrows discharged from both sides, after which the royal army moved forward to come to a close fight. Lord Stanley, who till then had been only a spectator, perceiving the Duke of Norfolk widened his line to the left, in order to surround the Earl of Richmond's, troops gave him not time to execute his design. On a sudden, he posted himself on the right of the Earl's, to receive the front of the King's first line. This motion causing the Duke of Norfolk to halt, in order to re-close his line, which was

too much extended to the left, the fight ceased for some moments. But presently after, both sides being more upon an equality, by Lord Stanley's joining the Earl, fought with great ardour.

Richard, impatient to know what passed at, the first line; spurred his horse towards the place where they were engaged. At the same time, the Earl of Richmond quitting his second line, where he had taken his post, was advanced as far as the foremost ranks of the first, to encourage his troops by his presence, being sensible that the success of the day, would in great measure be determined by the fight of the two first lines. Richard perceiving him, instantly rode to attack him.

He slew Sir William Brandon, the Earl's standards bearer, who had interposed in his way. Sir John Cheney having taken Brandon's place, to oppose the King's furious efforts, was overthrown to the ground.

The Earl of Richmond avoided not the combat. But if we may judge by the manner wherein the historians relate these particulars, he showed no great eagerness to join his enemy; contenting himself with standing, in a posture of defence, and willingly suffering his people to come between them, and hinder them from too closely approaching each other.

At the very time that Richard was singling out the Earl of Richmond, to decide at once their important quarrel, it was decided much to his disadvantage from another quarter. Sir William Stanley, following the example of Lord Stanley his brother, and that the left of the Earl of Richmond's first began to give ground, openly declared against the King, by falling upon his troops in the flank, who were employed in fighting their enemies in the front, and vigorously repulsing them.

This so seasonable an attack at so: critical a moment, having caused an extreme disorder in the right of the King's first line, they were seen suddenly to retreat towards the main body, and the left quickly followed their example. This hasty retreat struck such a terror into the main body, that they almost all took to flight, without waiting for the enemy.

The Earl of Northumberland alone, who commanded one of the wings, stood without motion, having first ordered his troops to throw down their arms, to let the enemy see they had nothing to fear from him, Richard perceiving the day was lost, and not being, able to think of flying, or running the hazard of falling into the hands of the. Earl of Richmond, rushed into the midst of his enemies, where he soon met with the death he sought[24].

Thus fell the usurper, in a more glorious manner: than his crimes seemed to deserve. He wore but two years and two months the crown, which he had purchased by so many ill actions. The battle lasted about two hours, including the time spent in the pursuit of the runaways[25]. As most part of the King's army fled without fighting, there were not slain on the spot above two thousand men[26] on his side.

The Earl of Richmond lost but a hundred, of whom Sir William Brandon was the only person of note. He was father to Charles Brandon, afterwards Duke of Suffolk. On the King's part; the Duke of Norfolk lost his life valiantly fighting for him, who had made him a Duke[27].

The Earl of Northumberland was taken into favour by the conqueror, having perhaps held intelligence with him before the battle: It seems at least, that it may be inferred, as well from what he did in the beginning of the route, as from certain verses found that very morning by the Duke of Norfolk, on his tent door, intimating, that the King was sold[28].

The Earl of Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk, was taken prisoner, and sent at first to the Tower of London, but shortly after obtained his pardon and liberty. Some of Richard's adherents were treated with the same lenity, others had the good fortune to escape. But Catesby, minister and

confident of Richard, who had so basely betrayed the Lord Hastings, being made prisoner, was executed two days after at Leicester, with some others of the same stamp, who had been the usurper's instrument[29].

Richard's crown being found by a soldier, was brought to the Lord Stanley, who went immediately and placed it on the Earl of Richmond's head, congratulating him upon his victory, and saluting him King. From that time Henry kept the regal title, and acted always as Sovereign. Richard's body was found among the slain stark naked, covered with blood and dirt, and in that condition thrown across a horse, with the head hanging on one side and the legs on the other, and so carried to Leicester.

The body lay two whole days exposed to public view, after which, it was interred without any ceremony, in one of the churches of that city. Some time after, Henry VII; his enemy and successor, ordered a more honourable monument to be erected for him on account of Elizabeth his Queen, who was of the house of York[30]. Richard III. was surnamed Crook-back, because he was so in reality. Moreover, one of his arms was almost withered, receiving but little or no nourishment.

As to the defects of his mind; if we believe most historians, they were so great and so numerous, that it would be difficult to find in history a Prince of such a character: It is certain, he had a boundless ambition; which often caused him to commit actions unbecoming a Christian Prince: To this passion alone must be ascribed his treachery and cruelty, since he was treacherous and cruel only with respect to the acquisition and preservation of the crown. He has not been the sole. Prince whom ambition has led into the like excesses.

The historians who wrote in the reign of Henry VII and Henry VIII have so aggravated the heinousness of his actions, that we cannot help observing in their writings; a strong desire to please the monarchs then on the throne. Probably, they have ascribed to him some actions upon no very good foundation; for instance, his murdering with his own hand Henry VI. and the Prince of Wales. Their desire to say much ill of this Prince; made them overlook his good qualities.

Without pretending' either to justify him upon what he did of ill, or condemn him generally upon all, it is evident that the crimes he was guilty of in procuring or keeping the crown, were effects and consequences of his immoderate ambition, by which he suffered himself to be blinded. But their being produced by that passion, does not in the least lessen their heinousness. He had strong sense, and solid judgment, qualities that might have been an honour to him, had they been used to better, purposes. We may judge of his good sense and penetration; by his precautions to secure himself from the assaults of his enemies.

On several occasions he showed an uncommon valour, and particularly in the battle where he was slain. He expressed. great concern that justice should be impartially ministered to all his subjects without distinction, provided the preservation of his crown was not concerned. This natural inclination for justice, but combated by his ambition, may afford some occasion to presume; he would perhaps have proved a good King, had he been able to fix himself firmly on the throne as to have feared no revolution[31].

At least, this cannot be said: to be improbable, the Emperor Augustus, who was guilty of so many cruelties to arrive to the empire, afforded it memorable and well known instance of such a change[32].

Richard left but one natural son, who was a minor when the King his father died: Some months before, he had made him Governor of Calais, Guisnes, and of all the Marches of Picardy, belonging to the crown of England[33]. With Richard III ended the Angevin Kings, surnamed Plantagenets[34]; who, since Henry II the first of this race, had possessed the crown of England from father to son, during the space of three hundred and thirty years. Richard was the last King

of this house ; but not the last male, as some have affirmed, since the Earl of Warwick his nephew, son of the Duke of Clarence his brother, was still alive. This young Prince was the sole branch of the male issue of Edward III. which had been so numerous; but was almost entirely destroyed by the late civil war. This war, commenced thirty years before, was at length ended by the battle of Bosworth, after destroying above one hundred thousand Englishmen, and a great number of Princes of the two contending houses.

Let us close the history of the Plantagenets with a brief recapitulation of the most memorable accidents that befell the Kings of this race, whilst on the throne of England. In this summary of the fourteen foregoing reigns, it will be seen, not without astonishment, perhaps, that the happiness and glory enjoyed by this race for above three hundred years, were almost nothing in comparison of their misfortunes.

**HENRY II.** the first King of this house, was the greatest of all the English monarchs with respect to extent of dominions. Besides the kingdom of England, he possessed in France, Guienne, Poictou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Limousin, Perigord, Angoumois, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Normandy, to which he joined also Bretagne by the marriage of one of his sons with the heiress of that duchy; and lastly, crowned all with the conquest of Ireland. But with all this grandeur he was ever unhappy. His contest with Becket, the vexatious persecutions from Pope Alexander III the rebellion of his Queen and sons, and the unfortunate success of his last war with France, suffered him not to enjoy a moment's repose.

**RICHARD I.** rendered his name famous in the east, by the conquest of the Isle of Cyprus, by the taking of Acra, and by a great victory over the Saracens. But the fame he acquired in that expedition was a dear purchase to Christendom, and particularly to England, by the prodigious quantity of men and money, exported from thence, without the Christians of Palestine reaping any great advantages. Richard himself at his return into Europe, underwent the rigours of a grievous and long imprisonment, from which he could not be freed without an exorbitant ransom which quite drained his kingdom. In short, after a several years struggle with Philip Augustus to very little purpose, he unfortunately perished by an arrow at the siege of Chaluz, undertaken from his greedy desire of money.

**JOHN LACK-LAND** enjoyed not a moment's happiness during his whole reign. Persecuted by the King of France, then by Pope Innocent III. and lastly, by his own subjects, his reign was a continual train of misfortunes. He lost first all the provinces possessed by his ancestors in France. After which, Innocent III deprived him of his crown, and restored it to him upon shameful and dishonourable terms. In fine, he had the great mortification to see his Barons in arms against him, and to die at a time when all England was paying allegiance to a foreign Prince.

**HENRY III.** a Prince of a very mean spirit, lived in a continual state of subjection, though seated on a throne; one while a slave to his favourites and ministers, another while to the imperious will of the Popes. At length, stripped of all his authority by his own subjects, he remained some time captive to his greatest enemies. And he was entirely indebted to a victory fortunately gained by the Prince his son, for his restoration, and the tranquillity he enjoyed the two last years of his life.

**EDWARD I.** rendered his name famous by the conquest of Scotland: But after shedding torrents of blood in that unjust quarrel, he had the mortification to lose that acquisition, and to die before he had recovered it. His conquest of Wales was the most real advantage procured for his kingdom by any King of England.

**The reign of EDWARD II.** is remarkable only for that Prince's ill conduct and misfortunes. He is the first instance of a King of England deposed by authority of Parliament. Happy, if the fury of his enemies had stopped there! But, with an unparalleled barbarity, he was made to suffer the

most cruel death that could possibly be devised, and which bore no proportion to the indiscretions he was guilty of:

**EDWARD III.** was one of the most illustrious Kings of England, as well for his personal qualities as for his victories in France, and the famous treaty of Bretigny, which restored to him with interest the provinces, John Lack-land had suffered to be lost. But his reign, though glorious, was not free from misfortunes. His minority was sullied by the tragical death of Edward II his father, and of the Earl of Kent his uncle. To punish these horrid outrages, he was forced to keep his mother in prison as long as she lived. Towards the end of his days he had the mortification to see himself stripped of all he had re-conquered upon France, without hopes of recovery. In a word, he ruined his own reputation, and died at a time when his subjects began to lose their former esteem for him.

Thus far it is easy to see that the race of the Plantagenets had enjoyed no great share of happiness. But their misfortunes, which were blended with some prosperities, were very inconsiderable in comparison of what that race afterwards underwent. When we take a view of what happened to the posterity of Edward III. we see nothing but disasters, tragical or untimely deaths, hatred, animosity, revenge, civil wars, cruelties unheard of, among Princes sprung from the same stock. England had never seen so terrible a destruction of her inhabitants, nor had the scaffold been ever dyed with so much noble and royal blood as during the hundred. years between the death of Edward III. and that of Richard III.

**EDWARD, the Black Prince,** one of the most accomplished Princes that ever was born, died in the forty-sixth year of his age, having first buried his eldest son Edward but seven years old.

**RICHARD II.** his other son, who mounted the throne after his grandfather, was deposed, imprisoned, and barbarously murdered.

**LIONEL, Duke of Clarence,** third son of Edward III, died in a foreign country in the flower of his age. He left but one daughter, whose marriage into the house of Marche was the occasion of all the calamities England was afflicted with for thirty years together.

The posterity of John of Gaunt, Edward's fourth son, were far from being happy, Henry IV. successor of Richard II passed his whole reign under continual apprehensions of losing a crown acquired by extraordinary methods, and preserved by the violent death of Richard II. whom he caused to be murdered in prison.

**HENRY V.** one of the most illustrious Kings of England, after so great a progress in France as to be. declared Regent and heir of that kingdom, enjoyed that considerable advantage but two years, or rather, had only a foretaste of what he had so eagerly desired. He died in the flower of his age, leaving a son nine months old, who afterwards proved very unfit to complete the work, his illustrious father had so gloriously begun. The Dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester, died all three without issue. Gloucester was long exposed to the fury of his enemies, and at last sacrificed to their vengeance.

**HENRY VI son of Henry V.** lost all that the King his father had acquired in France. After which, he was stripped of his royalty, imprisoned, restored for a short space, and at last murdered by a Prince sprung from the same stock with himself.

**EDWARD, his son Prince of Wales,** died after the same manner, and by the same hand. In surveying the other branch of the house of Lancaster, namely, that of Beaufort - Somerset, hardly shall we find a Prince but what lost his life in a battle, or on the scaffold.

The house of York, of whom Edmund de Langley, fifth son of Edward III was head, was still less favoured. Some unfortunate stars seemed to be continually shedding their malignant

influences upon that family. Excepting Edmund de Langley himself, first Duke of York, all the Princes his descendents died a violent or untimely death.

**EDWARD, Duke of York**, his eldest son, was slain at the battle of Azincourt.

**RICHARD, Earl of Cambridge**, lost his head on a scaffold.

**RICHARD, third Duke of York**, and his son Edmund, Earl of Rutland, perished in the battle of Wakefield.

**GEORGE, Duke of Clarence**, was afterwards condemned to die in a butt of Malmsey.

**EDWARD IV.** after enjoying the crown of England some years, to which he had a better title than the House of Lancaster, died indeed a natural death, but in the two and fortieth year of his age.

**EDWARD V. and RICHARD his brother**, were smothered in their bed.

**EDWARD, Prince of Wales, son of Richard III.** was taken out of the world in the eleventh year of his age.

**RICHARD III.** was killed at the battle of Bosworth.

In fine, we shall see in the course of the history, **EDWARD**, Earl of Warwick, son of the unfortunate Duke of Clarence, and the only surviving male of the house of York, end his days by the hand of the executioner.

Nothing more remains to complete the account of the disasters that happened to the posterity of Edward III. but to take notice that **THOMAS** of Woodstock, Earl of Gloucester, seventh son of that monarch, died a violent death in prison at Calais.

That Richard III. coined money, appears by an indenture, whereby he contracts with Robert Bracken bury for the coinage both of gold and silver, of the same value and denomination with the money of the 5th of Edward IV. Dr. Nicolson describes one of his groats, as inscribed with characters of the like shape with those of Henry VI. and Edward IV. weighing about two penny weights three grains, which was the exact standard of Richard III's groats.



Others, in the possession of the late Archbishop of York and Mr. Thoresby, in which the face-side wants the outer circle, the letters of the inscription which reach to the extremity of the coin being generally imperfect, so that there were reasons for the provision made by act of Parliament in the next reign, that the new money should have a circle about the outermost parts. That coin which Speed gives of Richard II is thought rather to belong to this King, by the word **AGLIÆ** instead of **ANGLIÆ**, in whose reign that way of writing was used.

The author of Num. Brit. Hist. has two pieces of this King inscribed, **RICHARDUS. REX. ANGLI.** Reverse, **CIVITAS EBORACI.** Another, **RICARDUS. REX. ANGL.** Reverse, **CIVITAS. LONDON.** The shortness of this King's reign makes his coin so very rare, that Thoresby observes, he had seen a series of ancient monies from Edward the Confessor to the present times, Richard III. excepted, which he had not chanced to light upon. Speed's case was the same, so that he was forced to leave a blank for this King's money[35].

## Notes to Chapter V

1) Having married Joan, daughter and heir of John Lord Strange, he was summoned to Parliament in 22 Edward IV. by the title of Lord Strange.

2) That Rapin, and the rest of our historians are mistaken in this particular, is plain from Sir William Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 168, wherein is inserted a bill signed by King Richard, whereby he granted the Duke of Buckingham livery of all those lands to which he pretended a right by descent from Humphrey de Bohun. Among the rest there were sixteen. Lordships in Essex, particularly Walden, Badow, Plecy, Waltham, High-Estre,) besides many more in other counties, amounting in all to the yearly value of £10841. 11s. 9d.

3) Dugdale ascribes the cause of his retiring, either to trouble of conscience, or because he found himself neglected by the King.

4) Miles Forest, and John Dighton.

5) In the time of Sir Thomas Checheley, Master of the Ordnance, great heaps of records of bills and answers lying in the six clerk's office, were removed to be re-positied in the White Tower; and a new pair of stairs were made in the chapel there, for the easier conveyance of them thither. The labourers, in digging at the foot of the old stairs, came to a wooden chest, containing the bones of consumed corpses covered with a heap of stones: which bones King Charles caused to be interred in Henry VII's chapel, near two other royal children, Mary and Sophia, daughters of King James I. with a monument of white marble, and an inscription on it in capital letters.

6) She sent Hugh Conwey, Esq. with a large sum of money. But Richard Guilford, for fear Conwey should be stopped at Plymouth, where he intended to take ship, sent out of Kent, by the way of Calais, Thomas Rape with, the same instructions. They both arrived within less than an hour, at the Duke of Bretagne's court.

7) This inundation was so remarkable, that for a hundred years after, it was called the Great Water, or Buckingham's Water. It is said, that men, women, and children, were carried away in their beds with the violence of it, and that the tops of the mountains were. covered with the waters.

8) Hall says; he had enforced and compelled them into his service, against their wills, rather by lordly and straight commandment, than by liberal wages, and gentle restrainer; which was the very occasion why they left him desolate.

- 9) With him are named in the proclamation, Sir William Noreys, Sir William Knevet, Sir Thomas Bouchier. of Barnes, Sir George Broun, John Cheyne, John Noreis, Walter Hungerford, John Rush, and John Harecourt.
- 10) His name was Rauf Banistre. King Richard gave him for his reward the manor of Balding in Kent.
- 11) At Pool in Dorsetshire.
- 12) The most remarkable statutes enacted in this Parliament were these:- **1.** That whereas the subjects of this realm had of late been burdened with a new imposition, called a Benevolence, the same should not thenceforth, be exacted, **2.** That every justice of the peace shall have power to admit of a prisoner arrested for felony, to bail. And that no officer shall seize the goods of a prisoner arrested for felony, till he is attainted. **3.** That no person shall be impanelled upon juries, but what hath twenty shillings freehold, or twenty-six shillings and eight-pence copyhold, at least.
- 13) He ordered Sir William Collingburn of Lydiard in Wiltshire to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for aiding the Earl of Richmond, and writing a satirical distich upon him and his favourites, Viscount Lovel, Sir Richard Ratcliffe; and Sir William Catesby.
- The rat, the cat, and Lovel our dog,  
Rule all England under a Hog.**
- Alluding to Lovel's arms, and to one of Richard's supporters, being a wild boar.
- 14) The Duke of Bretagne was then, for recreation and change of air, on the borders and confines of France:
- 15) John Blount, and also Sir John Fortescue, Governor of the town of Calais.
- 16) George Stanley, Lord Strange.
- 17) Buck will have it, that her great grief at the death of the Prince of Wales her only son, threw her into a consumption, which carried her off in a very little time. Her name was. Ann, being the second daughter and coheir of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick. She died March 16, and was buried with due solemnity at Westminster.
- 18) Buck says, that there is an original letter under Elizabeth's own hand, in the cabinet of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, written to the Duke of Norfolk, wherein she desires him to be a mediator for her marriage with the King, who, (she said) was her joy and maker in the world, and that she was his in heart and thought, withal insinuating, that the best part of February was past, and. that she feared the Queen would never die.
- 19) which consisted only of two thousand men, as is said above.
- 20) Here Sir George Talbot, with his ward the young Earl of Shrewsbury, who was then a minor, came to him, and brought him two thousand men.
- 21) He sent to John Howard Duke of Norfolk, and to his son Thomas Earl of Surrey, to Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, &c. to bring him their servants and tenants: and ordered Sir Robert Brackenbury to come to him, with Sir Walter Hungerford, and several other knights and esquires.
- 22) The same day Sir John Savage, Sir Brian Sanford, Sir Simon Digby, and many others, left Richard, and came to him.

23) Sir Gilbert. Talbot commanded the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left. Between the two armies there was a morass, which the Earl of Richmond left on the right hand, to secure him on that side, and in so doing he had the sun at his back, and in the faces of his enemies.

24) The following very curious particulars relating to this memorable battle, are taken from a MS: first printed in the year 1813; in the second edition of Hutton's *Battle of Bosworth Field*, edited by J. Nicholls, Esq. F. S. A.—When the vaward began to fight, Kynge Henry dyd full manfully; so did the Erle of Oxford, so did Sir John Savage; Sir Gilbert Talbot did the lyke; Sir Hughe Percivall allso, with many othar. Kinge Richard, in a marzis, dyd stand nombrad to xx. thousand and three under his bannar. Sr William Stanley rememberinge the brekfast that he promysed hym, downe at a banke he dyed, and set fiersly on the Kynge; they countered together sadly. The archers let theyr arrows flye; they shot of goans; many a bannar began to show that was on Richard's partye; with grownd wepons they joyned: there dyed many a doughty knyght. Then to Kyng Richard thee tam a knyght, and sayd, I hold it tyme for ye to flye yondar Stanley is dynts be so sore, agaynst them may no man stand. Her is thy hors for to ryde another day ye may worshype wyne. He sayd, Brynge me battayl axe in my hand, and set the crown of gold on my hed so hye; for by hym that shape bothe se and sand, Kynge of England this day will I dye; one foote away will not fle, whill brethe wyll byde my brest within. As he sayd, so did he; he lost his lyffe. On his standard then fast they dyd lyght. They hewyed the crowne of gold from his hed with dowlfull dents: his deathe was dyght.

25) This battle was fought about three miles from Bosworth, an ancient market-town in Leicestershire. The exact spot of ground is frequently more and more discovered by pieces of armour, weapons, and especially abundance of arrow-heads found there of a long and large proportion. There is a little mount cast up, on Which Henry VII. is said to have made his speech to his soldiers.

26) Hall says, there were few above a thousand slain. But Stow says, there were four thousand.

27) The other persons of note that lost their lives, were, Walter Lord Fetters of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliff, Robert Brackenbury, Sir William Coniers, Sir Richard Claringdon.

28) The verses said to have been written upon the tent door were these:-

**Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold,  
For Dickon thy master is bought and sold.**

29) John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, son of Sir. Robert Howard, left behind him Thomas Earl of Surrey, and five daughters. Mr. Hutton, already mentioned as the author of "*The Battle of Bosworth Field*," thus expresses himself in a letter to Mr. Nicholls: I paid a visit in July 1807 to Bosworth Field; but found so great an alteration since I saw it in 1788, that I was totally lost. The manor had been enclosed, the fences were grown up, and the prospect impeded. King Richard's Well; which figures in our histories, was nearly obliterated; the swamp where he fell became firm land; and the rivulet proceeding from it, lost in an under drain; so that future inspection is cut off. I wished to sleep in the the room at Three Tuns, in Atherstone, that was the last in which Henry the Seventh slept prior to the battle, but was not permitted. This subject is interestingly elucidated, by a letter from the learned Dr. Parr, dated, Hatton, September 13, 1813, published in the second edition of Mr. Hutton's work.—"As. to Bosworth Field," says the Dr. "six or seven years ago I explored it, and I found Dick's Well, out of which the tradition is that Richard drank during the battle. It was in dirty, mossy ground, and seemed to me to be in danger of being destroyed by the cattle. I therefore bestirred myself to have it preserved, and to ascertain the owner. The Bishop of of Down spoke to the Archbishop of Armagh, who said that the ground was not his. I then found it not to be Mrs. Pochin's. Last year I traced it to a person to whom it had been bequeathed by Dr. Taylor, formerly rector of Bosworth. I went to the spot,

accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Lynes, of Kirkby-Malory. The grounds had been drained. We dug in two or three places without effect I then applied to a neighbouring farmer, a good intelligent fellow. He told me his family had drawn water from it six or seven years, and that he would conduct me to the very place desired him to describe the signs. He said, there were some large stones, and some square wood which went round the well at top. We dug and found things as he had described them; and having ascertained the very spot, we rolled in the stones, and covered them with earth— Now Lord Wentworth, and some other gentlemen to fence the place with some strong stones, and to put a large stone over it with the following inscription, and you may tell the story if you please. Yours &c. S. Pawl.

The inscription here mentioned is commemorative of the tradition alluded to above, and of the date of the battle.

**30)** He was buried in St: Mary's, belonging to a monastery of the Grey Friars. Henry VII put over him a tomb of various coloured marble adorned with his statue in alabaster. This monument stood till the dissolution of the abbies under Henry VIII. when it was pulled down and utterly defaced ; since which his grave being overgrown with weeds and nettles, is become very obscure and not to be found; only by the stone coffin, wherein his, corpse lay, which, was made a drinking trough for horses, at the White Horse Inn in Leicester.—Richard was not above three or four and thirty years old when he was killed. He gave five hundred marks a year to Queen's College in Cambridge.

**31)** His enemies seem to own, that excepting his cruelties to gain and keep the crown, one might judge him to be a good King: particularly in his care to check vice, and promote sobriety and virtue; witness his circular letter to the Bishops, and in his concern for the good government and ease of his subjects, as may be seen in his proclamation against the rebels in Kent. Lord Veluram says of him, that he was in military virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the English nation, and likewise a good law-maker. He founded the society of Heralds, and made them a corporation, &c.

**32)** There is a house still shown in Leicester, in which Richard the Third passed the night before the battle of Bosworth Field, and there is a story still preserved of him, in the corporation Records, which illustrates the caution and darkness of that Prince's character. It was his custom to carry among the baggage of his camp, a cumbersome wooden bedstead, which he pretended was the only one he could sleep on. Here he contrived a secret receptacle for his treasure. which lay concealed under a weight of timber. After the day on which Richard fell, the Earl of Richmond entered Leicester with his victorious troops, which the friends of Richard had previously pillaged; but the bedstead was neglected by every plunderer as useless lumber. The humble owner of the house afterwards was in the act of breaking it up to burn, when he discovered the hoard.

**33)** In his patent he is called John of Gloucester.

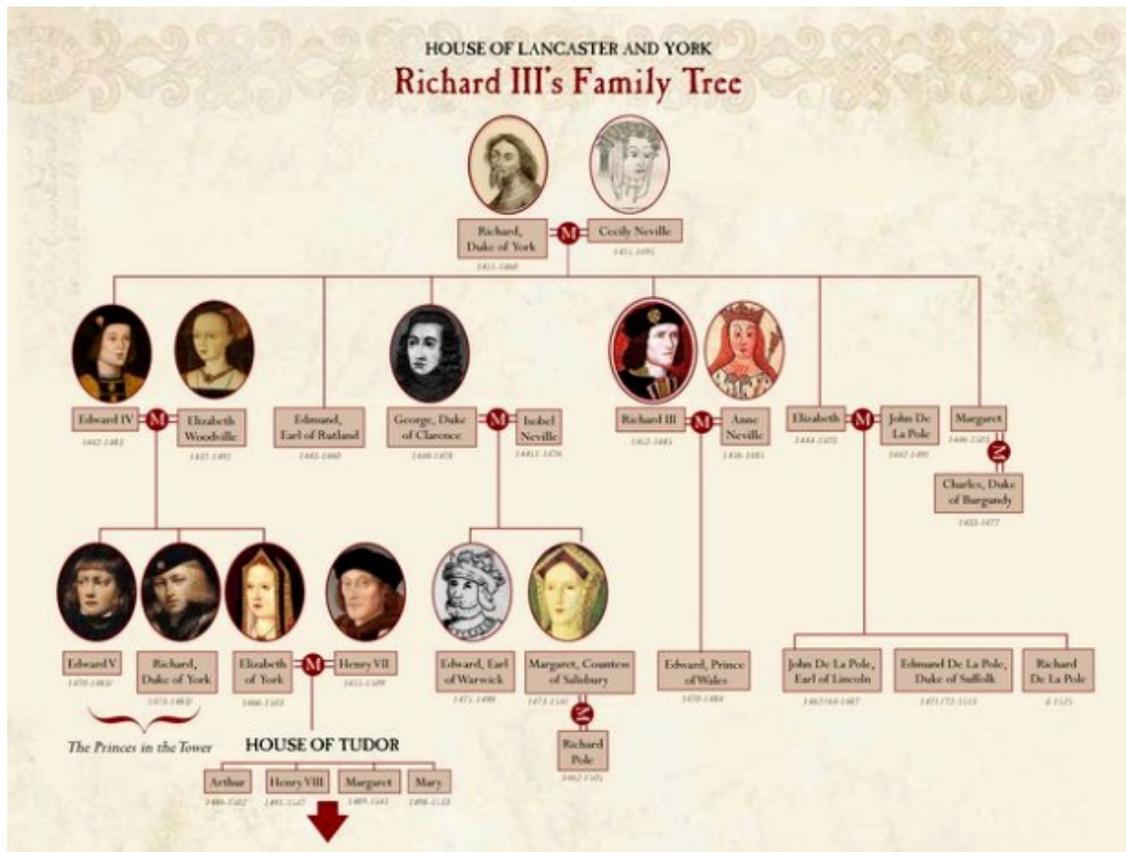
**34)** i. e, A Broom-Stalk; the reason of this surname antiquaries are at a loss to find out, and give no better than this: Folk, the first Earl of Anjou of that name, being stung with remorse for some wicked actions of his, in order to atone for them, went in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and, before the holy sepulchre, was soundly scourged with broom twigs, which grow in great plenty there. Whence he ever after took the surname of Plantagenet. or Broom-Stalk, which was continued by his noble posterity.

**35)** It may here be remarked, with much propriety, that the constitution of the English government, ever since the invasion of this island by the Saxons, may boast of this pre-eminence, that in no age the will of the monarch was entirely ever absolute and uncontrolled: but in other respects the balance of power has extremely shifted among the several orders of the state; and this fabric has experienced the same mutability that has attended all human institutions. The ancient Saxons, like the other German nations, where each individual was inured to arms, and

where the independence of men was secured by a great equality of possessions, seem to have admitted a considerable mixture of democracy into their form of government, and to have been one of the freest nations of which there remains any account in the records of histories. After this tribe was settled in England, especially after the dissolution of the heptarchy, the great extent of the kingdom produced a great equality in property; and the balance seems to have inclined to the side of aristocracy. The Norman conquest through more authority into the hands of the sovereign, which however admitted of great controul; though derived less from the general forms of the Constitution, which were inaccurate and irregular, than from the independent power enjoyed by each baron in his particular district or province. The establishment of the Great Charter exalted still higher the aristocracy, imposed regular limits on royal power, and gradually introduced some mixture of democracy into the Constitution. But even during this period, from the accession of Edward I. to the death of Richard III. the condition of the Commons was nowise eligible; a kind of popish aristocracy prevailed and though the Kings were limited, the people were yet far from being free. It required the authority almost absolute of the sovereigns, which took place in the subsequent period, to pull down those disorderly and licentious tyrants, who were equally averse from peace and from freedom, and to establish that regular execution of the laws, which in a following age enabled the people to erect a regular and equitable plan of liberty. In each of these successive alterations the only rule of government which is intelligible or carries any authority with it, is the established practice of the age, and the maxims of administration which are-at that time prevalent and universally assented to. Those who, from a pretended respect to antiquity, appeal at every turn to an original plan of the Constitution, only cover their turbulent spirit and their private ambition under the pretence of venerable forms; and whatever period they pitch on for their model, they may still be carried back to a more ancient period, where they will find the measures of power entirely different, and where every circumstance by reason of the greater barbarity of the times, will appear still less worthy of imitation. Above all, a civilized nation, like the English, who have happily established the most perfect and most accurate system of liberty that ever was found compatible with government, ought to be cautious in appealing to the practice of their ancestors, or regarding the maxims of uncultivated ages as certain rules for their present conduct. An acquaintance with the ancient periods of their government is chiefly useful, by instructing to cherish their present Constitution, from a comparison or contrast with the condition of those distant times. And it is also curious, by showing them the remote and commonly faint and disfigured originals of the most finished and most noble institution, and by instructing them in the great mixture of accident which commonly concurs with a small ingredient of wisdom and foresight in erecting the complicated fabric of the most perfect government.



## The Battle of Bosworth 1485



**Richard III's Family Tree**



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**"For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the  
Word of the Lord from Jerusalem"  
(Isaiah 2:3)."**

