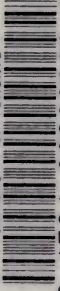


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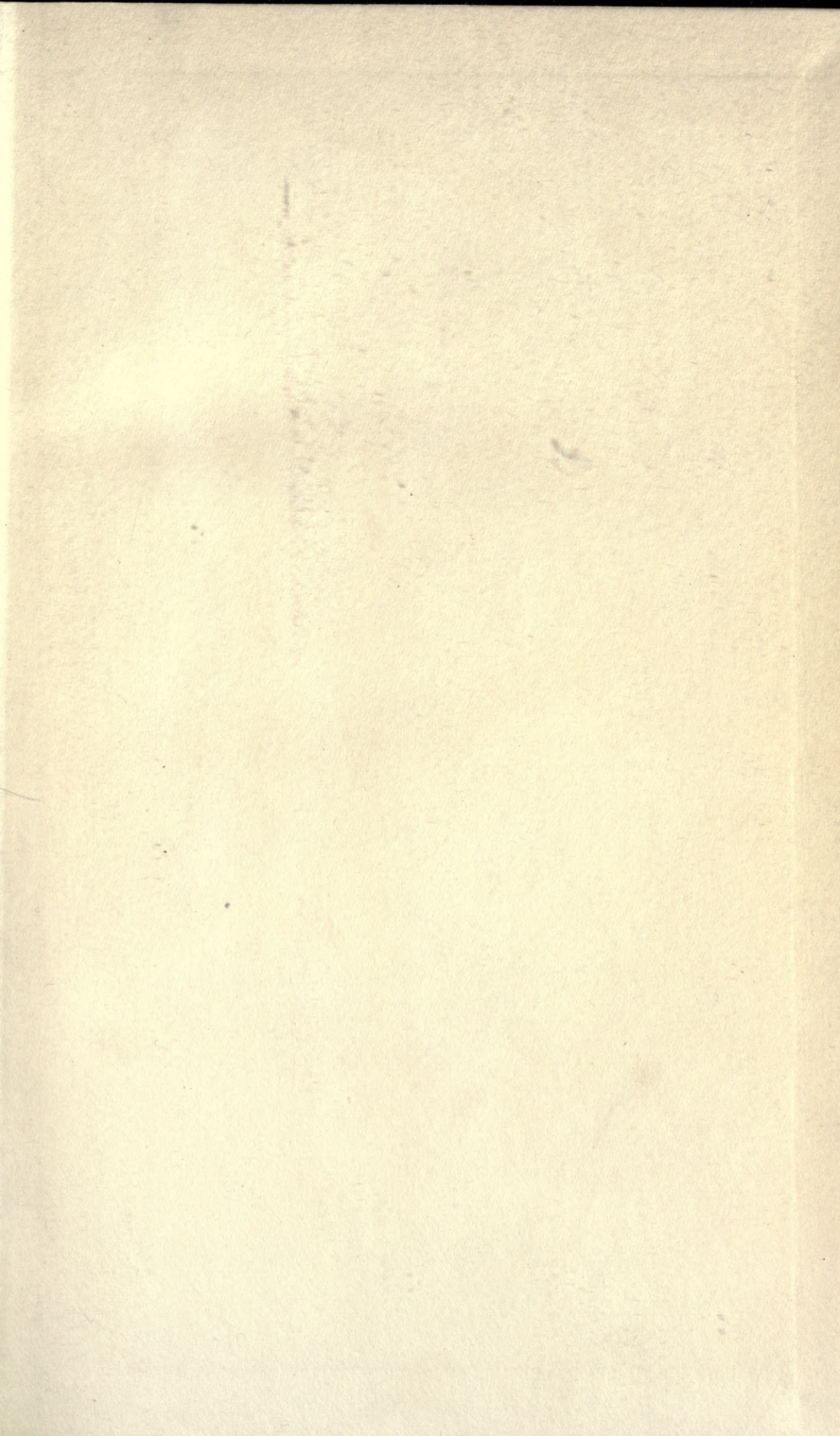


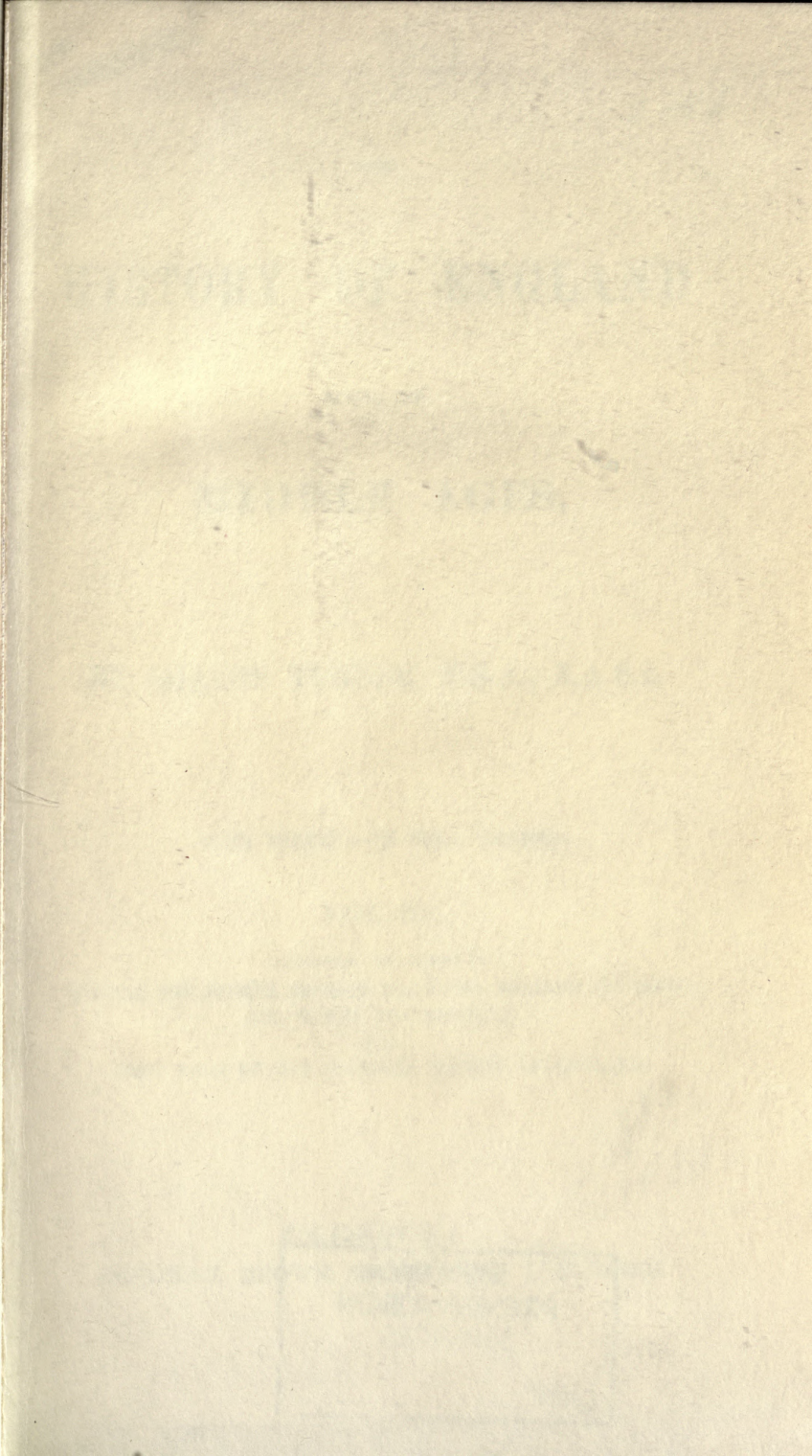
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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

DURING THE

MIDDLE AGES.

BY SHARON TURNER, F.S.A., R.A.S.L.

FIFTH EDITION.— IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

COMPRISING THE REIGNS OF

EDWARD THE FOURTH, EDWARD THE FIFTH, RICHARD THE THIRD,
AND HENRY THE SEVENTH,

AND THE

FIRST PART OF THE LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

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MIDDLE AGES.

BY SHARON TORNER, F.S.A., F.A.S.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE AUTHOR

VOL. III

THE HISTORY OF THE LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND
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HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

REIGN OF EDWARD THE FOURTH.

1461—1483.

CHAPTER I.

*Battle of Towton. — EDWARD'S Coronation. — Battle of Hexham.
— HENRY taken. — EDWARD'S Marriage. — Promotion of the
Queen's Friends. — WARWICK'S Discontent.*

THE warmest sympathies of the people had raised Edward to the throne¹, and even the church, abandoning the house of Lancaster, had contributed both to elevate and support him.² The ecclesiastic esta-

CHAP.
I.

REIGN OF
EDW. IV.

¹ The monk of Croyland is emphatic: "The nobles of the kingdom, and all the people of the midland part of England, and of the east, west, and south, deserted Henry. They directed solemn ambassadors to Edward in Wales, to declare to him the wishes of the people, and to urge him to hasten into England, to help them, as delay was producing the danger." p. 532.

² Hearne's Fragment mentions, that all gentlemen, both spiritual and temporal, from the greater part of the east and west, came to London to welcome Edward. p. 285. And Croyland, that he was received "*a clero et universo populo*," with immense joy. p. 532.

BOOK
IV.REIGN OF
EDW. IV.

lishment found the queen and her friends more disposed to become its plunderers than its protectors.³ The clergy, like the people, saw in Henry, a feeble, disabled, incompetent, tho well-wishing king; and the uxoriousness natural to his debility, made the queen and her passions, prejudices, and craving adherents, and not the general good, the governors of the kingdom. In this unhappy state, loyalty was sacrificed to expediency and resentment; and the new dynasty was created.

But the queen was now in the north, with a larger army raised in that part of England, than either party had yet commanded. Edward, with that promptitude of military judgment which gave him victory in every battle he fought, declined to be crowned⁴, while this was unbroken; and on the day after his election, sent the duke of Norfolk into his county to raise men. On the next day, the 6th of March, Warwick went northward with his forces. On the 10th, the king's infantry followed: and on the 12th, the eighth day after his elevation, he left the metropolis himself, thro Bishopsgate, with the rest of his forces.⁵ He ordered lord Fitzwalter to take and maintain the passage at Ferrybridge.

Queen's
success at
Ferry-
bridge.

The chief Lancastrian generals were Somerset, Northumberland, and Clifford, with sir Andrew Trollope. Leaving Henry, the queen, and prince, at York, they advanced to meet Edward: and lord Clifford, with their cavalry, attempted to take the post at Ferrybridge by surprise. This unexpected attack succeeded. Fitzwalter hearing an alarm, sprang out of his bed, and seizing his battle-axe,

³ Croyland has left us one picture of this conduct. "Elated by this victory (Wakefield), they rushed like a whirlwind over England, and plundered it, without respect of persons or place. They attacked the churches, took away their vessels, books, and clothes; even the sacramental pyxes, shaking out the eucharist; and slew the priests who resisted. So they acted, for a breadth of thirty miles, all the way from York nearly up to London." p. 531.

⁴ Croyl. p. 532.

⁵ Hearne's Frag. p. 286.

rushed without his armor into the conflict, and soon perished. Warwick, apprized of the disaster, hastened with the news to his friends. Edward immediately ordered every one to depart who was averse or afraid to fight, and promised rewards to all who were faithful, and to those who should destroy any one that, when the battle begun, should retreat. Lord Falconbridge was dispatched to take a short circuit and surround Clifford, who fell back to prevent this evil. But his retreat was intercepted, and while displacing his gorget from pain or heat, an arrow lighted on his throat, and he immediately expired.⁶

Lord Falconbridge advanced in the twilight, with the van of Edward's army. Warwick followed with the main body, and sir John Wenlock conducted the rear. A sanguinary proclamation was made, that no prisoners should be taken, and no enemy saved. At nine in the morning, both armies began to come in sight of each other near Towton, about eight miles from York. Edward waited a short time for the arrival of the rest of his force, which soon came up in good order. Both parties prepared for a decisive conflict with resolute courage. Henry's army was computed at 60,000 men. Edward's was 48,660. These were the largest armies of Englishmen that had ever yet disputed with each other for a sovereign. It was the eve of Palm-sunday, the commencement of the most solemn and affecting week of the whole Christian year; a season that rebuked, with silent eloquence, the purposes and the spirit of both. But soldiers, like statesmen, in the acting of their schemes have little sympathy with the feelings and hopes of religion, whatever recollections or remorse may afterwards occur. The two hosts were

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I.

REIGN OF
EDW. IV.

29 March,
1461.
Battle of
Towton.

⁶ Clifford being particularly hated for his murder of the young Rutland, his son was concealed, and brought up as a poor shepherd, till Henry VII. obtained the crown, when he was restored to his father's estates. Hall, p. 253.

BOOK
IV.

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too eager for revenge and victory, to moralize. As if battle were the gate of paradise, and the future an incomprehensible dream, they raised against each other a tumultuous shout of execration and defiance, and at four o'clock in the afternoon⁷, within three hours of complete darkness, began the mortal struggle, by lord Falconbridge advancing to attack. The wind was at first blowing strong against Edward's front; but as he was commencing the battle, it veered round, and setting full against his adversaries⁸, drove a small flight of snow on their faces. Falconbridge ordered his archers to shoot one flight of arrows, and no more. These being aimed well, took effect. The Lancastrians were eager to return the mischief, but not able to discern the true distance for their pull, from the snow and the wind breaking the force of their shafts, their shot fell many yards short of the Yorkists. They were suffered to expend their quivers thus unavailingly without knowing it, while the others picked them up, and then returned both these and their own with a destructive annoyance, which excited Northumberland and Trollope, who commanded the vanguard, to advance immediately into a close combat.⁹

If either party hoped to decide the field before night-fall, both were disappointed by their mutual determination. The shades of evening came on, and neither had given way. The faint twilight disappeared and darkness followed, yet both were still fighting, and too furious to leave off. In vain resting nature summoned them to pause. They continued, as far as they could, the dismal struggle all night, disturbing its awful repose with the groans of dying misery; the fierce clashing of arms at times enlightening the gloom by the sparks struck out in their

⁷ Hearne's Frag. p. 287.

⁸ Whet. p. 516.

⁹ Hall, p. 256. Whet. p. 516.

collision. What light could be obtained from fires and torches in some important stations was supplied. This midnight combat produced much disorder in both armies, but gave advantage to neither. The cheerful dawn appeared, but only to re-animate them to pursue the demon-work of rage and death. The sun again rose and proceeded onward to his noon, and yet the dreadful battle continued with lavish but still with indecisive slaughter. Edward had practised his father's policy, of carefully replacing the weary and wounded by fresh men, as long as he had any. But the conflict had now lasted so long, that all had been used, and the superior numbers of the queen's party began to be felt. At this critical juncture, when both sides were nearly exhausted, the duke of Norfolk arrived about noon, with the new force he had been sent to raise.¹⁰ This supply decided, in Edward's favor, a struggle of an obstinacy rarely exemplified and of a kind most abhorrent to humanity. Both sides gave no quarter—no one demanded any. Each individual fought for life and victory. Tenants were contending against their lords; sons, brothers, nephews, were striking at each other, and at their dearest relatives. As Henry's side at last gave way, it was found that the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland had perished in the field, with Trollope and many other distinguished persons. The earls of Devon and Wilts were taken. The dukes of Somerset and Exeter escaped.¹¹ All the high road, from the place of battle almost to the walls of York, for six miles, was stained with blood, and strewed with corpses.¹² For two or three miles round the village,

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¹⁰ We owe the remarkable fact, of the battle beginning at four o'clock in the afternoon, and continuing thro the night, and of Norfolk's coming up the next day at noon, to Hearne's Fragment, p. 287.

¹¹ Hearne's Frag. p. 287. Croyl. p. 532. Fab. p. 473. Some of the names of the noblemen mentioned in Paston's letters, in Fenn, vol. i. pp 218—221., as having fallen, are wrong.

¹² Whet. p. 516.

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the streams of human life lay mixed with the snow, in furrows and puddles, revolting human sight and accusing human wickedness.¹³ It snowed all the time of the murderous conflict.¹⁴ It was the greatest, most destructive, and most decisive of all the battles that Englishmen had ever fought, either at home or on the continent. From 30,000 to 40,000 persons perished in these two dreadful days.¹⁵ The human heart revolts from this mass of blood and death: and as wars are evils of our own, and not of nature's production, we may blush or tremble, in contemplating these works of our self-will, that the divine image within us should, for vile passions and sordid interests, thus defile its sublime nature, and defy the laws and wishes of its mighty and benign original. It is inconsistent for man to complain of the evils of this life, and yet to sanction, panegyryze, or practise warfare; the most extensive of those human miseries, with which mankind have deliberately afflicted themselves.

London was in great anxiety for the event, till Edward's letters to his mother arrived there on Easter eve, with the welcomed intelligence.¹⁶

Edward marched immediately to York, took down the heads of his father and Salisbury, and buried them; but imitating the queen's resentment, beheaded the earls of Devon and Wiltshire, with others. While his light cavalry were out searching for Henry and the queen, these unfortunate sovereigns reached Ber-

¹³ Croyl. p. 533.

¹⁴ Hearne's Frag. p. 287.

¹⁵ Croyland mentions, that they who buried the dead declared, that 38,000 had fallen. p. 533. The Fragment makes the number on both sides 33,000. p. 287. Fabian says, that 30,000 fell. p. 473. Hall enumerates the slain in this battle, and at Ferrybridge, during the three days, at 36,776 persons. p. 256. This has an appearance of minute accuracy. The letter-writer at the time, in Fenn, makes the number on Henry's side alone, 20,000; but the list annexed to it gives the number of these, as reported by the heralds, to be 28,000. Vol. i. pp. 219—221. Hence the 9000 in Wyrcestre must be a mis-copy of his figures. Many of them are wrong in other places.

¹⁶ Fenn, vol. i. p. 219. Hearne's Frag. p. 287. Dr. Morton was taken at this battle. Fenn, p. 223. Hastings, on Edward's side, was here made a knight. Ib. p. 219.

wick, and from thence sailed to Scotland, imploring aid of its king. He received them kindly, and appointed them an honorable support, which they rewarded by a gift of the town of Berwick.¹⁷

Edward passed his Easter at York, and moved on to Durham, completing his subjection of the country. He left Warwick, to watch the queen's movements, and returning towards the metropolis, on the 1st of June arrived at Sheen.¹⁸ Carlisle being endangered by the Scots, he was about to defer his coronation again, that he might relieve it; but news arriving that lord Montague had defeated the besiegers¹⁹, he prepared for his final honor; and on the 26th of June, made his triumphant entry into London to receive it. The lord mayor and aldermen in scarlet, with 400 of the common council, well horsed and clad in green, met him on the way, and conducted him to the Tower. The next day he made thirty-two knights of the Bath, and these in the afternoon, preceding him in their gowns and hoods of white silk, conducted him to Westminster. On Sunday the 29th of June, he was solemnly crowned there by the archbishop of Canterbury, with great triumph and pomp.²⁰ In the autumn, the queen's friends were discomfited in Wales.²¹

CHAP.
I.

REIGN OF
EDW. IV.

1461.
June.
Edward
crowned.

¹⁷ Hall, p. 256. The act of attainder recites the delivery of Berwick; and also notices an attempt to give Carlisle to the Scots, "the key of the west marches of England." Parl. Rolls, p. 478. It is justice to the queen to add Fabian's paragraph. "Thus the noble and most bounteous princess, queen Margaret, of whom many untrue surmise was imagined and told, was fain to fly comfortless, and lost all that she had in England for ever." p. 473.

¹⁸ Fab. 474.

¹⁹ Fenn, vol. i. p. 231. On June 26, 1461, Henry and lord Ross were again defeated at Ryton and Brauncepath, in Durham. Parl. Rolls, p. 478.

²⁰ Hearne's Frag. p. 288. Fab. p. 474.

²¹ Duke Exeter, Jasper earl Pembroke, and others, were embattled against Edward's forces on the 13th of October, at Tatlhill, near Carnarvon. Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 478. But a letter in Fenn states the result. "All the castles and holds, both in South Wales and North Wales, are given up into the king's hands, and duke Exeter and earl Pembroke are fled, and taken the mountains; and divers lords, with great puissance, are after them; and the most part of gentlemen and men of worship are come in to the king." Fenn, vol. i. p. 243.

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On the 4th of November, his first parliament met.²² The speaker addressed him, with much complimentary flattery, even noticing his personal advantages²³; but closing more wisely with a request, that the extortion, murder, rape, effusion of innocent blood, riot, and unrighteousness, which had in Henry's time been permitted with impunity, might be corrected and punished. Acts were passed declaring Edward's title to the crown, and pronouncing Henry to be an usurper; attainting the nobles and gentry, who had most distinguished themselves against the house of York²⁴; vesting all the possessions of Henry in Edward; confirming the new king's grants to his mother²⁵, and repealing the former enactment against his father and his friends. A statute, important to the pacification of the country, was made, prohibiting the great and rich from giving or wearing any liveries or signs of companionship, except while serving under the king; from receiving or maintaining plunderers, robbers, malefactors, or unlawful hunters, and from

²² Among the lords who then assembled, were,

| | | |
|------------------|------------------|------------|
| Duke of Norfolk. | Lords | Graystock. |
| Earls | Warwick. | Audley. |
| | Worcester. | Scroope. |
| | Essex. | Clinton. |
| | Kent. | Hastings. |
| Lords | Grey of Ruthyn. | Cobham. |
| | Southwick. | Stourton. |
| | Scroop of Upsal. | Fitzhugh. |

The spiritual peers named, were,

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| Abps. of Canterbury. | Bps. of Worcester. |
| York. | Lincoln. |
| Bps. | Durham. |
| London. | Bangor. |
| Winchester. | Chester. |
| Rochester. | |
| Ely. | |

Seven abbots, and the prior of St. John. Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 461.

²³ "The beaute of personage that it hath pleased Almighty God to send you." Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 463.

²⁴ The chief were, Somerset and Exeter; the earls of Devonshire and Northumberland, who had fallen; the earls of Pembroke and Wilts; lords Ross and Neville, Beaumont, Clifford, Wells, and the deceased lords Rougemont and Daere; sir John Skydmore; with many knights, and some priests and esquires. Parl. Rolls, vol. v. pp. 477—483.

²⁵ These were three annuities, of 400*l.*; 289*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and 100*l.* Parl. Rolls, p. 484.

allowing dice and cards in their houses beyond the twelve days of Christmas.²⁶ Edward created several peers; and closed the session by the unusual, but popular measure, of a speech to the commons, not strictly grammatical, delivered by himself from the throne.²⁷

Queen Margaret continued in Scotland with her husband and son²⁸; but her friends in France, tho themselves distressed, continued to counsel her with their best advice, and to cheer her with distant hopes.²⁹ The nation manifestly favored the change of dynasty: but there were still friends enough of the old system to provide materials for further enterprizes, tho not for beneficial ones; and the queen, who would deserve our praise, if her judgment and moral prudence had equalled her spirit, persever-

²⁶ Parl. Rolls, p. 488.

²⁷ He began with addressing their speaker by his name. "James Strangways, and ye that be come for the commons of this my land, for the true hearts and tender considerations that ye have had to my right and title, that I and my ancestors have had unto the crown of this realm, the which from us have been long time withheld: and now, thanked be Almighty God, of whose grace groweth all victory, by your true hearts and great assistance, I am restored unto that which is my right and title. Wherefore I thank you, as heartily as I can. Also for the tender and true hearts that ye have shewed unto me, in that ye have tenderly had in remembrance the correction of the horrible murder and cruel death of my lord my father, my brother Rutland, and my cousin of Salisbury, and other, I thank you right heartily. And I shall be unto you, with the grace of Almighty God, as good and gracious sovereign lord, as ever was any of my noble progenitors to their subjects and liegemen.

"And for the faithful and loving hearts, and also the great labors that ye have borne and sustained towards me, in the recovering of my said right and title, which I now possess, I thank you with all my heart. And if I had any better good to reward you withall, than my body, ye should have it; the which shall always be ready for your defence; never sparing nor letting for no jeopardy; praying you all for your hearty assistance and good continuance, as I shall be unto you your very righteous and loving liege lord." Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 487.

²⁸ He at Kirkcubright, she and the prince at Edinburgh, in the autumn of 1461. Fenn, vol. i. p. 249.

²⁹ Lord Hungerford, who had been arrested at Dieppe, thus wrote to her: "Madam, fear you not, but be of good comfort; and beware that ye adventure not your person, nor my lord the prince, by the sea, till ye have other word from us, unless your person cannot be sure there as ye are, and that extreme necessity drive you hence. And for God's sake let the king's highness be advised the same; for as we be informed, the earl of March is in Wales by land, and hath sent his navy thither by sea. And, madam, think verily we shall not sooner be delivered but that we will come straight to you, without death take us by the way; the which we trust he will not, till we see the king and you peaceably again in your realm." Fenn, vol. i. p. 249.

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ance, and love of power, sailed in the spring of 1462 to France, and raised there, from adventurers that in every country were wanting employment, a small army, under sir Piers de Bracy, a Breton knight of some name, with which in October she coasted on to Newcastle, and landed. Edward issued proclamations, that all men between sixteen and sixty should be ready to attend him when called on; and Warwick was sent towards Scotland with 20,000 men.³⁰ The country did not rise to aid the queen as she expected; and hearing that Edward was advancing with hasty marches to meet her, she retired to her ships, to return to France; a tempest wrecked her, and drowned all her treasure: a fisherman's boat saved her; and with sir Piers, she reached Berwick. Part of her army was thrown on land at Bamborough. Seeing no escape, they burnt their ships in despair, and flying into Holy Island, were pursued and destroyed.³¹ A Scottish force joining the queen, she took Alnwick and Bamborough castles, which she committed to the care of Bracy and Somerset; and proceeded thro Northumberland and Durham.³²

Edward, with his peculiar celerity and decision, embarked two separate bodies at Lynn and Hull, sent lord Montague to raise what men he could in Northumberland, and on the 3d November, marched himself, with his most attached nobles, to York. In December 1463, stationing himself at Durham, he besieged Alnwick by lord Kent, Dunstanburgh by lord Worcester, and Bamborough by lord Montague, while Warwick, from Warkworth, rode every day to superintend all the sieges.³³ Somerset now thought Edward so firm on the throne, that he offered to surrender Bamborough castle, if admitted to the king's

³⁰ Fenn, vol. i. pp. 263—269. Hearne's Frag. p. 290.

³¹ Hearne's Frag. p. 291. W. Wyr. p. 494.

³² Hall, p. 259.

³³ Fenn, vol. i. p. 275.

grace.³⁴ This was wisely granted; and Somerset, whose family had been the bitterest enemies of the house of York, was now seen fighting, with his new friends, against those for whom his father had sacrificed his life.³⁵ To the other lords, who could not regain their lands, as Pembroke and Ross, a safe conduct was given for their return to Scotland.³⁶

Sir Piers de Bracy soon appeared from that country with a considerable Scottish army to relieve Alnwick. The earl of Warwick, who commanded the siege with Somerset and Worcester, perceiving their numbers to be inferior to their opponents, took a station in a field between the castle and a marsh. If the Scots had been bold enough, they might have destroyed the English, but their attack was not sufficiently vigorous, and failed. Somerset exerted himself manfully, in animating the English to maintain their camp. Edward was so gratified by his valor, that he gave him, every week, twenty marks for his expenses, and maintained his retinue. Alnwick surrendered. A truce was made between England and France.³⁷

In April, the queen sailed, with her son and remaining friends, to Sluys in Flanders, and went to the duke of Burgundy at Lisle, and earnestly implored his aid to regain her throne. He supplied her with money for her expenses; and from thence she went to her father in Lorraine, who gave her a castle for her present residence, while she waited the issue of the course of things.³⁸

The victories of Edward, the popularity of his government, the parliamentary settlement, and his three years' possession, would lead us to expect his continued enjoyment of a tranquil reign; and yet its

³⁴ Lel. vol. ii. p. 499.

³⁵ W. Wyr. p. 495. Lel. vol. ii. p. 499. Hall, p. 256.

³⁶ W. Wyr. p. 496.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 497. It is before this voyage that I would place the incident mentioned in the following note 50. p. 14.

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fourth year, 1464, was so disturbed with insurrections, that in February the parliament was informed, that he could not attend it, for the traitorous commotions in divers parts, especially at Gloucester³⁹; and it was therefore prorogued to the 5th of May; when it was again announced that the king could not be there, from the conspiracies that were prosecuting against him.⁴⁰ In March, we find that there were in hostile movement, in Lancashire and Cheshire, above ten thousand men⁴¹: and in April, the queen with her husband were encouraged to make the serious invasion, that led to the battle of Hexham. On the 11th of May, Edward found the hostilities so formidable, that he issued orders for all his subjects to arm.⁴²

A passage in the monk of Croyland induces the supposition, that the church establishment, or a considerable proportion of it, was now in a state of enmity against him. It has been remarked before that they contributed greatly to enthrone him⁴³, and the Pope had felicitated him on his coronation.⁴⁴ Yet now we find, that in 1465, "Many bishops and abbots were accused to the king, because by letters and by money, they had secretly solicited Margaret, then abroad, to invade him, promising counsel and aid."⁴⁵ It is probable that after Edward was fully seated on the throne, the church found the reforming principles to spread under the new dynasty; and that the nobility and gentry who had favored it, were influencing him against their temporalities. Henry and Margaret were more natural supporters of their old immunities and wealth, than the new interests,

³⁹ Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 499.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 500. The parliament was therefore prorogued to 20th November, to meet at York; and then to 21st January 1465, to assemble at Westminster. Ibid.

⁴¹ Fenn, vol. i. p. 287.

⁴² Rym. vol. xi. p. 524.

⁴³ See before, p. 1.

⁴⁴ The letter of Pius II. is dated 11 kal. Apr. 1462. Rym. vol. xi. p. 235.

⁴⁵ Hist. Croyl. p. 539.

feelings, and connections of the house of York. Hence, discerning their danger from the revolution they had patronized, and whose progress tended to involve themselves, they attempted to overturn it.

Edward's general policy was immediate vigor, followed by pardon to those who would submit.⁴⁶ But the forces which the queen had obtained from Scotland, presented chances of success which overcame the new loyalty and plighted honor of Somerset: and he suddenly departed from Edward, by private ways out of North Wales to Northumberland; and there possessed himself of the three castles of Bamborough, Dunstanborough and Alnwick, and raised the standard of revolt in favor of Henry.⁴⁷

The queen traversed the north of England with her Scottish army, plundering and ravaging her enemies. Edward sent lord Montague, the brother of Warwick, with the advance of his forces, who met a large division of her army, under lord Hungerford, at Hegeley Moor. These gave way as he attacked; and sir Ralph Percy, who had also been reconciled to Edward, but revolted, fell there, exclaiming as he expired, with an allusion to his loyalty to Henry, but with a forgetfulness of his sworn submission and abandoned allegiance to Edward, "I have saved the bird in my bosom."⁴⁸

Montague pressed vigorously his pursuit, and reached the queen's collected strength near Hexham; emboldened by the presence of Henry, and aware that all their prospects of his restoration depended

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1464,
April 25.
Battle of
Hegeley
Moor.

Battle of
Hexham,
8 May,
1464.

⁴⁶ The Parl. Rolls, p. 511, states instances of his forgiveness.

⁴⁷ The act attainting him states, that he had been received into Edward's grace, "by his pretended humbleness, meekness, and lowly suit;" and that he had been bounteously and largely treated, "to the intent that thereby, of very gentleness, and the noble honor that ought to be grounded in every gentleman, he should have been established in firm faith and truth" to Edward, who had caused him to be restored to his state and dignity. *Ibid.* p. 511. One chronicle intimates, that he was not paid the appointments given him by Edward. *Lel.* vol. ii. p. 499.

⁴⁸ Hall, p. 260. Hall states these events with some confusion as to the time. I take the data from the Parliamentary Record, pp. 510—512.

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on the event of the now approaching conflict. It was fiercely and obstinately contested, tho the opposing armies do not seem to have been numerous. But the conduct and bravery of Montague prevailed. By a well-directed charge, he pierced the battle of the Lancastrians, and broke up their array.⁴⁹ In their flight, Somerset was taken, and immediately beheaded: the third duke of the line that had fallen by a violent death since Henry's accession. On the next day, lords Ross and Hungerford were found in a wood, and suffered the same fate, with others. The king met Montague at York, and creating him earl of Northumberland, gave him all the estates and honors which the possessors of that title had enjoyed.⁵⁰

Henry had retired into Lancashire in disguise. A monk betrayed his retreat, and in July he was taken, at dinner, in Waddington Hall, by some deception. He escaped for a while into an adjoining wood, but was there again found, and brought towards London. Warwick met him at Islington, and had the cruelty to subject his former sovereign—a man so personally unoffending to any, and now so interesting to all, from the great mutation of his high estate—to the indignity of having his legs bound with leather straps to the stirrups of the horse. In this degraded state—a vain appeal to every good sympathy of his now insulting subjects, he was led thro Cheap and Corn-

⁴⁹ Hall, p. 260. W. Wyrcestre makes the force of Montague but 4000 men. p. 498.

⁵⁰ W. Wyr. pp. 498, 499. The incidents mentioned, but not dated, by Monstrelet, of the queen's being plundered by robbers, in her flight, in a forest; of her escaping, during their quarrel about the booty, with her son, into the wood: of another de-predator there suddenly meeting her; of her advancing to him with courageous despair, and saying to him, "Take him, my friend; save the son of thy king;" and of the man's being so impressed by her noble spirit, as to conduct her safely to the sea-shore, whence she escaped to Sluys in Flanders, are usually connected with the battle of Hexham. But they rather suit the period mentioned before, p. 11. Monstrelet adds, that Henry, at this time, retired into Wales. vol. x. p. 125. Johnes has inserted "the forest of Hainault," in his translation; but the French of my edition of Monstrelet is, "une forest en Angleterre," t. iii. p. 64.

hill to the Tower⁵¹, where he remained for the next five years⁵² happier for his degradation. The few remaining friends of his family found safety where they could. His queen obtained an asylum on the continent, with her father. The young duke of Somerset, and his brother, sailed to Flanders, and lived there in great misery, like duke Exeter, till a foreign country at last allowed them a small pension. Jasper, the earl of Pembroke, went from county to county, no where finding safety, comfort, or support.⁵³ The hearts, as well as the power and law of the country, were now with Edward; and he proceeded to establish those measures which his own permanent safety, and the welfare of the country, most required.

He rewarded liberally, out of the forfeited estates of his adversaries, all those who had faithfully served him; and adopted a kindness and familiarity in his manners towards all classes of his subjects, which rivetted their attachment.⁵⁴ He made new coins⁵⁵, altered others⁵⁶; and for temporary purposes, he, with questionable policy, raised their value, and the price of gold and silver.⁵⁷ The wisdom or ultimate effects of these operations on the coin, we cannot now estimate; they were probably of advantage only for a time to his exchequer. A contemporary observed,

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⁵¹ W. Wyr. p. 504. Hearne's Frag. p. 292. Lel. vol. ii. p. 500. Fab. p. 495. Hall, p. 261.

⁵² Till the 18th October, 1469. Hearne's Frag. p. 292.

⁵³ Comines informs us, "Some of these were reduced to such extremity and want, before the duke of Burgundy received them, that no common beggar could have been in greater. I saw the duke of Exeter, barefoot and barelegged, begging his bread from door to door. There were also some of the Somersets, and others." Vol. i. pp. 239, 240.

⁵⁴ Hall, p. 262.

⁵⁵ There were royals and nobles. He made the royal of gold of the value of 10*s.* and the half royal 5*s.* Hearne's Frag. p. 294. Hall, p. 262.

⁵⁶ The old noble, which was 6*s.* 8*d.*, he raised to 8*s.* 4*d.* (W. Wyr. p. 500.) and called it an angel. Hearne's Frag. p. 294. This author seems to mistake its new price; but adds, that he made the groat, the half groat, and pence, of less value, by 8*d.* in the ounce, than the old ones were. p. 294.

⁵⁷ "Fine gold was enhanced to 40*s.* the ounce, and other base gold after this rate." Hearne's Frag. p. 294. Silver also "was heightened." Fab. p. 495.

BOOK
IV.REIGN OF
EDW. IV.Edward's
private
marriage.

that they were greatly to the disadvantage of the nobles.⁵⁸ This remark creates a doubt, if they could have been of general benefit. But his most distinguished action, which few minds have the generous magnanimity and wisdom to practise, was the proclamation of a general amnesty to all who would submit.⁵⁹ This judicious clemency endeared him to the great body of the people, and he lived to feel the value and efficacy of their steady attachment. The heart blesses the voice of mercy.

This popularity was not diminished by his peculiar marriage, tho that was destined, like Henry's, to put his crown in jeopardy, and for a time to produce his dethronement, and ultimately to bring destruction on his sons. Several matches had been proposed for him. The princess of Scotland, the king of Castile's daughter, and lady Bona of Savoy, have been mentioned as projects of this sort ; but it seems an error to state, that any were formally applied for.⁶⁰ The opinion which he chose to circulate, and which the old chronicler, who was then alive, has transmitted to us, was, that he found no convenient match out of his realm, because no foreign prince was inclined, in his then state of affairs, and as Henry was alive, to form an alliance with him.⁶¹ We shall see in the reign of Richard III., that this asserted disinclination of the foreign powers, at least as to Spain, was not strictly true. The fact was, that Edward was rather disposed to be the easy gentleman than the king of state ; and made his own feelings too exclusively his guide, without duly adverting to the expedencies of his high station, and the consequences of his actions. He met, by accident, in April 1464, while watching

⁵⁸ "Ad summum dampnum magnatum regni." W. Wyr. p. 500.

⁵⁹ Hall, p. 262.

⁶⁰ Hall mentions all these, pp. 262, 263 ; and sends Warwick to Spain, as others do to France. But the contemporary Fragment denies that Warwick went there, p. 292.

⁶¹ Hearne's Frag. p. 292.

the rebellions which her relations abetted, the widow of sir John Grey, who had perished against his own friends at the second battle of St. Alban's. He was hunting near Stoney Stratford, and alighted for refreshment at the duchess of Bedford's. She had married sir Richard Woodville, whom we have already noticed as lord Rivers. Lady Elizabeth Grey was their daughter, and was then with her. It was a favorable opportunity to petition him for a restoration of some of sir John's confiscated possessions, and she knelt before him as a petitioner. Her person, her manner, her voice, her modesty, her lovely smile, and graceful movement, arrested his attention and affected his heart. He beheld her with the eyes of love and admiration.⁶² The new feeling exactly coincided with his wishes for a queen; she was too virtuous to be seduced, and too interesting to be forgotten; and after various visits, early in the morning, on the 1st of May 1464⁶³, by a private marriage, he made her his queen. It was for some time kept a careful secret. He felt its perilous consequences at the time, but would not refrain from the self-indulgence. He had, therefore, both the gratification and the consequential sufferings.

But at Michaelmas the king avowed it; and she was presented, by the dukes of Clarence and Warwick, to the lords and people at Reading, as their queen. In December, lands to the annual value of 4000 marcs were settled upon her: and on the Ascension-day, in the following year, the king made thirty-eight knights at the Tower of London, preparatory to her coronation. The lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens, rode beyond Shooter's hill, to meet and conduct her to the king. Soon afterwards, she rode

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⁶² Hall, p. 264.

⁶³ The Fragment misdates the year 1463; it was 1464. Only her mother, two gentlewomen, a priest, and a boy were present. Fab. p. 495.

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quences
of this
marriage.

in a horse-litter, with the new knights, thro Cheap-
side to Westminster. On the following Sunday she
was crowned, and tournaments were held on the
occasion, at which lord Stanley won the ring and
ruby.⁶⁴

From the time of the avowal of this marriage, a
new political revolution began to be formed in Eng-
land, dividing Edward from the nobles, who had
been so steadily his father's friends, and to whom
he chiefly owed his royal dignity. The causes of this
change there is no difficulty in tracing.

The power of the landed aristocracy was now so
great as to be dangerous to the crown, whenever the
administration became, or by misrepresentation could
be made, to be unpopular. It had already overturned
Suffolk, the Somersets, and the queen's government;
and was proudly and jealously watching Edward,
whose gratitude to Warwick, and other supporters,
had increased their means of influence and authority,
by the honors and possessions he had given them.

That Edward felt himself to be a king made so
by others, and governed by his makers, or was led to
perceive it by his queen, whose education had been
among their opponents, and whose feelings were not
soothed by their displeasure at her selection, may be
inferred from the speed with which he endeavored
to create a new nobility out of her family, or con-
nected with it, which might counteract the dominant
aristocracy, whose power he had experienced, whose
jealousies he saw, and of whose continuing fidelity he
was never certain. In March 1466, he displaced lord
Mountjoy, to make his queen's father the lord trea-

⁶⁴ W. Wyr. p. 500—503. About this time, a curious passage occurs in our old
chronicler, Hall. Edward granted license "for certain Cotswold sheep to be trans-
ported to Spain, as people report, which have there so multiplied and increased, that
it hath turned the commodity of England much to the Spanish profit, and to no
small hinderance of the gain which was befortimes in England raised of wool." P. 266. Has the late Merino breed, introduced into this country and France from
Spain, proceeded from these?

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surer: a change which displeased greatly the irritable Warwick, and other expecting lords.⁶⁵ In September and October, he married Thomas Grey, the son of the queen by her first marriage, to the heiress of the duke of Exeter, his own niece, whom Warwick had destined for his nephew; another spur to this peer's resentment.⁶⁶ Her sister Maria he united to the heir of lord Herbert, to the further dissatisfaction of his ancient nobles.⁶⁷ Another sister was wedded to the duke of Buckingham, with equal vexation to Warwick; and another to the heir of the earl Arundel; and two others to the families of the lords Essex and Kent.⁶⁸ John, another brother, whom he had made knight of the Bath, was matched with the old duchess of Norfolk⁶⁹; and to another brother Anthony⁷⁰, the heiress of lord Scales was united, and his title given.

⁶⁵ W. Wyr. p. 506. He was also made grand constable, on Worcester's death or resignation. Rym. Fæd. vol. xi. p. 581.

⁶⁶ W. Wyr. p. 507.

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 506.

⁶⁸ Ibid. and 501. Hall, p. 264, 265. Cal. Rot. Pet. p. 312. Lord Mautravers, the husband of one of the queen's sisters, was made warden and keeper of the New Forest, and Lyndhurst. Cal. Rot. p. 312. Sir Thomas Vaughan, another relation, was appointed treasurer of the king's chamber, and master of his jewels." P. 311.

⁶⁹ W. Wyr. p. 501.

⁷⁰ This nobleman, the future lord Rivers, became distinguished for his chivalric attainments. He gave a specimen of his knightly dexterity, when the illegitimate son of the duke of Burgundy came to London, to make overtures for the duke's eldest son's marriage with Edward's sister. Their encounter at a tournament in Smithfield is thus described: On the first day, "They ran together certain courses with sharp spears, and so departed with equal honor. The next day they entered the field, the bastard sitting on a bay courser, being somewhat dim of sight, and the lord Scales had a gray courser, on whose schaffron was a long and a sharp pike of steel. When these two valiant persons coped together at the tournay, the lord Scale's horse, by chance or by custom, thrust his pike into the nostrils of the horse of the bastard, so that, for very pain, he mounted so high, that he fell on one side with his master; and the lord Scales rode round about him, with his sword shaking in his hand, till the king commanded the marshal to help up the bastard, which openly said, "I cannot hold by the clouds; but tho my horse failed me, surely I will not fail my counter-companions." And when he was remounted, he made a countenance to assail his adversary; but the king, either favoring his brother's honor then gotten, or mistrusting the shame which might come to the bastard, if he were again foiled, caused the heralds to cry a lostel, and every man to depart. The morrow after, the two noblemen came into the field on foot, with two poleaxes, and there fought valiantly like two courageous champions; but at the last, the point of the axe of the lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the helm of the bastard, and by pure force he might have plucked him on his knees, when the king suddenly cast down his warder, and then the marshalls them severed. The bastard, not content with this chance, very desirous to be avenged, trusting on his cunning at the poleaxe (the which feat he had greatly exercised, and therein had a

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Thus all the great estates and titles, which the noblest families desired to be allied with, were bestowed on the queen's family, with a rapidity which alarmed as much as it disappointed. If the motive could be doubted, the effects were unquestionable. These marriages threw the ancient nobility into the back ground, and brought forward a new set of individuals, to take from them their power, influence, honors, and emoluments. The chroniclers of the time announce both this result, and the discontent it excited⁷¹; and Warwick's indignation was raised to its height, when the king, understanding that he was favoring a marriage between his eldest daughter and Clarence the brother of Edward, expressed his disapprobation⁷², and endeavored to prevent it. That the king should take the chancellor's seals from his brother⁷³, and marry his own sister Margaret to the presumptive duke of Burgundy, to whose politics Warwick was opposed, against the advice and intreaties of this affronted nobleman⁷⁴, whose counsels he had before thwarted in the choice of his own queen, destroyed all the remaining attachment which this formidable earl had preserved for the son of his ancient friend, and made him anxious to throw down the royal idol, whom he believed his exertions had set

great experiment), required the king, of justice, that he might perform his enterprise: the lord Scales not refused it. The king said he would ask counsel, and so called to him the constable and marshal, with the officers of arms. After long consultation had, and laws of arms rehearsed, it was declared to the bastard, for a sentence definitive, by the duke of Clarence, then constable of England, and the duke of Norfolk, earl marshal, that if he would prosecute farther this attempted challenge, he must, by the law of arms, be delivered to his adversary in the same case, and like condition, as he was when he was taken from him; that is to say, the point of the lord Scales' axe to be fixed in the sight of his helm, as deep as it was when they were severed. The bastard, hearing this judgment, doubted much the sequel, if he should so proceed again. Wherefore he was content to relinquish his challenge." Hall, p. 268. Similar combats followed.

⁷¹ W. Wyr. p. 506, 507. Hist. Croyl. p. 542.

⁷² W. Wyr. p. 511. Hearne's Frag. p. 300.

⁷³ W. Wyr. p. 508, compared with Parl. Rolls, p. 572 and 622.

⁷⁴ Croyl. p. 551. Croyland says, that until this marriage, Warwick had kept on terms with the queen's friends. Hearne's Fragment mentions Warwick's connections with Louis. P. 296—298.

up, and could as easily demolish.⁷⁵ The first emotions of his displeasure appeared to be soothed by a temporary reconciliation, in 1468⁷⁶: but as all the causes of his mental exacerbation continued to exist, no pacification could last.

At this time it is remarked by an author living at that period⁷⁷, that none before Warwick had, in England, half the possessions which he then enjoyed. He had the entire earldom of Warwick, all the lands of the Spencers, and the earldom of Salisbury; he was great chamberlain of England, the chief admiral, and the captain of Calais, and also lieutenant of Ireland: an accumulation of honors and power, which made him inferior only to his sovereign.⁷⁸

The first act of defiance displayed towards Edward, was the marriage of his own daughter with Clarence, the brother of the king. His perseverance in this alliance, which alarmed Edward, discovers to us,

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⁷⁵ It was on the 18th of June 1468, that Margaret, the lady who became afterwards so celebrated for being the persecuting Juno to Henry VII. the English Æneas, went from St. Paul's to Stratford, on her way to Flanders. As she passed thro the city, Warwick rode before her, as if a cordial approver of the match, while a great number of ladies, earls and barons, formed her stately train. The lord mayor presented her with a pair of rich basons, containing 100*l.* in gold. She landed at Sluys, where she was received as their sovereign lady. The people made illuminations, with wax baroches and torches, from every house. Pinnacles of fire, subtilly devised, were set blazing thro the town and castle; and every householder stood in the street, outside of his door, with a torch burning in his hand. Rich pageants of Jason and the golden fleece, and of queens Vashti and Esther, were exhibited on a tapestry covered stage, near her lodging; and tournaments began, in which the queen's brother Anthony, then lord Scales, won the first prize. Harl. MSS. No. 543. p. 131. Oliver de la Marche also describes these festivities. She was married to the duke on the 9th July 1468. A singular calamity attended their wedding-night: a fire burst out in the castle where they slept, from which they escaped with difficulty. It was while in the service of this lady, in Flanders, that Caxton learnt the art of printing, then recently discovered.

⁷⁶ W. Wyr. p. 512, 513.

⁷⁷ This is the author of the Fragment published by Hearne. He says, "My purpose is, and shall be, as touching the life of Edward IV. to write and show those and such things only which I have heard of his own mouth; and also impart of such things in the which I have been personally present, as well within the royaume as without, during a certain space, more especial from 1468 to 1482." He also appeals to Thomas duke of Norfolk, treasurer of England, in confirmation of his veracity. Frag. Sprotts. p. 299.

⁷⁸ These possessions, he seems to mean the official situations which Warwick enjoyed, exclusive of his own estates, amounted to 20,000 marcs a year. Frag. p. 300. Comines.

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perhaps, another cause of Warwick's displeasure against him. The proud earl may have intended his daughter to have been the queen of England; and if so, Edward's preference of an humbler beauty was an incurable wound to his ambition, not likely to be forgiven by his vindictive vanity. That he had a daughter then marriageable, and that he was desirous to ally her with the royal blood, is evident from her nuptials with Clarence. It is therefore probable, that a man of his pride and temper considered Edward's selection of the daughter of sir Richard Woodville, to the neglect of his own, as an unpardonable offence. Edward expressed his displeasure, that the match with Clarence should have been made without his privity. The earl received the rebuke with no humble spirit. Unkind words passed; from that day their former attachment ceased⁷⁹: Edward regarded Warwick with the eye of mistrust⁸⁰; and Warwick soon began to form a conspiracy to dethrone Edward. He solicited his brothers, the marquis Montague, and the archbishop of York, to unite with him. They gave a verbal assent to his plans, but were rather disposed to regret than to encourage them.⁸¹ Rebellion, treason, and bloodshed, seemed blameless amusements to the aristocracy of that day, whenever its pride was affronted, or its rapacity disappointed. The sword was unsheathed at every gust of passion; and the calculations of success or failure comprised all that conscience, law, or loyalty then considered. Their religion had a ceremonial pliability, which made pardon at all times an easy purchase. The divine forgiveness was made marketable on earth; and this belief released worldly crime from all anxiety as to its future responsibilities. Hence no fears remained,

⁷⁹ Frag. p. 200.⁸⁰ W. Wyr. p. 511.⁸¹ Hall gives the speech of Warwick to them, which we cannot doubt to be an effusion of his own fancy. P. 269.

but for the axe, the gibbet, and the confiscation. The moral sympathies could arise only from a better education.

A messenger, with letters from Margaret, was intercepted by lord Herbert, in Wales, and on his arrest, accused Warwick of treachery to the king, from words which he had heard on the continent. Edward sent the man to earl Warwick to be examined, and the charge was deemed frivolous; but the king appointed to himself a body guard of 200 brave archers, and with these he rode to Coventry. An apparent reconciliation was there made by the archbishop of York, between his brother and the king, and the queen's family; and Edward restored to the prelate some lands that had been resumed.⁸²

Ignorant of the storm that was forming against him, Edward met his parliament in June, with a kind and liberal speech. Warwick's brother, the chancellor archbishop, being absent, the king's father-in-law, the earl of Rivers, as treasurer of England, assured the commons of the enjoyment of their liberties and privileges; and then, the sovereign personally addressed them. He declared that he purposed to live upon his own, and not to charge his subjects but in great and urgent cases, concerning more their own weal, and the defence of the kingdom, than his pleasure. For their good wills, kindness, and true hearts, he thanked them as heartily as he could, and added, "I shall be to you a good and gracious king, and reign as right wisely upon you, as ever did any of my progenitors; and shall also, in time of need, apply my person for the weal and defence of you, and of this my realm, not sparing my life or body for any jeopardy that may happen to the same."⁸³ A long act of resumption of former royal grants was passed, with numer-

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⁸² W. Wyr. p. 513.

⁸³ Parl. Rolls, p. 572.

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ous exceptions, as usual. On the 11th of July, the parliament was, on account of a beginning pestilence from the heat, adjourned to November. It was then prorogued to the 5th of May, at Reading, from which they adjourned to the 12th of May, at Westminster.⁸⁴

1468.
17 May.

When the parliament met, Stillington, the bishop of Bath and Wells, addressed it as chancellor. He drew a strong picture of the state of the kingdom, at the king's accession: "At that time, this land was full naked and barren of justice: the peace not kept, nor laws duly ministered. It was spoiled of the crown of France, the duchies of Normandy, Gascony, and Guienne, and surrounded on every side with enmity; as with Denmark, Spain, Scotland, and Britany; and also with old and ancient enemies of France."⁸⁵ He reminded them, that the king had concluded a perpetual peace with Spain, commercial treaties with Denmark, and Germany, and Naples; and a peace for fifty years with Scotland; and had begun a treaty with the king of Arragon, and an amity with Bretagne; and had married his sister Margaret to the duke of Burgundy. He declared, that his sovereign had done these things as means to a principal intent, which was to minish and lessen the power of his ancient adversary of France. He avowed the king's intention to cross the sea, and subdue his great rebel and adversary, Louis, the usurping king of that country; mentioned the invitations he had received, from both Burgundy and Britany, for that purpose; and called upon parliament for its assistance and co-operation.⁸⁶ The commons voted two-fifteenths and two-tenths for his supplies, and confirmed the queen's dower. A petition was presented, to have all robberies of church

⁸⁴ Parl. Rolls, p. 618, 619.

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 622.

⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 623.

plate, crosses, silk ornaments, and jewels, and of sepulchres, which was ascribed to lollards and heretics, declared high treason: but the king wisely gave his qualifying negative to a proposition so outrageous.⁸⁷ It is probable, that Edward had now become sensible that the minds of his nobility were assuming a warlike port, and that it would be prudent to occupy them in a foreign warfare. But to plunge another country into the miseries of an invasion, for his own security, is an act of selfish immorality, which never prospers to the individual who attempts it. Its fruits to Henry V. had been the shortening of his own life, and the deposition of his son. But France was saved from the calamity, by the backwardness of the English aristocracy, and by the counteracting plans of Warwick and his confederates. An order was made in July 1468, to raise troops for the defence of the kingdom⁸⁸: but they were not employed abroad. Louis XI. was a politic sovereign, and took every measure that his sagacity could devise to avert an attack, which, tho it might not have achieved the conquest of France, would have filled it with bloodshed and misery. Lord Scales was preparing, in October, to sail with a force to Bretagne, when the news arrived that the duke had been induced to make a truce with Louis, who at the same time conciliated Burgundy.⁸⁹ This wise conduct paralyzed the arm of English hostility.

Margaret lay a while with a small fleet at Harfleur, threatening to invade Edward; and lord Scales was dispatched with a fleet of Genoese galleys, and English ships, with 5000 men, to intercept her. The queen was too wise to risk the attempt, and Scales returned to the Isle of Wight at the end of Novem-

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1468.
October.

⁸⁷ Parl. Rolls, p. 632.

⁸⁸ Dated July 3. 1468. Rym. Fœd. vol. xi. p. 624. Ab. p. 237.

⁸⁹ W. Wyr. p. 518.

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ber, with the noiseless honor of having prevented the attack.⁹⁰

But Jasper, earl of Pembroke, had been active for Henry, his maternal brother. A few French ships had conveyed him to North Wales, in June; and his Welsh friends joined him in sufficient numbers to enable him to besiege and take Denbigh; he was, however, defeated by lord Herbert's brother, who took the castle of Hardborough, his strong hold, for which exploit the king created Herbert earl of Pembroke.⁹¹

⁹⁰ W. Wyr. p. 519.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 516, 517.

CHAP. II.

WARWICK's *Conspiracies against EDWARD*.—ROBIN of *Redesdale's Insurrection*.—*Battle of Hedgecote Field*.—EDWARD's *Capture, and Escape*.—*Battle of Lose-coat Field*.—WARWICK's *Flight*.—*Negotiations with MARGARET*.—*Return*.—EDWARD *quits England*.

THE effects of Warwick's secret conspiracies with Clarence, his own brother Montague, and the discontented nobility and gentry, began now to appear. He did not commit himself immediately by open hostilities. His agents were employed to foment sedition in the country, and a vast popular insurrection arose in the summer of 1469, in the north of England. Sixty thousand men, appointing one whom they called Robin of Redesdale, their captain, appeared in arms¹; and dispersing papers specifying the causes of their assembling, began their march to London.²

These articles imply, that the insurrection was not so much directed against the king, as against the new nobility he had raised³; and also, that it was countenanced by the church. For the second article complains of Edward's expenditure of its property; and the others are directed against the family of the

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1469.

¹ Hist. Croyl. p. 542.

² Our old chronicler, John Stowe, has left us in MS. (not inserted in his history) a copy of Robin's "Articles and Causes;" and has added to their title, "which were devised by the duke of Clarence, earl Warwick, and lords Willoughby and Welles, before the field of Lincoln." Harl. MSS. No. 543.

³ These articles were, in substance: "That the king had been too lavish of gifts to the queen's relations, and some others; that thro them he had spent church monies, without repayment; that they had caused him to diminish his household, and charge the commons with great impositions; that they would not suffer the king's laws to be executed but thro them; and that they had caused him to estrange the true lords of his blood from his secret council." Harl. MSS. ibid.

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queen. Their petitioning clauses, tho violent against these, are couched in language respectful to the king.⁴ The whole paper contains nothing to shew that it was a Lancastrian rebellion. It is probable, that if the insurgents had succeeded in destroying the queen's family, without Warwick's being discovered to be their secret mover to this end, he would not have projected the restoration of Henry.

Edward, with his habitual promptness and determination, on all great emergencies, went to Norwich, and thro Bury, Walsingham, and Lynn, to Croyland, to explore in person the danger, and to provide the means of surmounting it. He proceeded thence to his castle at Fodingay, where he stayed with his queen a few days, awaiting the arrival of his military succors; while her father and brothers withdrew in alarm to their castles. He marched the forces he could assemble to Newark, but finding that the insurgents trebled his number, and that his friends were backward to assist him, he retreated to Nottingham castle, that Herbert, earl of Pembroke, might join him from Wales, before he took the field against the rebels.⁵ Penbroke hastened to meet him with 7000 or 8000 men; but was intercepted in his line of march by a great host of the insurgents, in the field of Hedgecote, near Banbury, in Wiltshire.⁶ Lord Stafford had, at the same time, raised 5000 from Somerset and Devon. These two commanders reconnoitred the northern forces who were passing towards Northampton. The insurgents repulsed them; and then waiting for Warwick and Clarence, encamped on a hill

1469.
Battle of
Hedgecote
field.

⁴ These were, that the queen's relations, and the others named, who are called seditious persons, might be punished; and that it would "like him for ever to be contained by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal; and by their authority to ordain and appoint his possessions; and that, if any but his issue and brethren should presume to take any of his livelihood, they should be punished." They also required, that the revenue of tonnage and poundage should be employed in keeping the sea.

⁵ Hist. Croyl. p. 542.

⁶ Ibid. p. 542, 543.

near Banbury. Herbert and Stafford prepared to attack them, but unfortunately for Edward, quarrelling about their lodgings at an inn, Stafford marched off the field with his archers, and left Herbert to bear the brunt of the battle, without their protecting and assisting arm of war. The result was fatal. Tho Herbert distinguished himself as a hardy knight and expert captain, and his brother with his pole-axe twice cut thro the line of his opponents, they were surrounded, overpowered, and taken; and with the usual cruelty of that age, were beheaded the next day.⁷ This victory put the whole kingdom for the time into the power of the northern revolters, and of their secret advisers.⁸ They spread themselves around, and some of the peasantry joining, surprised lord Rivers, the queen's father, and her brother John, in their residence at Grafton, and destroyed them.⁹ Stafford was soon after taken, and suffered. This disaster completed the disaffection to the king; and those who had even joined him, clandestinely left him by thousands.¹⁰

Warwick and his friends now assembled their forces, and marched towards the king. His indignation was extreme at finding himself their prisoner; but he had no means of either resisting or resenting. He was taken at a village near Coventry, and brought to Warwick, all his servants having been dismissed. He was led thence to Middleham castle; but the confederated nobles soon found themselves embarrassed with their illustrious captive.¹¹

Warwick had drawn the northern insurgents back

⁷ Hearne's Frag. p. 301. Hall, 273, 274. Fifteen hundred of the northerns were killed. Itiner. W. Wyr. p. 122.

⁸ Four thousand Welsh fell; and Pembroke, and other nobles and gentry, were taken, who, by Warwick's secret orders, were beheaded at Northampton. Croyl. p. 543. It was Pembroke's eldest son who had married one of the queen's sisters; and he himself took a great lead in the royal councils. Contin. Croyl. p. 551.

⁹ Croyl. p. 551.

¹⁰ Ibid. 543.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 551.

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over the Trent.¹² They had accomplished his object, in the destruction of part of the queen's family: and the king himself was in his power. But his successes only placed him between two evils; the enmity of those who still liked their king, and the attack of Henry's friends. This dilemma speedily involved him, for sir Humphrey Neville, conceiving from these disturbances the hope of reviving the old king's party, collected all its adherents about the marches of Scotland. Warwick found that his detention of the king was not popular, and that no military men would move until he was released. The earl's brother, the archbishop of York, to whose custody the king was consigned, still more willingly concurring, Edward was liberated or allowed to escape. The Lancastrians were defeated by Warwick¹³; and his renewed reconciliation with his sovereign appeared in his appointment in August to be grand justiciary or commander of Wales, and constable of Cardigan, in addition to his other dignities.¹⁵

The king escapes, and is reconciled to Warwick.

The Christmas of 1469 seemed to have ended all hostilities between these two Yorkist parties. But how could the king forget the destruction of his wife's father and brother, his own captivity, and his still precarious power; or Warwick lose the remembrance, that by such transactions he had precluded all future confidence? There might be peace, but there could not be friendship—and if no friendship, his safety would not survive his power. He had made it impossible for his sovereign and himself to co-exist. Yet he had found, that his own faction was too weak to root up Edward; nor would he gain any advantage, as once seemed to have passed over his mind, by setting up Clarence, because this prince's character

¹² Croyl. p. 543. This author says, he was writing this article in the 9th year of Edward, or between March 1469 and March 1470. P. 545.

¹³ Cont. Croyl. p. 552, 553.

¹⁴ Rym. vol. xi. p. 647.

was far inferior to his brother's. It remained then only to lead a suspected, depreciated and endangered life, or to combine heartily with the Lancastrian interest, and to restore Henry to the throne. This might be done, especially if the church assisted. To effect this change, Warwick next lent all his politics and power; and the years 1470 and 1471 were distinguished by these extraordinary revolutions, which in other times have turned a Dionysius into a pedagogue, James II. into an exile, and Napoleon Bonaparte into an insulated prisoner.

On the Shrove Tuesday of this year, the king met his brother Clarence at their mother's¹⁵; and a fraternal reconciliation ensued under her parental eye. Warwick took leave, to retire to his ancestral castle¹⁶; and Edward had such confidence in their fidelity, that when tidings arrived of an insurrection in Lincolnshire, he issued a commission to them both, on March the 7th, to levy troops against the rebels.¹⁷ It was the son of lord Welles whom he had recently beheaded for alleged treason, that commanded the revolt. But the king gave them no time to gather strength: and on March the 12th, without waiting for Warwick, he attacked them with that energy which he always displayed in battle; and so totally defeated them, that they threw away their coats of armor to escape more quickly from his sword; and this circumstance gave a popular name to the field of battle, which took place at Empyngnam in Rutlandshire.¹⁸ This anticipating attack was at that time his safety, for Warwick and Clarence were soon on the full march towards him, but rather to have joined Welles,

1470.

12 March.
Battle of
Lose-coat
field.¹⁵ Fab. p. 500.¹⁶ Ibid. Croyl. p. 552.¹⁷ Rym. vol. xi. p. 652. The act passed the 31st of March, states, that the king, trusting they would have aided him in subduing the insurrections in Lincoln, as they had promised, had authorised them to assemble forces, and bring them to him. Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 233.¹⁸ Ibid. vol. vi. p. 144. Hearne's Frag. p. 302. Croyl. p. 553.

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Warwick
resumes
hostilities.

than to have assisted the king. After his victory, Edward proceeded to Grantham; and finding, on March 20th, that they were advancing, he took the field to meet them, and mustered his people. But as he approached, they discovered their real feelings and intentions to have been hostile, by retreating to Manchester in alarm, lest their treachery should have been known. They solicited lord Stanley to join them¹⁹, but he refused, and they turned into the west countries, sending proclamations to York, to excite the people against him. Edward reached this city, and created Percy earl of Northumberland, and Montague, Warwick's brother, a marquis. Indignant at their perfidy, and from want of provisions unable to follow them, immediately, he issued orders from York to arrest them²⁰; and commanding his officers to array the counties against them²¹, he gave them till March the 28th to come in and receive his pardon. The time elapsing without submission, on March the 31st, being at Nottingham, he proclaimed them to be traitors²²; and went himself towards Exeter in pursuit, and directed the earl of Kent to marshal the force of Devon and Cornwall to destroy them.²³

Warwick's brother, the archbishop of York, now attempted to entrap Edward into their power. The king still believed that he and Montague had no share in the treasons of their brother; and when the prelate invited him to a banquet at his mansion of the Moor near Langley, Edward made the visit in a friendly manner. As they were about to wash their hands before supper, a gentleman, who was afterwards created lord Fitzwalter, privately approached the king, and whispered him to be on his guard, for

King nearly
taken
prisoner
again.

¹⁹ Fenn, vol. ii, p. 37, 39. The act of March 31. 1470, charges Warwick with having treacherously excited Welles to his insurrection. Parl. Rolls, p. 233.

²⁰ Parl. Rolls, p. 233. Rym. vol. xi, p. 654. Fenn. vol. ii, p. 39.

²¹ Cal. Rot. p. 315. Rym. vol. xi, p. 655.

²² Parl. Rolls, vol. vi, p. 203.

²³ Rym. vol. xi, p. 656.

that one hundred men at arms were ordered to seize and carry him off. The king, with great self-command, continued his friendly conversation, and pretended an occasion to retire. As it was not suspected that he knew of any sinister plot, this was permitted: and he immediately caused a good horse to be saddled without any of his enemies being aware of it, and rode off immediately to Windsor.²⁴

Their last hope thus disappointed, Clarence and Warwick prepared to leave the kingdom; in their way they had taken lord Scales and lord Audley, and with the unpardoning ferocity of the age, sent them to be beheaded, when a Dorsetshire gentleman met and released them.²⁵ The fugitive peers went to Calais, but being refused admission by its governor²⁶, were landed in May, at Honfleur. The admiral of France welcomed their arrival, and they proceeded to Tours, to interest Louis XI., in their favor²⁷, while some adherents, attempting to join them in the Easter-week from Southampton, were arrested and executed.²⁸

Warwick had been ambassador to France in 1467, and Louis XI., with great sagacity, had, by the most flattering attentions and presents, converted him into a friend.²⁹ Warwick had many secret counsellings with him³⁰; and from that time maintained with him a constant private correspondence.³¹ Louis, who dreaded Edward's military abilities, and knew that he had publicly urged a descent on France, entered earnestly into Warwick's plans; and sought to effect a reconciliation between the earl and the queen, without which nothing effectual against Edward could be

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Clarence
and War-
wick fly to
France.

Warwick's
negotia-
tion with
queen
Margaret.

²⁴ Hearne's Frag. p. 302. It places the incident after Easter, as we have inserted it.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 305.

²⁶ Comines, vol. i. p. 245. The duchess of Clarence was brought to bed of a son in a ship. Ibid.

²⁷ Hearne's Frag. p. 303.

²⁸ Fab. p. 500.

²⁹ Hearne's Frag. pp 296—298.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 299.

³¹ Comines, vol. i. p. 241.

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prosecuted. Warwick returned to Normandy, while Louis conducted this negotiation, which he found to be full of difficulties.³² Margaret was unfortunate—an exile; and had seen all her hopes blossom but to wither: but she was resentful, high-minded, and resolute. Warwick had dethroned her, and she could neither forgive nor trust him, nor be hereafter governed by him. He required, as the conditions of his alliance and support, a complete pardon; that her only son Edward should marry his second daughter Anne; and that she should send a powerful force to England, with her authority. Louis sent for Margaret to Angiers, and urged her to comply with Warwick's terms. But she surprised him by steadily objecting to the very first article. She said, that consistently with her own or her son's honor she might not, and could not, pardon the man who had been the greatest cause of the fall of king Henry and herself; and that from her own heart, she never could be contented with him, nor forgive him. To his second request, she answered, that it would be prejudicial to her interests to take party with him: that she had still many friends, whom she would lose by such a treaty; and therefore she besought the king, that it would please him to leave off from speaking any further of the proposed pardon, amity, or alliance.³³ There was a consistency of principle in this refusal, which, tho' flowing perhaps from haughty and resentful feelings, yet exhibits that lofty superiority to the baser attractions of selfish interest, which always confers honor and compels respect. Margaret was never greater on

³² I am indebted for the account of this to the extracts which John Stowe has left us, taken out of the MSS. of some person of eminence in these times; but which, we may presume, came to his knowledge after he had composed his Chronicle, as they form no part of it. In two passages the author speaks as if living at the period about which he writes. Stowe's extracts are in the Harl. MSS. No. 543. They are intitled, "Manner and guiding of the earl of Warwick at Angiers, from July 15. to August 4., on which day he departed from Angiers."

³³ Harl. MSS. No. 543. p. 168.

her throne than in disdaining these advances of Warwick.

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These unexpected answers were conveyed to the mortified earl; but severe necessity was humbling him; and he confessed he had deserved them: but suggested, in his own justification, that she and the king, by false counsel, had endeavored to destroy him and his friends without cause. He urged that for the great evil will which they had shewn him, he had a righteous cause to labor for their undoing; and that he had done nothing but what a persecuted and dispossessed nobleman ought to have done. He admitted that he had been the cause of setting up "the king that now is," but that seeing the evil terms which this prince kept towards him, he would with all his might try to destroy him, and cast him out of the realm: and he asked the king of France to be his surety for his sincerity.³⁴

Louis XI., who despised all feelings but those of personal advantage, and who built his reign on selfish ends and unprincipled policy, willingly offered himself to Margaret as the pledge of the earl's fidelity. He shewed the queen the great love which Warwick had preserved towards himself, and assured her that he had been more bound and beholden to him than to any other man living³⁵: an extraordinary confession of a king of France towards an English chief minister. An heroic mind would have scorned such obligations, but Louis XI. was either ignorant of the grander emotions of the human soul, or deemed them only fit for books of chivalry and romance. The result of his interference was, that after many treaties and meetings, and much resistance, the persuasions of her father's friends, and the advice of others, obliged the

³⁴ Harl. MSS. No. 543.

³⁵ This corresponds with Croyland's account, that the marriage of Edward's sister with the prince, now duke of Burgundy, the great antagonist of Louis, was one of the points that most offended Warwick.

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queen to relent so far as to pardon Warwick and lord Oxford; but she declared she would not in any wise consent to the desired marriage. She asserted that it was neither honorable nor expedient to her or to her son; and that she should find a match for him more profitable and more advantageous to a king of England. To convince Louis of this, she produced a letter which she had received from England the preceding week, proposing the plan of a marriage between her son and Edward's eldest daughter.³⁶ Louis would not abandon Warwick; and for fifteen days the struggle lasted with the high-spirited queen. At last the importunities of all around her overcame her persevering magnanimity; and a qualified assent to the marriage was extorted from her: but she exacted the throne to be Anne's dowry. The final agreement was, that the lady should be put immediately into the queen's hands, but that the marriage should not be perfected until Warwick had been with an army over sea to England, and had recovered the kingdom, or the greatest part of it, for king Henry. On these terms she reluctantly consented, especially as Warwick assured the French monarch, that he had letters often from England, which promised him that as soon as he landed in it he should have more than 50,000 fighters at his command. He asked only a few folk, ships, and money, of Louis; and shewed that from his own means, he was providing 2000 French archers, and provisions for 66,000 persons.³⁷

The duke of Burgundy watched all these negotiations anxiously for Edward, and prepared a fleet at Havre to intercept Warwick as soon as he should

³⁶ The words of the MS. are, "by the which was offered to her son, *my* lady the princess," P. 169. There were no princesses then in England, but Edward's daughters; and of these the eldest only, Elizabeth, could be thought of in such a project as this. The writer expresses himself as if a part of her household; and if so, this was an early plan to unite the houses of York and Lancaster, tho by Edward's deposition.

³⁷ Harl. MSS. No. 543.

sail: and his intelligence was so good that he was enabled to inform his brother-in-law of the very part at which his enemies intended to land.³⁸

Edward sent a lady of quality secretly to his sister-in-law, the duchess of Clarence, to urge her to solicit the duke not to subvert his own family, for the elevation of the Lancastrians; and not to believe that Warwick intended to make him king, who had now contracted his daughter to the son of Henry. As this lady had been one of the duchess's household, she was admitted to visit her without her object being suspected. Her representations secretly influenced the duke's mind, and he promised to favor the king, when he should be once well settled again on the English shore.³⁹

But altho Edward, by the unvaried success and skilful direction and energy of all his military movements, evinced himself to have the greatest talents for war of any prince then in Europe; yet, when not called into the martial field, no sovereign seemed more averse to state, policy, business, fatigue, or trouble. His natural temper or habits led him to personal and sensual enjoyments, and into these enervating seductions he invariably sank, as soon as victory allowed him to repose. Tho of courage invincible, and with an intellect that evinced the greatest penetration and sagacity in active warfare, the cessation of the conflict terminated his foresight and management: and hunting, hawking, gallantry, dress, and the festive banquet, occupied all his succeeding hours. Being the handsomest prince then known, his person interested all who beheld him; and he loved the compliments and the sympathies which he excited. He was fond of being surrounded by the

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Edward's
delusive
confidence.

³⁸ Comines, vol. i. p. 279. "The duke of Burgundy was stronger at sea than both Warwick and the king of France; for at Sluys he had seized upon several great ships belonging to Spain, Portugal, and Genoa, besides many hulks from Germany."

³⁹ Comines, vol. i. pp. 246. 248.

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female sex. In his summer hunting, he had tents set up for the ladies, in which he treated them with magnificent splendor.⁴⁰ Instead of being the Amadis, he chose to become the Don Galaor of the tales he valued; unconquerable in battle, but the most dissolute child of luxury afterward: and this taste made his life an historical romance. His very sense of his own abilities misled him. When Burgundy sent him over an exact account of all Warwick's machinations against him, and his own provision of a fleet to counteract the invasion, Edward was so presumptuously confident of his own security and talents, that he derided the wise measure of intercepting his enemies at sea. He only wished them to be landed.⁴¹ There is a folly in vicious conduct, which seems like its natural or appointed destiny.

In all state affairs, the confidence of vanity is the temerity of conceit and pride; and yet Comines well remarks, that the man who should have then said to him, "Warwick will land, and in eleven days will drive you out, and acquire the supreme power;" would have been justly deemed insane.⁴² Disaster might have been predicted from his presumption, but not such instantaneous ruin.

Edward had now reigned long enough to shew the people that the largest part of the evils, from the pressure of which they had thrown off their allegiance to Henry, was such as no change of government could remove. New dynasties displace obnoxious men, and put some new principles in action, which may often be beneficial. But the general course and state of society must continue as it was; and even the advantages from a new direction of counsel, are rarely immediate. The people, therefore, often become as

⁴⁰ Comines, who knew him, supplies us with these circumstances, and twice mentions his extraordinary beauty. pp. 249. 252.

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 253.

⁴² Ibid.

ready to quarrel with their revolutionary sovereign as they had been with their ancient one; and Edward hastened these fluctuations by his effeminate life. This defect divested his name of that commanding veneration which heroic energies, brilliant success, and conceded fame, had attached to it; and left him only the reputation of a self-degrading voluptuary, to whom every one that could command his passions felt himself superior. While he was amusing himself with his unpopular relaxations, in such a time of public disquiet and impending tempest, the ancient nobility, who disdained a Sardanapalus for their king, were sending over earnest invitations to Warwick to make another invasion, with an assurance of their befriending it.

The earl and Clarence sent before them a letter, addressed, "To the worshipful, discreet, and true commons of England," stating their own injuries, the undue predominance, and covetousness of unfit and seditious persons who had the royal ear: asserting, that they bore as fervent a zeal, love, and affection for the crown and commonwealth of England as they ever had; and protesting that they came only to re-establish all good old customs, and to put down falsehood and oppression, and punish their supporters; and to have right and justice indifferently administered, and to redeem the land for ever from the thralldom of all foreign nations.⁴³

Copies of this letter were posted by their partisans on the standard at Cheap, and on several church doors, and other places in London, but were taken down by the mayor as soon as he discovered them.

In this address, it is manifest that they attempted to delude their supporters into a belief, that they intended no personal attack upon Edward, but only on

⁴³ We owe this letter, also, to John Stowe's transcribing industry. Harl. MSS. No. 543.

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his obnoxious friends; and it was this deception which dethroned him: for they who would have fought zealously for his person and crown, would not oppose those who, they thought, only wished to produce his reformation and better government.

On August the 4th, Warwick left Angiers, to begin his embarkation⁴⁴, and his landing was then daily expected⁴⁵; but Burgundy's fleet was watching the channel. While the invaders paused for an unmo-
lested opportunity of sailing, lord Fitzhugh began the seconding operations, by rising in rebellion in the north. The king hearing nothing from Montague, to whom he was affectionately attached, left his queen, now upon the eve of her confinement, in the Tower, and went northward to meet the earliest danger⁴⁶, appointing his brother Gloucester the warden of the northern Marches⁴⁷; and still believing Montague to be his friend. Fitzhugh fled as he advanced⁴⁸, but as the king was resting one day in his bed on this journey, the serjeant of his minstrels came in great haste to him and bade him arise, for that enemies were coming to take him, who were but seven miles off. The king received the tidings with astonishment. Suddenly a priest appeared with equal speed, and confirmed the unwelcome yet timely news.⁴⁹ Edward, by these friends, was preserved from a captivity, which would have been soon made synonymous with death.

At this juncture, an irresistible tempest dispersed the guardian fleet of Burgundy, driving part into Scotland, and part into Holland. Suddenly, in an hour's time, the storm subsided, and Warwick, who

⁴⁴ Harl. MSS. No. 543.

⁴⁵ Fenn, vol. ii. p. 49.

⁴⁶ Hearne's Frag. p. 306. Fab. p. 500.

⁴⁷ On Aug. 26. Rymer, vol. xi. p. 658.

⁴⁸ Fab. p. 500. Hearne's Frag. p. 306.

⁴⁹ With this curious fact, Hearne's interesting Fragment terminates abruptly and imperfectly.

had been for some time ready, seized the inviting opportunity, weighed anchor and sailed safe to England.⁵⁰ Before he had landed five days, a large proportion of the neighboring counties flocked to him.⁵¹

He thought now that he was strong enough, and popular enough, to throw off the mask; and he published proclamations, declaring Henry VI. to be their true and undoubted king; calling Edward, his great rebel and enemy, usurper, oppressor, and destroyer; and assuring the country, that queen Margaret and her son Edward had authorized Clarence, Pembroke, Warwick, and Oxford, to deliver Henry from his imprisonment, and restore him to his crown, and to reform all grievances; and promising a general pardon to all, if they co-operated with the invaders, excepting certain chief enemies. They ended with commanding all persons between sixteen and sixty to array themselves and assist them.⁵²

Edward, with great spirit, summoned his military forces immediately around him; and among them the marquis Montague, in whom he so fully confided. While these were collecting at Doncaster, Warwick pressed eagerly on to give him battle, and to overwhelm him before the country could recollect itself, and discover that the invaders came to re-establish Henry, and to throw down Edward.

The king, as he told Comines, was with some of his friends in a fortified house, to which there was no access but by a single bridge. The rest of the forces were quartered in the neighboring villages. But as he sat at dinner, news was brought him, that Montague and some other noblemen were riding on horseback thro his troops, and crying out, "God bless king Henry!" The astounding information was too incredible to be believed, yet too tremendous to be

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⁵⁰ Com. vol. i. p. 249.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 251.

⁵² John Stowe has also preserved this important document. Harl. MSS. p. 171.

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neglected. Life as well as dignity hung upon a few moments. If the one were lost, the other might perhaps yet be preserved. He therefore sent a trusty messenger to ascertain the truth, while he put on his armor, and posted a battalion of faithful guards at the bridge, to resist any sudden assault. Lord Hastings was then with him, and Anthony, his queen's favorite brother, who began to think that all was not well. His messenger returned with hurrying speed to tell him, that his treacherous enemies were marching to surround and surprize him. He sprang up—fighting and counsel were equally out of the question. Instantaneous escape was the only resource. He got on his horse before they reached the bridge, and leaving Hastings to make the best arrangement that was practicable, for his really faithful adherents, he rode at full speed to the nearest sea-port. Hastings had time to advise the rest to go in with their submissions to Warwick, but not to forget their old allegiance at a fit opportunity, and then, with others, fled after his master. A sufficient resistance was made at the bridge to obtain the terms they wished, and to gain for the king that interval of time which would ensure his safety. Edward and his friends reached Lynn, and found there two Dutch vessels and an English one, on the point of sailing. They put off to them immediately without any clothes but what they were to have fought in, with no money in their pockets, and not one in twenty knowing where they were going. The ships sailed immediately to the coast of Holland, but in their way were descried by several Easterling vessels, then at war both with France and England. Expecting a booty, these hostile strangers bore down upon them. Resistance was hopeless, and outsailing them impossible. There was no alternative but to run ashore, and to risk being drowned. This was courageously done, and they stranded near Alcmaer.

The Easterlings followed as close as the depth of water would allow, and then dropped anchor, intending to board them the next tide. Thus Edward's safety still hung on a few hours. But the lord of that province, apprized of his danger, went on board his ship and invited him on shore, commanding the Easterlings to be still. He entertained him and his followers, and at his own expense conducted them safely to the Hague, from which he apprized the duke of Burgundy of his situation, who received the account at first with vexation and uneasiness.⁵³ On a future day the king displayed his gratitude to the lord who had saved him, by creating him earl of Winchester.⁵⁴ Edward was now thrown down from fortune's pinnacle to its base, and this by his own weakness and misconduct: but his fall tore him from all that was enervating him; and his native energy of soul, thus emancipated from its debilitating enemies, sprang up into its ancient vigor and activity, and became unwearied, determined, and impatient to renew its former triumphs.

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⁵³ Com. pp. 250—255. Edward had nothing to give the master of the ship for his passage, but a gown lined with martins; but he promised him a future liberality. *Ibid.* p. 254. This flight occurred about Michaelmas day. *Croyl.* p. 554.

⁵⁴ *Rym.* vol. xi. p. 765.

CHAP. III.

*Restoration of HENRY VI. — Re-landing and Progress of EDWARD.*BOOK
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1470.

WARWICK now proceeded to London unresisted. He entered the metropolis, and on the 6th of October¹, he and Clarence released Henry from the Tower; and afterwards proclaimed his restoration², while Edward's queen fled to a sanctuary in which he dared not molest her, and where she brought forth a son, the unfortunate Edward V.³ Thus in eleven days from his landing, he had completed a temporary revolution which must have astonished the most sanguine. From the time of queen Margaret's marriage to the accession of Henry VII. the crown of England appeared like a tennis ball, which the boldest player might strike backwards or forwards as he pleased. Human grandeur seemed to be as mutable as it was really unnecessary to the personal felicity both of Edward and Henry. The favorite, tho dissimilar, gratifications of each might have been fully enjoyed without the throne: the one as a devout clergyman; the other as the gay, dissolute, and convivial gentleman. But they were really little else than the political puppets of their day. It was the interest of others, that alternately elevated and depressed them⁴;

¹ The earliest public acts that have survived to us on this restoration, are dated the 9th of October 1470. Rym. Fœd. pp. 661, 662. Stowe's MS. extract, taken "out Master Bel's boke," says, that on the 6th of October, the king "was enlarged out of the Tower, and ful royally brought thro London, to the bishop's palace, by Paule's." Harl. MSS. No. 545. p. 134.

² This was done on the 18th of October. Hearne's Frag. p. 292. On the 20th of October, the prior of St. John was made treasurer of the exchequer, and on the 22nd of October, Montague was appointed governor of the northern Marches. Rym. p. 665.

³ On the 1st of November 1470. Croyl. p. 554.

⁴ How little royalty is essential to personal felicity, may be inferred from Bona-

as it was the premature deaths of their parents that made both, English kings.

But Warwick had effected this revolution by deceiving and surprizing the nation. The people wished to correct Edward, but not to re-inthroned Henry, with his unforgiving tho magnanimous queen, and her violent friends. Hence, notwithstanding his brilliant success, Warwick felt no solidity of foundation to rest upon. He could not look around him without seeing, that the spirit of the age and country was hostile to the change he had occasioned. Too many were interested to resist the return of the old establishment, not to make all that he had done precarious and unstable. Hence, he waited for the arrival of Margaret and her auxiliary forces, with an anxiety that he could neither suppress nor conceal. There was a spirit, an intrepidity, and a resolution about Edward, when excited, that kept alive in the public mind a mysterious expectation of some extraordinary achievement. His return, therefore, was talked of as certain: and as he had never struck a blow in vain, something great was anticipated from him. To defeat these hopes, a commission was issued to Montague, in December, to put the counties of Nottingham, York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, into military array.⁵ Another was directed to Clarence, Warwick, and Oxford, to prepare against the enemies who meant to invade, and to repress all rebels⁶; and others were sent to the sheriffs of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex⁷: and also into Wales⁸, to arm the people in those parts in behalf of the restored king. Policy

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parte's declaration to O'Meara, that the happiest part of his life was from sixteen to twenty. Voice from St. Helena.

⁵ Dated Dec. 21. 1470, at Westminster. Rym. vol. xi. p. 676.

⁶ Dated Dec. 28. Rym. p. 677.

⁷ Dated Jan. 2. 1471. Ibid. p. 678.

⁸ Dated Jan. 30. Ibid. p. 680.

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used all its skill to make heroic adventure fool-hardy desperation.

The queen not coming, the prior of St. John was appointed to seek her in France, and to urge her presence.⁹ Warwick was named admiral of the seas¹⁰, and Clarence the lord lieutenant of Ireland¹¹: a truce was made with France for twelve years¹²; and a new mayor of York was chosen.¹³ Thus all the measures of a cautionary and active statesmanship were adopted to protect and perpetuate the new settlement. But it is a common delusion with great men to believe, that human events are commandable by human agency, because they sometimes obey it: the guiding hand that is unseen, too often for our own happiness, is supposed not to exist.

Still Margaret did not arrive with her expected succors, and Edward was known to be earnestly soliciting the duke of Burgundy, to supply him with the means of trying again the chances of his fortune in England. Warwick could not apply the revenues and property of the crown as he thought proper, to strengthen his party; for the prince, or his mother in his name, had expressly limited him by three articles, which fettered his hands till she arrived. These were, that all rewards to lords and others for their good service or sufferings, should be deferred: that a privy council of twelve spiritual and twelve temporal persons should be established; and that no great act of government should be done, nor lands, offices, nor benefits granted, till it had been proposed and discussed in this council. Warwick was, therefore, now but what Humphrey, the duke of Gloucester, had been, the presiding but the controlled director.¹⁴ Uneasy that Margaret delayed her coming,

⁹ Rym. vol. xi. p. 670.

¹⁰ Dated Jan. 2. Ibid. p. 679.

¹¹ Dated Feb. 18. Ibid. p. 693.

¹² Dated Feb. 16. Ibid. p. 683.

¹³ Ibid. p. 700.

¹⁴ These articles form another of Stowe's transcripts. Harl. MSS. No. 543.

the earl rode to Dover to receive her, or to accelerate her movements; but after long tarrying there in vain, he returned, with vexation at her unaccountable delay.¹⁵

When the duke of Burgundy heard of Edward's escape, he would rather have been told of his death.¹⁶ Offended at the rejection of the advice which would have saved him, undervaluing him for his supineness and luxury, and embarrassed by the dread of Warwick's directing the force of England, in aid of Louis, against himself, Burgundy could not determine at first how to receive his expatriated relation. The preparations of the English at Calais to attack him, decided his mind to sign a treaty of alliance with Henry, and publicly to discountenance his humbled competitor.¹⁷ Edward joined his court, however, and was earnest for his assistance; but the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, to whom Burgundy had given a kind asylum, counteracted the entreaties of the exiled king.¹⁸

Depreciated for his past imprudencies, and neglected and disliked for his present inutility and compromising interruptions, Edward seemed to be completely deposed: and the political vibrations of Burgundy's mind might have at last settled in sacrificing him to his immediate interests; when a new star of hope arose in Edward's dreary night, and that from the side of his enemies.

Clarence had powerfully contributed to depose his brother; but solicited as already mentioned, and now beginning to appreciate more justly the consequences to himself, he became dissatisfied with his own suc-

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¹⁵ Fab. p. 502. Adverse weather kept her away. It was so contrary, that she lay at the sea-side, waiting for a wind, from November to April. Ibid.

¹⁶ Com. I. iii. c. v. p. 255. Comines was the person dispatched by the duke of Burgundy to Calais, on the news of this revolution, to open an amicable negotiation with Warwick. Ibid. pp. 250—258.

¹⁷ Ibid. c. vi. pp. 257—259.

¹⁸ Ibid. pp. 256—260.

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cess. He found that it deprived his family of all hope of the crown, and sank himself, from the brother of a king, to the condition of a suspected, envied, and dangerous nobleman: too great to be favored; too near in blood to an enemy to be trusted. By the friends of Henry he was hated and despised — as all men are who break up the ties of natural relationship — and his future instability was feared. It was easy now to convince him, as his own mind was reluctantly beginning to perceive, that he would soon be an object for plunder by the friends of the government, who coveted his possessions: for he saw that he had conciliated no confidence, and obtained no friends, and could not preclude jealousy. He had been used as a temporary instrument to serve the purposes of others, and the accomplishment of these was followed with neglect and jeopardy to himself. Under such impressions, his mother and sisters, the duchesses of Exeter and Suffolk, found him favorable to a reconciliation with Edward. Their interference was supported by the cardinal archbishop, the earls of Bath and Essex, and especially by the unwearied activity of the duchess of Burgundy.¹⁹ Her affection for Edward was unshaken and ardent, and she carried on a zealous mediation between her two brothers. Some priests were the unsuspected medium who managed this dangerous negotiation; for the vacillations of the different orders of the churchmen, seeking only their own advantage, was at this period continual. Hastings added his entreaties; and the result of their united efforts was, a resolution to

¹⁹ I am now again indebted to a highly valuable memoir of some person of consideration at this period, which Mr. John Stowe has transcribed, as he says, out of Mr. Flyghtwood's book, the recorder of London. The beginning states, that it was "compiled and put in this form following, by a servaunt of the kyng's, that presently saw in effect a great part of his exploits, and the residue knew by true relation of them that were present at every tyme." Harl. MSS. No. 543. p. 32. Thus we have an authentic account of Edward's extraordinary recovery of his throne. Stowe has made no use of this in his Chronicle.

join his brother, if he should effect a landing in England, and make such a progress in it as would give a reasonable prospect of success to those who should support him.

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These assurances, combined with favorable representations of the state of feeling towards him of other gentlemen and places, determined Edward to undertake the perilous enterprise. His high spirited brother, the duke of Gloucester, was not backward to dare the risk; and Hastings, and their other friends, had felt enough of the privations of an exile's life, to prefer all the chances of a romantic adventure to a continuance of their humiliation.

But as England was so completely in the hands of his enemies, and every part where he could land was full of their forces, it was requisite that he should have a sufficient body of men with him to support his landing, and to make his first advances safe, both to himself and his friends. He was not going, like Henry IV., to meet a generally discontented and inviting country, and to find a slothful and unwarlike adversary. He knew he had to meet men trained to battle, and who loved it; and who would be as alert as he was, and determined to contest with him to the grave the restoration he desired.

As the duke of Burgundy was collecting his forces to meet his endangering antagonist, Louis XI. in the field, he could not give him, if he had been inclined, any open or effective succors. But his duchess supplied her brother with such resources as she could command.

The duke of Burgundy being deterred, by his managing policy, from any avowed support, carried his duplicity, in that age of Machiavel and Machiavellian statesmanship, so far as to declare publicly, that he would give the king no assistance; and to issue a proclamation, forbidding any of his subjects

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to accompany him. But he privately sent him 50,000 florins, had three or four great ships equipped for him at La Vere, in Walcheren, and secretly hired fourteen well-armed Easterlings, to transport his followers to England, and to wait fifteen days on the coast, while he tried the issue of his perilous adventure.²⁰

Edward
sails from
Holland.
1471.
March.

About 800 men had followed Edward to the Dutch coast. By the 2d of March 1471, he had collected 2000 brave and resolute Englishmen; and on this day, nearly the anniversary of his accession, he embarked them for his great adventure.

The wind immediately became unfavorable, but so earnest were his feelings in the prosecution of his purpose, that he would not re-land. Nine days they all patiently waited in the ships, lamenting the unchanging breeze, and confined to the harbour: but on the 11th of March, the desired wind occurred. They sailed straight to the coast of Norfolk, and on the next evening came before Cromer.²¹

But lord Oxford had been sent down to watch all the eastern coast, and his letter on the 14th of March, shews, that he was attending to this duty, and making exertions and forming plans to repel or destroy Edward.²²

Edward sent a boat on shore for some gentlemen in the neighborhood, to learn from them how the country was disposed towards him. They told him, that all these parts had been filled by Warwick with military forces, and that Oxford was vigilantly superintending them. The duke of Norfolk, from whose

²⁰ Com. p. 261.

²¹ Flyghtwood's Book, Harl. MSS. No. 543.

²² He says, "I have disposed with me all the power that I can make in Essex and Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and other places, to be, on Monday next, at Bury; which purpose I intend to observe towards you in Norfolk, to the assistance of you and the country, in case Edward, with his company, had arrived there. And yet I shall do the same, notwithstanding; for if he arrive northward, I cast to follow and pursue him. At Henningham, March 14 (Thursday)." Fenn, vol. ii. p. 57.

friendship he had much hope, and all the gentry of similar feelings, had been ordered to London, and imprisoned; so that it would be certain danger, without hope of benefit, to land in that county. Edward listened to the faithful advice, and stood off to sea.²³ A severe storm now attacked his little fleet, and distressed it for two days and nights. Twelve days had elapsed since he had embarked, and he had not yet landed. This interval gave his antagonists time to make every point he could reach, a scene of danger or ruin.

On the 14th of March, in great peril from the continuing tempest, he got to Humber-head, in his single ship. All the others were dispersed, without any knowledge of their relative situations. But he resolved to land from the perilous ocean wherever he could, at every hazard; and finding himself at Ravenspur, on the Humber, which Henry IV. had selected, he disembarked there with lord Hastings, and 500 men, who had accompanied him in his vessel, and calmly waited for tidings of the others. These were actuated by the same spirit of determination and courage. The duke of Gloucester, with 100 men, as soon as he could, landed four miles from his brother. Lord Rivers, and 200 more, reached the shore fourteen miles from him, and the rest at other points as they could reach them. It is not improbable, that this dispersion was beneficial to him. His forces arriving, tho unintentionally, at so many places, made the government less able to calculate his movements, or determine the precise spot to which to direct their opposing armies; so many landings also multiplied his strength in the popular estimation.²⁴

The king left the coast immediately, and with a

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He lands
in England.

²³ Harl. MSS. No. 543. The wisdom of Edward's avoiding to land in Norfolk, we see from Oxford's preceding letter of March 14.

²⁴ Harl. MSS. No. 543.

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small retinue, slept that night at a poor village, two miles from his landing. The next morning, as the tempest had somewhat abated, he was gratified with hearing that his friends were all safe, and were advancing towards him. But the country gave him no congratulations. He was joined by few or none. The supporters of Warwick and Henry had preceded him. Their activity kept the population either faithful to their cause or detached from him—all were in arms, but none to favor him.

In this state of real danger, it was difficult to determine what were the best measures to be adopted. He was now in the part where his father had been most popular and most powerful, and he had expected that here, at least, he would have been welcomed and strengthened. But he found the people of the country collected in great numbers, in various places, armed as for battle, ready to resist him, and no one moving to his side. The truth was, that whatever might be the private wishes of the Yorkshiremen, his enterprise had as yet too much the appearance of rashness, and of probable discomfiture, to induce any to compromise their safety by declaring in his favor.²⁵

But altho he received no support, he found every where an unwillingness to injure him. The armed bodies that watched him were contented with standing aloof and looking on. No one offered to annoy him.

In this doubtful state of things, he assembled a council of his wisest companions, to discuss the plan of their future operations. Their principal antagonists

²⁵ Harl. MSS. No. 543. The MS. which Stowe transcribed, and from which we take these facts, was not written by Mr. Flyghtwood: but was a MS. in his possession. It appears, by some papers in the Lansdowne collection, now in the British Museum, that Flyghtwood was recorder in the time of queen Elizabeth. This valuable history of Edward's restoration purports to be written, as we have already mentioned, by a contemporary and assistant of his extraordinary progress.

were in the southern counties, and about London; and until some blow could be successfully struck at them, no safe footing would be obtained. But his forces were yet only what he had brought with him; and thus unbefriended, were unequal to a conflict with the strength of their enemy; besides, their nearest way to London was thro Lincolnshire, and they could hope for no advantage, but from that surprise which they might gain by superior celerity. Yet, as to reach the capital with speed they must traverse Lincolnshire, it was necessary again to take shipping, and cross the Humber. Their late tossings on the sea had, however, given them an abhorrence of the water; and it was also suggested, that any re-embarking would be misconstrued into flight, and thus extinguish all courage in their friends, who, tho yet tranquil, were in many parts of the country waiting only to see a determined spirit, and a successful progress, to come forward on their side.²⁶

They concluded their deliberations by resolving to press boldly on towards York. As they found the nation, even in the districts least unfriendly to them, not disposed to renew any quarrel about the crown, it was also determined that Edward should at this time make no pretensions to that. Hence, all his followers were directed to declare, that he limited his wishes to be again the duke of York, and to be reinstated in his paternal inheritance. The diffusion of this moderate claim satisfied the country, and the various bodies of armed men, six or seven thousand in number, were in different places assembled against him, at one part under a warlike priest, and in others under the local gentry, yet none moved to attack him. He passed without molestation to Beverley, on his road to York; but Hull being a strong town, and

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²⁶ Harl. MSS. No. 543.

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a convenient sea-port, in case of failure, he sent a detachment to secure it. Its commander, however, shut the gates and refused them admittance. Edward was not disheartened by this repulse, and moved on the high road towards York.

As he passed along, he found the same undecided and discouraging public feeling. Great companies of men assembled in array, to watch his steps, but kept out of sight, and made no hostile movement. Tho it was obvious that they would be his friends, if he succeeded, it was no less probable that they would become his foes and destroyers on his retreat, if he met with any disaster. The known hardiness and desperate courage of himself and his companions contributed to deter them from any attack; and it is intimated, that judicious distributions of money to their leaders were also not unavailing.²⁷

He came in sight of York on Monday the 18th of March. At a distance of three miles, the recorder of the city, a friend of the Lancastrians, came out to deter him from approaching it. This wily politician assured him, that he would not be suffered to enter it, and would be undone if he attempted it. Edward was perplexed at this disappointment; but a short deliberation was sufficient to decide his correct judgment. He felt that he had advanced too far to recede—destruction was certain if he retreated. Boldness and vigor only could now save him; and he declared, that he would pursue, with unshaken constancy, what he had began, and rather abide what God and good fortune would give him, tho the issue was uncertain, than fall by defect of courage, or live to sustain reproach. He determined rightly. No enterprise like his should be attempted without a settled resolution to persevere thro every difficulty and discouragement,

²⁷ Harl. MSS. No. 543.

and to conquer or die: without this determination, no adventurer can sufficiently assure his supporters, sound the depths of his own resources, put the real strength of his opponents to the full proof, or obtain the benefit of all the circumstances that may arise. Thus fixed in heart and will, Edward bade his troops move on.

His courageous decision was rewarded within a mile of the city, by meeting two of the inhabitants, who came out to tell him, that if he aspired only to his father's dignity and possessions, he would be received with friendship, and suffered to pass forward. The artful recorder attempted to contradict their assurances; but Edward suspected his sincerity, and advanced to the city gates.

He there halted his little army, and, with only sixteen selected friends, entered the walls. The heads of the city were assembled near the entrance, but he gallantly put himself into their power, and his confidence gratified them. He stated his limited wishes, and was heard with friendly attention. They admitted all his company for that night, refreshed them with all necessaries, and after their dinner, on the following day, the 19th of March, permitted them to depart for Tadcaster. None joined them, but none molested.²⁸

Edward had as yet gained nothing either to secure his safety or to effectuate his restoration. It was a severe disappointment to find only neutrality where he had most expected aid. It was clear that he had no one but Clarence to rely on, and yet even his co-operation was not likely to be made, if all the rest of the country kept away. Still, however, he must

²⁸ On this day, (19th March) lord Oxford issued letters from Bury, to several gentlemen of the country he commanded, stating, that he had received tidings of Edward's landing in the north, and calling on them to meet him in full array, at Lynn, on the next Friday (the 22d), to proceed to Newark. Fenn, vol. ii. pp. 59—61.

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dare the event, tho the prospect was gloomy. He had no choice but to plunge into greater danger. The farther he advanced, the more impossible became retreat. Life without success was indifferent to them all. A calm, dignified, and most resolute courage was the consequence of this situation: for personal bravery was the characteristic of the house of York.

From Tadcaster, on the next morning²⁹, they moved to Wakefield and Sendall, leaving Pomfret castle on their left.

Here they approached a point of great peril. The marquis Montague was in this castle. He had been advertised by his brother Warwick of Edward's landing, and had been ordered to oppose him. The subsequent events proved that Montague stood firm in Warwick's interest. It was therefore expected that he would advance to annihilate Edward.

The movements from Pomfret castle were watched with the greatest anxiety by the daring but insecure invaders; but as they marched on, their scouts brought no alarm of any forces quitting it. Edward gave the marquis no time to decide any doubt or hesitation, or to collect more strength. He passed rapidly on to Doncaster, and from thence without pause to Nottingham, wisely judging, that his best course was at once to throw himself into the heart of the country, to feel its general pulse before he was intercepted; and correctly perceiving, that to elude any attack before this experiment was made, was the surest means of future victory.³⁰

The whole nation afterwards, when it came to reflect on this period of wonders, was astonished at the inactivity of Montague, at a juncture so critical. But a contemporary informs us, that the rapidity of Edward's movements brought the adventurers into

²⁹ Harl. MSS. March 20.

³⁰ Harl. MSS.

his vicinity before he had forces enough to encounter them. He saw that a majority of the population was in their favor, but would not join them till they had gained some great advantage; and he knew that from their unquestionable bravery and martial skill, no hasty attack would avail. He was, therefore, afraid of injuring his own cause by encountering them only to be defeated. He was also alarmed by the visible neutrality of the earl of Northumberland, whose followers had permitted Edward to pass unassailed. He saw no one whom he could rely on beyond his own knights and retainers, and he hesitated to compromise his brother's safety by a precipitate battle, which Edward would have willingly fought with his powers alone: because the first victory of an invader always doubles his chances of future success. It seemed also wisdom to let Edward bury himself in the centre of the island, in which all the Lancastrian forces could be assembled to surround him. Hence, as he had not the means of certainly preventing his advance, he let them pass unmolested; but prepared vigorously to join the government armies, with his collected strength.³¹

But however prudent his conduct seemed, or may have been, it was auspicious to Edward. It kindled a popular belief that Montague, as well as Northumberland, secretly befriended him. It was an easy and obvious inference to all, that the invaders could not have passed so far into the country without annoyance, and would not have ventured, if they had not been secretly and powerfully favored. The hesitating, therefore, now began to decide. Some few, tho not so many as had been hoped, joined them in their

³¹ In judging of Montague, we may remember, what the Fragment mentioned, that Edward *entirely loved him*. p. 306. This feeling, and some remorse for his former treachery to such a man, may have contributed to make the marquis hesitate, till the critical moment of possible interception had passed.

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march to Nottingham; but at this town, two knights came openly to him with six hundred men, and thus shewed that the tide of public opinion was beginning to flow towards him.

Yet this addition afforded but small means for reconquering the crown of England. It did not raise all their force to 3000 men, and the whole risk of the enterprise was yet before them. But it relieved that solicitude of mind, which the bravest men cannot but feel, in attempting a grand adventure against superior power; and which Edward, his undaunted brother, and the high-souled Rivers and Hastings experienced in the dangerous march from Ravenspur to Nottingham, amid arrays of armed men, coldly looking on without aiding, and, by their cautious avoidance, silently proclaiming their belief of a hopeless failure.³²

From Nottingham, Edward, while he rested here a few days, sent confidential persons to scour all the adjacent country, and ascertain what forces were collecting against him. Some found, that at Newark, on the left of their rear, the duke of Exeter, lord Oxford, and others, had assembled 4000 men from the eastern counties. This was a dangerous force, if it had been wisely commanded; but such was Edward's reputation for activity of movement, and resolute gallantry, that the very appearance of his scouts raised a conviction that his whole army was approaching: and as report had magnified its amount, the noble leaders became afraid of a surprise, and at two in the morn-

³² Harl. MSS. So judicious were Edward's movements, and so rapid, that it does not appear that they were known to the government in the metropolis, till near the 25th of March, the eleventh day after his landing; and he was by that time in the heart of England. It is on the 25th of March, that the government order was issued at Westminster, stating, that Edward had newly entered the realm: and commanding Clarence, Pembroke, and Warwick, to convoke the king's subjects against him and his adherents. Rymer, vol. xi. p. 705. The next order is dated the 27th of March, also stating, that he had landed with rebels, Flemings, and Burgundians. p. 706.

ing, tho his most vindictive enemies, fled with precipitation out of the town, abandoning part of the troops they had brought, and discouraging all their friends, by a panic so disgraceful.

They had not calculated wrongly on Edward's conduct; as soon as he was apprised of their being at Newark, he moved immediately towards the town, and was within three miles of it when he heard of their flight. Satisfied with their dispersion, he returned to Nottingham, emboldened now to move immediately against Warwick, his most dreaded adversary, and who, he was here informed, had left London, and was embodying an army at his town of Warwick.³³

Rapidity of movement, that he might attack before Warwick could overpower him with numbers, became now his wisest policy; and as Edward never wanted a quick-sighted judgment, when he was really in action, he took the nearest way thro Leicester, to confront, immediately, the man, who at this moment was the acting sovereign of England.

The gallantry of this conduct disconcerted Warwick: and, tho he had a larger army than the king, he was afraid of risking it against a man whose military talents he well knew. Hence, as Edward approached, he withdrew, without fighting, to the stronger fortifications of Coventry.

This conduct first gave Edward an assured footing in the country. It was such a confession of personal inferiority of Edward's merit, and of his re-ascending power, that it removed from many minds all fear of the consequences of supporting the house of York.

³³ Harl. MSS. One great cause of Edward's successful advance was, that the troops on which the government most relied were stationed on the eastern and southern sea coasts, to guard them against Edward's invasion; but, by the celerity, secrecy, and skilful direction of his progress, he was approaching the metropolis before the orders to move elsewhere could reach them. Hence, all that Warwick could do was to wait till they could join, and to let his adversary get to his capital unmolested.

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Three thousand trusty men, whom the messengers of Hastings had urged, now unhesitatingly joined him at Leicester, and made his forces between 6000 and 7000 men. With these, on the 29th of March, he marched straight to Coventry, and defied the earl to end the quarrel by a personal combat. Warwick refused to accept the challenge. Three days Edward marched up to the walls, repeating the defiance, and exciting the enthusiasm of his friends, by his intrepid demeanor. As often the earl declined the martial invitation.

Edward, wisely avoiding a siege, drew his forces to the town of Warwick, where he was now received as king. He felt that he had already more than half reconquered his crown; and he issued proclamations, resuming his royal dignity, and encouraging his adherents.³⁴

Mutual friends now daily interfered, to effect a reconciliation between him and Warwick. The king promised him both pardon and liberal favors; but Warwick would not listen to the amicable overtures.

This state of things removed all scruples from the mind of Clarence, and he advanced to join the king with 4000 followers. Edward marched with all his array, three miles out of Warwick, to meet him; received him with banners displayed, and affectionate embraces. The trumpets and minstrels sounded their congratulating music, and the united forces marched into Warwick, amid the general acclamations. Clarence also attempted to induce Warwick to abandon the house of Lancaster. But the earl saw that he had done too much to be cordially forgiven or safely trusted again; and had also too deeply, of his own seeking, pledged himself to the French king, in behalf of queen Margaret, to abandon her

³⁴ Harl. MSS. Croyland mentions that the earl did not dare to fight with the king at Coventry. p. 554.

cause without indelible dishonor. The negotiations therefore failed, and Edward, after another display of defiance before Coventry, on the 5th of April, marched onwards to London, while Exeter, Montague, Oxford, and others, united themselves soon afterwards, with Warwick, in his rear.³⁵

On the 6th of April, being Palm-Sunday, the king paused to hear divine service, with great devotion, at Daventry, and thence proceeded to Northampton, where he was cordially received. He took the direct road to the metropolis; but with the precaution of guarding his rear by a good band of spears and archers, in case his enemies had attempted to follow him.

The English noblemen who were the most zealous for the house of Lancaster, and the most confided in by the queen, — the duke of Somerset, his brother the Lancastrian marquis of Dorset, and Courtney the earl of Devon, — had been in London when Edward landed. But, apprised that queen Margaret, with her son, was coming, with lord Wenlock, the countess of Warwick, the prior of St. John, and fresh supplies out of France, to consolidate Henry's restoration, Somerset and his friends had left the capital to raise an army from the western counties, and join her, while Warwick operated in the inland districts. The queen and her party entered their ships at Harfleur, on the 24th of March, when Edward was at or near Nottingham. But at this critical moment, on which the fate of both the rival houses hung, adverse winds and tempestuous weather kept her for twenty most important and irrecoverable days, still on the coast of France, while the anxious and impatient Somerset was chiding the tantalizing delay, and imploring the deaf winds to be propitious. It was not

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³⁵ Harl. MSS.

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till the 13th of April, Easter-eve, that they could leave their French port: nor did they land in England till the 14th, Easter-Sunday, a day on which the most fatal change of their fortune was destined to begin.³⁶

It was in the absence of all these great noblemen, that Edward, on the 9th of April, drew near London, in which Henry, his inefficient competitor, was then residing, in that brief show of royalty which his unambitious mind did not covet, and had never valued. Warwick had not been inattentive to this movement. He had left the metropolis under the care of his brother, the archbishop of York, and sent to him, and to the mayor, earnest letters to rouse the citizens against Edward. He only asked them to keep him out for three days, and promised to come with adequate power to chastise the bold attempt.

The archbishop, in obedience to his brother's mandate, assembled, at St. Paul's, all their military friends, but found them not to exceed six or seven thousand men. To kindle the fire of loyalty in the city, he put king Henry on horseback, and made him ride in state thro Cheapside to Wallbrook, and back to St. Paul's, that the sight of the son of their favorite, the fifth Harry, might rouse the population to befriend him. But the rulers of the city beheld the pageantry and its appeal without emotion. They took possession of the gates, and evinced no friendly spirit to the Lancastrian cause.³⁷ Edward that night reached St. Albans; and Henry's friends, perceiving that their real supporters were few, and those who were adverse to them were numerous, did not attempt to maintain their important position for the

³⁶ Harl. MSS. p. 38.

³⁷ Harl. MSS. Fabian mentions, on the archbishop's exhibiting Henry in this manner to the people, that "this rather withdrew men's hearts, than otherwise." p. 503. The meek and impassive Henry was, at this moment, a complete contrast to the wonderful energy and talent of Edward, in his masterly march from Ravenspur to London.

small time which Warwick had asked; but deserted their loyalty and honor, and suffered the mayor and aldermen, without a struggle, to keep the city for king Edward. The archbishop took the lead in this treachery to Henry, and sent privately to Edward, requesting pardon, and promising submission and obedience. Forgiveness was promised him, and all resistance was abandoned. The Tower of London was that night taken possession of by Edward's friends; and on the next day, the 11th of April, he came in person, and rode to St. Paul's, and to the bishop's palace. There the unfaithful prelate met him, with king Henry in his hand, whom he traitorously surrendered to his rival. Edward proceeded to Westminster abbey, and offered his earnest thanks for his surprising train of success. In twenty-eight days from his landing at the Humber, he had reached his metropolis, regained his crown, and captured his competitor, without even one interrupting battle. He visited immediately his queen, who was still at her sanctuary in the abbey, and she presented him with the prince to whom she had given birth in his absence.³⁸

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³⁸ Harl. MSS. The archbishop was sent to the Tower. Of him Paston writes, "Nevertheless, he shall do well enough. He hath a pardon, and so we hope well." Fenn, vol. ii. p. 65.

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Restoration of EDWARD IV. — Battle of Barnet. — Queen MARGARET lands. — Marches of each Party. — Battle of Tewkesbury. — Falconbridge attacks London. — King HENRY's Death.

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April 12.

EDWARD was not yet to indulge in that repose of enjoyment which he loved. He had placed himself on the vantage ground, and had obtained new means of maintaining it: but the battles remained to be fought, and the victories to be gained, that were to decide whether the white or the red rose was to continue on the throne of England. Warwick, who had now embodied the forces he thought sufficient, was marching on to the capital, true to his promise; and Edward on the next morning, Good-Friday, summoned a hasty council to deliberate on the most advisable measures to withstand an attack, whose issue no one could as yet foresee.

Warwick was advancing with confidence that one of two things must happen. Either the citizens would be keeping the king at bay, and then his army would place Edward between two attacks, that would probably ensure his destruction; or, if the city had received him, the usual solemnities of Easter would be so occupying his adherents, that it would be an easy matter to surprise and overwhelm them.

But the most prominent qualities of Edward's mind were intrepidity, promptitude and soldierly judgment. His spies had completely watched Warwick, and communicated his movements. Hence, on Easter-eve, the 13th of April, Edward quitted London, to

fight the battle out of the streets of the metropolis, taking Henry with him.¹

He marched to Barnet, ten miles from London, that afternoon; where his out-riders met those of the earl, and drove them thro the town, and advanced far enough to see the army of Warwick drawn up in array by the side of a hedge. The king, apprized of this, would not let one of his men remain in the town, but proceeded thro it into the fields beyond, as close to his adversary as it was safe to lodge.

It was now quite dark. He could not see precisely how or where his opponents were embattled before him: but he took his station at a venture, at a point which he thought sufficiently near for his future operations; and soon found that it was much closer than he had supposed or intended.

He meant to have rested immediately in their front; but the obscurity caused him to mistake the extent of their position: and without knowing what he had done, he placed his troops on one side only of their's, outstretching their left, but leaving none opposed to their right. He commanded silence to be kept, that Warwick might know none of his movements.

Both parties had artillery; but Warwick much more than the king, and, fortunately for the latter, had placed it in his right wing. Here, supposing that Edward's left was before it, he ordered the gunners to cannonade it all night. This would have occasioned a serious loss to the king, and have discouraged his troops against the next day's encounter, if they had been placed as the king designed: but his miscalculation of Warwick's position prevented this disaster. Having put no part of his army in this

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13 April.

¹ Harl. MSS. No. 543. Croyland intimates, that Warwick expected to surprise Edward at his devotions, on Easter Sunday. p. 554.

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quarter, all Warwick's night cannonade was fired at nothing. Edward, as the flashes of the guns illumined by fits the gloom of midnight, saw the advantage of his unintentional error, and, to prevent Warwick from discovering it, reiterated his orders for the most profound silence. Warwick was thus prevented from knowing that his enemies were so near, or how they were really stationed; otherwise, as he appears to have been superior in numbers, as well as in artillery, a night attack, in a right direction, might have been fatal to the king.²

Battle of
Barnet,
14 April,
1471.

On the morning of Easter-Sunday, the 14th of April, Edward was in the field arranging his troops, between four and five o'clock. A great mist covered both armies. Each divided his force into three divisions, with reserves. Montague and Oxford led on the earl's right wing, Somerset his centre, and he himself, with the duke of Exeter, directed the left. Edward intrusted his right to his brother the duke of Gloucester, altho then but nineteen, and his left to lord Hastings, and stationed himself in his centre.³

The mist continued so thick that neither party could see the other, except at intervals. But the king, desirous, from his inferiority in cannon, and from his confidence in his troops, to make it a close and personal combat, advanced his banners, blew his trumpets, and, after a few shot, joined immediately in a conflict of hand to hand.

His misconception of the position of Warwick, which had saved his army in the night, began now to operate to his disadvantage; for the earl's right so greatly outflanked his left, that when they came into actual contact, Hastings found himself nearly surrounded by a force which no valor could repel. His wing fought with vigorous courage, but was at length

² Harl. MSS. No. 543.

³ Ibid. Hall, p. 295, 296.

broken by Oxford's superior numbers, and was driven out of the field. Many fled to Barnet, and some to London, spreading every where the news that the king was defeated and ruined.⁴

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The mist prevented the rest of both armies from knowing the discomfiture of Edward's left wing⁵: hence, neither was the one encouraged by it, nor the other disheartened. But the king, being in the centre, became first acquainted with it, and before advantage could be taken of it, made a vigorous charge on Warwick's centre, with such irresistible violence, that he bore down all before him. In vain Somerset attempted to check him. All that opposed were cut down: and as he pierced the lines, he doubled on each side on those who yet stood, and put the earl's main battle into general confusion. At the same time his right, under Gloucester, having also outflanked the earl's left, by the accident of their position, was now reaping the full advantage of this circumstance. Warwick himself was here, and, by having chosen this part, had probably meant to have made it his destructive attack on Edward's line; yet courage and despair were ineffectual to preserve his wing from ruin. His centre being penetrated at the same time that he was thus surrounded, nothing but a judicious conduct of his successful right could have saved him. But on Oxford's returning from his pursuit of the king's left, it is stated that the badge of his men, a star with streaming rays, being mistaken to be the king's forces, whose device was the sun, he was received with a discharge of arrows, from that part of Warwick's yet standing centre which they

⁴ Harl. MSS. Fabian also mentions this fact, and adds, that if Oxford's men had kept their array, and not fallen to rifling, the victory would have been to their party. p. 504.

⁵ Of this fog, it is amusing to read in Fabian, "of the mists, and other impediments, which fell upon the lord's party, by reason of the incantations wrought by friar Bungey as the fame then went, me list not to write." p. 504.

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approached. At first, a conflict as supposed antagonists, and afterwards, a mutual belief of treachery, shook this part of Warwick's line into confusion. His whole army was thus, from these various causes, thrown into total rout. The battle had been so severe, that all the leaders of both sides were compelled to exert themselves individually as soldiers, as well as commanders. Warwick fell fighting desperately on foot. His brother, the marquis, also perished. Exeter was struck down, and left for dead, but Oxford and Somerset escaped. Edward lost two lords, and the heir of another. The battle was short, tho' furious, for it had only lasted three hours. The king's forces did not exceed 9000 men.⁶ His loss was less than 2000. Warwick's slain were 7000, and, from this number, his army must have been greatly superior to Edward's.⁷ It seems singular that the king should have been attended from the metropolis by so small a host. But the determined advance of Warwick may have made the citizens cautious of joining either party, till some deciding victory had occurred: and Edward's reliance on his own military skill, and on the resolution of his well-selected soldiers, made him always desirous to fight a pitched battle, whenever he could fix his adversary to an assailable position.

The death of Warwick released both parties from

⁶ Harl. MSS. Croyland calls this a "mirabilis," "insprata," and "gloriosa" victory. p. 555. Sir John Paston, who had fought in it on Warwick's side, writes of it, on the Thursday afterwards: "God hath shewed himself marvellously like him that made all, and can undo again when him list; and I think, that by all likelihood shall shew himself as marvellous again, and that in short time, and, as I suppose, oftener than once, in cases like this." Fenn, vol. ii. p. 67. He alludes here to the next impending battle, for he says, "Margaret is verily landed, and her son, in the west country, and I trow, that to-morrow, or else the next day, the kyng Edward will depart from hence to herward, to drive her out again." p. 67.

⁷ Harl. MSS. Paston, whose brother was wounded with an arrow on his right arm, beneath the elbow, in the battle, and who was himself in it, after mentioning Warwick's and Montagu's death, on the one side, and lords Say and Cromwell on Edward's, says loosely, "and other people of both parties, to the number of more than a thousand." Fenn, vol. ii. p. 65. But the nature and duration of the struggle make the numbers in the text, taken from the contemporary MS. more probable.

an ambitious and restless spirit, too powerful to be a peaceful subject to any sovereign, yet compelled always to remain one. He had deposed and re-inthroned Henry. He had crowned and banished Edward, alternately supporting either, as his irascibility actuated him. The Lancastrians hated him, even while he re-established them, and the Yorkists could trust or respect him no more. He had been too guilty, too absurd, and too mischievous, to live with any future credit or comfort to himself, or to any others. It cannot be truly said, that death is a boon to any but the pious; yet life to Warwick could only have been a succession of remorse, spleen, contempt, aversion, misanthropy, and despair, unless he could have submitted to the penitence and self-humiliation of a La Trappe: but there was nothing in his character which had such a tendency; and this celebrated king-maker and unmaker, finding victory wrenched from his grasp, seems, like one of his most impetuous assailants, fourteen years afterwards, erring like him from an unprincipled ambition, to have sought that fate in the field which had now become his only good. Hence, like Richard in his last scene, whom he was then confronting, he dismounted, and fought on foot, both as an example, and in despair. Nature, at length exhausted or dismayed, abated his resolution, and began to shrink from its catastrophe. He "was slain somewhat flying."⁸

As the battle was over before nine in the morning, the king only waited at Barnet to refresh his troops, and the same day returned to London. His victory having made loyalty safe, he was now received with

⁸ Harl. MSS. Lord Oxford wrote, after this battle, "I am escaped myself, and suddenly departed from my men, for I understand my chaplain would have betrayed me. Send me in all haste all the ready money ye can make, and as many of my men as can come well horsed, and in divers parcels." He was still sanguine of Henry's success. "Be of good cheer, and take no thought, for I shall bring my purpose about now." Fenn, vol. ii. p. 71.

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warm acclamations: and they who had left him to dare his fate, with the 9000 men he had brought with him, gratulated him as a conqueror, with a popular joy, which his policy or vanity alone could welcome. He rode straight to St. Paul's, and is described to have paid his grateful devotions with humble thankfulness.⁹

The revolt of Warwick had divided the friends of the house of York. His death re-united them, and left again only two parties in the country: those who wished the new dynasty, and those who preferred the old one. Warwick's defeat had not much weakened the Lancastrian side. He had fought his battle chiefly with his family power, and the resources of the house of Lancaster were still nearly entire. Hence, Edward had yet to make the decisive struggle with them; and this was felt to be a dangerous and uncertain crisis. Few, therefore, of the nobility and gentry yet chose to commit themselves by joining with him. It was known that queen Margaret was on the seas, with great foreign supplies, and that her friends were numerous and sanguine in all the west and south. Edward found, that he must expect no secure reign or cordial attachment, till this last hope of the red rose was encountered and defeated; and looked with anxiety to discern in what quarter the storm would appear, or could be most wisely confronted.

Landing
of Queen
Margaret.

The queen, baffled by adverse winds and tempests, had often landed and re-landed at Harfleur, as the weather fluctuated; but it did not permit her to sail till Easter-eve; and on the next day, while Warwick was fighting at Barnet, she landed at Weymouth. Her companion, the countess of Warwick, first reached England in her ship at Portsmouth; but hearing there of her husband's fate, she resolved not to join

⁹ Harl. MSS.

the queen, passed secretly into the new forest, and weary of the sanguinary times, took shelter in the abbey of Beaulieu. The queen with her lords and partisans, went from Weymouth to Cerne Abbey, where the duke of Somerset, the earl of Devon and others, came to her. She did not hear of the defeat at Barnet till the next day, and was greatly affected. But her counsellors assured her that it was no disadvantage. Their party, instead of being feebler, was made stronger by Warwick's fall. They had no doubt but that they could assemble so great a puissance of people in various parts, that it would not be in Edward's power to repress them.¹⁰

It does not appear that they had reasoned erroneously. As Warwick had displayed no peculiar talents as a commander, his personal loss was no evil. His moral influence in the country had ceased: he had been a master whom no one dared to affront, or could manage, and as such he was an incumbrance to wise councillors, not an assistant. Many a Lancastrian abhorred him too much to serve under him; and his vacillations precluded that confidence, which desires to stake life and fortune firmly on the venture it undertakes, and which now both of the conflicting parties desired and needed. It is probable, that the calculations of the Lancastrians would have been verified by the issue, if Edward had not been the ablest captain at that time existing. He had never lost a battle, however inferior in number, and few had fought more; and all his movements from his debarkation on the Humber, to the complete re-establishment of his power, display a military sagacity, a watchful thought, activity, decision, quick and correct judgment, intrepidity and energy, which only required a larger field of enterprise to rank him with

¹⁰ Harl. MSS.

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those great conquerors, whom the enthusiasm, rather than the wisdom of mankind, have so lavishly, yet perhaps to their own prejudice, so continuously admired.

The queen's council determined to begin their operations in the district they were inhabiting. Zealous and able men were therefore sent, over Somerset, Dorset, and part of Wilts, to array the people, who had been some time preparing, and to collect also those of Devon and Cornwall. As in all these counties their friends had been long training, an army was speedily assembled. They made Exeter their first point of rendezvous, where the queen and her son Edward joined them.

Edward saw this preparing attack to be of the most formidable character. He dispatched his friends to get fresh men from all quarters, and providing an ample supply of artillery, which he projected to make one of his principal means, he left London for Windsor, on the 19th of April, and ordered all his forces to unite in that town.¹¹

He observed, that his opponents were at present in an angle of the island, and to attain their object, must make one of three movements. If they felt strong enough to bring him to an immediate battle, they must either march direct thro Salisbury to London; or along the sea coast of Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent; or if they doubted the expediency of this, and resolved first to combine a more overpowering force, they must move northward into Cheshire and Lancashire, receiving all the reinforcements in their way, which were preparing for them in Wales, by Jasper earl of Pembroke. The king's first point of difficulty was, to discover which of these measures they intended; for if, to defeat the last, he had marched

¹¹ Harl. MSS.

hastily into the north, they would have reached London in his absence; and if, to guard that vital part, he kept too near his capital, it would be impossible to prevent them from uniting all their northern resources. His determination and his interest were, to bring them to battle as soon as possible, whatever was their numerical force, as that would be only augmented by delay; and he found the country to be yet so mistrustful of the issue, that few of the gentry had moved to his assistance. The balance of the two houses still hung too even for the large proprietors to risk confiscation and attainder, by taking part with him. His exile had so astonished his old supporters, that its paralyzing effect had not yet gone off. A throne so easily lost and won, was too unstable to be linked to. Edward had, therefore, with him, all the army he could now expect. It was select and determined, but not numerous; and the sooner he could bring it into action with his antagonists, the greater were his chances of success.

But the Lancastrian leaders were as aware of the situation and interests of both parties as he was. They saw that they placed him in a dilemma; and they prepared to execute either of the two possible plans, of marching to London or to the north, according as his movements opened the greatest advantage.

Both parties were thus watching, and desirous to mislead and out-general the other; and that which committed the first fault, would probably lose the crown they so mortally struggled for.

The king made Windsor castle his primary position, as the most convenient spot for proceeding from, either to the west or north. It gave him also the opportunity, in the celebration of the feast of St. George, to excite the warlike spirit of his army. He reasoned, that if the friends of Henry should

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finally determine to go northward to increase their forces, they must pass the Severn, either at Gloucester, Tewkesbury, or more remotely at Worcester. He therefore kept his eye on those places as his future points of march, if he should really find that they abandoned the plan of surprising the metropolis.¹²

The queen's generals perceived, that to reach London, they must draw him further from it: and to join their friends in the north they must attract his attention elsewhere, and create an uncertainty in his mind as to their ultimate object. With this view, they sent parties in various directions: some from Exeter to Shaftesbury, as if they aimed at the coast line of movement: some to Salisbury, as if the shortest road to London was the way selected; while they moved their main body to Taunton and Glastonbury, and from thence to Wells, ready to dart forward, to such of these two great ends, as the king's motions should leave vacant. Still further to perplex him, they sent advanced parties to Yeovil, and gave the people to understand that they meant to advance by Oxford and Reading to London, or to surprise the king at some great advantage.

But Edward was not to be deluded from his steady guard. If they came to seek him, they were welcome, as he desired a speedy battle more than they did. Hence no threat of attacking him, could alter his measures. His scouts were alert in hovering about their head quarters: and when he heard of their thinking of Oxford, he began to suspect that their determination was settling for the northern movement. He therefore left Windsor, the 24th of April, the morning after St. George's day, and proceeded leisurely to Abingdon, quite prepared to counter-march on his capital, if his change of position should

¹² Harl. MSS.

tempt them to resume that point of action. He did not enter Abingdon till the 27th of April, and found them still at Wells. It then became his wisest policy to move towards them a little to the north, to increase his power of intercepting them on that road, without so far departing from London, as to let them outstrip him if they again took that direction. With this view, on the 28th and 29th, he moved to Cirencester. There he heard, that on the next day they would be at Bath, and on the following, advance upon him, and take the chances of the field. This news was on such authority, that he marched three miles out of town to a spot convenient for the struggle, put his men into fit array, and awaited their coming.¹³

But he expected them in vain: the threat was put to mask their real purpose. To discover this he moved to Malmesbury, nearer to their camp, and found them on the full march to Bristol, then a strong walled town, where they obtained great supplies of men, money, and cannon.

They now declared they would give him battle at Sodbury, then reckoned to be nine miles from Bristol. They sent parties to take their ground on Sodbury Hill; and this was so publicly done, that the king could not doubt their intentions; and on Thursday, the 2nd of May, marched forward to this point, to take the chances of the conflict.

But when he reached the lines they had marked out, he found no enemy. He sent men to scour the country, but could gain no intelligence of their motions. They had so effectually deceived him, that they had gained upon him the march they had projected: and uncertain whether they were making a forced advance to London, or to the Severn, he was obliged to pause that night in a valley between the

¹³ Harl. MSS.

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hill and Sodbury, anxiously awaiting some certain information about them.

At length, soon after three in the morning, he obtained correct intelligence, that they were on the high road to Gloucester, thro Bardsley. He summoned an immediate council of war, to determine whether he should try to arrest their passage over the Severn at Gloucester, or Tewkesbury. But it was clear, that they must be at Gloucester before he could reach it. He therefore dispatched trusty messengers to the son of lord Beauchamp, who held the castle of Gloucester for him, commanding him to defend it faithfully, and assuring him, that he was following them with a speed that must soon overtake them. His message got into Gloucester in time to save it. The queen soon presented her forces before it. They had marched all the night and morning to surprise it. Their friends in it were numerous, and they projected either to have defended it against the king, or to have passed thro it into Herefordshire, where Pembroke from Wales, and all their friends from Cheshire and Lancashire, on whom they much depended, could have joined them, with numbers that they thought would be irresistible.¹⁴

Hence, on Friday morning, the 3rd of May, at ten o'clock, they reached the gates of Gloucester, and demanded admission. The governor, knowing of the king's pursuit, repressed their adherents in the town, manned the walls, and refused to surrender. They menaced the town with an assault. But he calculated, that they would not venture on that, with the king on their rear, and was not intimidated. The queen's leaders then held a hasty council. Their sagacious movement was defeated. It was manifest, that there was not time to spare for an attempt to take the town by storm; and that it would be wiser to proceed,

¹⁴ Harl. MSS.

without resting, to Tewkesbury, where they would find an unobstructed passage. The decision was judicious, and they continued their course to that place, which they reached about four in the afternoon on the same day.

But they had now marched, in that day and the night before, thirty-six miles, without rest, in a foul country, all thro lanes and stoney ways, and among woods, without any good refreshing, and most of them on foot: so that when they entered this town they were so exhausted by want of sleep and food, and by fatigue, that they could proceed no further. The horses and horsemen were as weary as the infantry. All demanded refreshment and repose. The queen, as a woman, looking first for safety and escape, desired to put the river between her and her indefatigable adversary. But to this it was objected, that if he was so near, to cross the river would be of no avail. If they were able to pass it, he could also follow: and for him to attack them when disordered, and only more wearied by the movement, was to make them his more certain prey. It was wiser to take a strong position where they were, and to recruit themselves for a combat that was now inevitable, than to take dastardly measures that would unman their spirits, destroy their unanimity, discourage their adherents, and but facilitate their destruction. It was impossible now to proceed without fighting; and they had only to prepare to give the battle in the way most advantageous to themselves.¹⁵

There seems nothing unsound or treacherous in this decision. Baffled at Gloucester, and so closely pursued, they were pushed to a necessity of fighting for their own safety; and, being superior in numbers, a strong position was better, in their state, than a

¹⁵ Harl. MSS.

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passable river. This position was chosen with great judgment. It was a large field in an inclosure, even with the extremity of the town. The houses and the abbey were behind them; in front and upon every side, were muddy lanes and deep ditches, with many hedges, besides hills and valleys. It was a place "as right evil to approach as could well have been devised." Here they pitched their camp, procured the refreshments they needed, and with due precautions provided for a restoring repose.

Edward, on the same morning, had early advanced his banners, divided his host into three battalions, sent off outriders and scourers on every side, and thus, in fair array, with his ordnance following, took his line of pursuit thro the campaign country, called Cotteswold. His infantry were about 3000: the rest were cavalry. It was a very hot day; but he felt, like Bonaparte at Eckmul and Ulm, that the success he aimed at depended as much upon legs as upon arms; and he marched straight forward, on the nearest line to Tewkesbury, without intermission, as he rightly supposed they would be driven to this point. His people found, in all their way, neither horse meat nor man's meat, nor even drink for their animals, except at one small brook, which their carriages soon spoil. But the king allowed no rest. He kept by this means within six or seven miles of his opponents, with the advantage of marching thro an open country, while they were forcing their way thro woods. He reached Cheltenham, as they got to Tewkesbury. He soon learnt that they were taking the field, and had determined to give battle. Tho his men had travelled above thirty miles that day, he permitted them only to wait to share what victuals he had brought with him, and set forward immediately to Tewkesbury; and pursuing his usual plan, of placing himself at night as

near his enemy as possible, he lodged his army within three miles of their encampment.¹⁶

It was an anxious night to all, but especially to the queen and her son, then a prince of great promise, in his seventeenth year. Her friends were sanguine, brave, zealous, and more numerous: but it was their last stake: a crown—death—or an imprisonment for life, were the alternatives in prospect: the most brilliant advantages of life, or its bitterest misfortunes. Edward was inferior in force: as she believed, in right—but when had Edward failed? A mysterious fortune seemed to hang about his sword, which always gave it the triumph. Would it now desert him? With the aid of her lords, she had prospered against others at Ludlow, at St. Albans, and at Wakefield: but she had never beaten him. Did it suit the plans of Providence to give the crown to her persecutor, or to her husband and herself? The house of Lancaster had indeed usurped the diadem, but it had worn it for three reigns. Was it now to lose it for ever? Such were the recollections that made the dreadful night of suspense and alarm still more gloomy. All was fearful and uncertain. Margaret could not partake the confidence of her friends, and awaited the terrible dawn that was advancing, with a solicitude that nothing could appease.

As soon as light appeared, Edward arranged his army into three divisions. He gave the van to Gloucester, ever desiring to be the foremost; he led himself the centre; and appointed his queen's brother, the marquis Dorset, and lord Hastings, to conduct the rear. He then displayed his banners, blew up his trumpets, and marched straight upon his antagonists. The duke of Somerset and his brother took the command of the most advanced division of the Lancas-

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Saturday,
May 4.
1471.
Battle of
Tewkes-
bury.

¹⁶ Harl. MSS.

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trians; the prince, with the martial prior, and lord Wenlock, were stationed in the centre; and the earl of Devon was appointed to the rear. The queen, with her son, rode about the field animating her partisans, and promising the most lavish rewards: and the combat soon began.¹⁷

Edward saw that his opponents were "in a marvellous strong ground, right difficult to be assailed." But he directed Gloucester to attack. The duke found, in the front of their field, such protecting lanes and deep dikes, with so many hedges, trees, and bushes, that he could not break into their lines, so as to come hand to hand; he, therefore, ordered up the artillery, and directed it with accompanying flights of arrows so fiercely on Somerset's position, and with such heavy loss to him, as to provoke or compel him to become himself the assailant. Somerset determined upon a flank movement on his enemies; and by certain paths, which he had before surveyed, but which were to the king's party unknown, rushed on the king's centre, with so violent an assault, so unlooked for from that quarter, that he drove it to a distance from the lines up a hill, that was near them. Charging then the duke of Gloucester's division, he pressed that with equal advantage, and seemed to have begun the accomplishment of a certain victory.

But the military judgment of Edward had taken one precautionary measure, from which he now reaped an unexpected benefit. He had observed a wood near his enemies' lines; and supposing they might plant a body in ambush within it, he had chosen out 200 spearmen, and placed them in a mass, about a quarter of a mile from the field, with a charge to watch that corner of the wood, and with a discretion, if no danger issued from it, to act as occasion should suggest to them would be most expedient.

¹⁷ Harl. MSS.

The Lancastrians did not occupy the wood as he had anticipated, and perhaps, by not doing so, had neglected an advantage. But this party finding no employment from that quarter, and observing the duke of Somerset's successes, saw an opportunity of acting upon the flank of his forces, of which they speedily availed themselves; for while Edward was rallying on Somerset, they charged aside upon the duke's rear, and threw it into confusion by an assault as unforeseen as unintelligible.

Sudden movements frequently decide battles, because no remedy as immediate is thought of or can be applied. The king gave no time for recollection; he pressed vigorously on; and the Lancastrian division was in disorder, and from disorder turned into flight, before Somerset could stop the panic, or make any other movement to prevent its consequences. They fled into the park, into the meadow, into the lanes and the ditches, wherever they thought it likely to escape the danger. The king, with his accustomed energy, rushed from them upon prince Edward's centre, which, shaken by the confusion of the foremost battalions, soon gave way to his determined attack. Gloucester and Hastings exerted themselves to complete the ruin. The Lancastrians broke in every part; many were drowned in a mill-stream in the meadow; many sought refuge in the church, the abbey, and the town. Somerset, thinking, perhaps justly, that Wenlock did not properly support him, is stated to have cloven his head with a battle-axe — an insane act of resentment, which left the centre battalions without a leader. The prince was taken as flying towards the town, and was slain in the field.¹⁸

¹⁸ Harl. MSS. It is important to remark, that this authentic MS. not only gives no sanction to the popular tale of Edward's calling the prince before him, rebuking him for his opposition, and striking him for his answer, and of Gloucester and Clarence stabbing him; but declares, that he was slain in the field. Another author, still in MS., Bernard Andreas, who wrote the Life of Henry VII. in 1509,

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The earl of Devon also fell, with several gentlemen. No victory could be more complete.

The king went immediately to the abbey, and, before the high altar, returned thanks for the momentous event to its Great Giver; and, with the true feelings of a royal heart and Christian spirit, generously granted a free pardon to all who had taken refuge in the church and abbey. It was the only sincere mark of his gratitude to Heaven that he could then display; and it was creditable to his magnanimity, that he suffered no human passions to prevent it.

But he soon checked the noble emotions of his instinctive nature, and allowed a base-minded policy, or baser persuasions from the self-interest of others, who looked only to attainders and confiscations, to degrade him to the meanest act of dishonorable cruelty of which a sovereign could be guilty. He forfeited his royal word, and recalled his forgiveness. He appointed the dukes of Gloucester and Norfolk, as a military tribunal, to determine on the fate of those he had pardoned; and these judges, without mercy, two days afterwards, when all the tumultuous agitations of the day had subsided, coolly doomed them to immediate execution. The duke of Somerset was among the number. The prior of St. John's, and fourteen other knights and gentlemen, were beheaded with him, in the market-place of Tewkesbury. This lesson of cruelty and breach of promise in Edward, was not lost on his brother, whom he made its ex-

about thirty-eight years after this battle, and in the highest style of compliment to this Lancastrian king, speaking of the death of this young prince, tho he abuses Richard most zealously for his other crimes, yet does not hint that Richard had stabbed the son of Margaret. On the contrary, his words imply, like the present author's, that he fell in the battle. His expressions are, "Is enim ante Bernardi campum in Theoxberye prælio, *belligerens* ceciderat." Dom. A 10. p. 145. The extract from the Chronicle of Tewkesbury, copied by Stowe, mentions, that the prince was slain in the field of Gaston, beside Tewkesbury. Harl. MSS. 545. p. 102.

cutioner; and his own children were destined to be victims of the same vices, from this brother's hands.

The unhappy Margaret had retired to a religious house in the neighbourhood, when the sanguinary conflict began, but was discovered soon after its determination. Edward moved, on the 11th of May, to Coventry to proceed against the numerous bodies that were rising in the North, whom her unfortunate friends were so rapidly marching to join, when Edward's celerity had arrested them; but the news of his decisive victory occasioned them to disperse, from their own prudence. The queen was brought to him at Coventry, and was ordered into imprisonment at the Tower. The earl of Northumberland came there to assure him that all was now tranquil. But these tidings were immediately followed by others from the South, that a new assailant had started up, whom neglect might make formidable.¹⁹ What he attempted shewed the wisdom of Edward's activity; for if delay had permitted all these hostile parties to have acted in concert, no exertions, in the hesitating state of the country, might have been sufficient to have preserved him.

Warwick had commissioned the illegitimate son of lord Falconbridge to keep and watch the channel. He became an active cruiser; and, co-operating with the Lancastrians in Kent, he found himself at the head of 16,000 or 17,000 men; and with these, on the 12th of May, eight days after the battle of Tewkesbury, appeared before the walls of London, and demanded the release of king Henry. So many persons in the capital were disposed to favour his attempt, that an earnest express was sent to Edward, urging his immediate presence. The servants and appren-

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Falcon-
bridge at-
tacks Lon-
don,
May 12.

¹⁹ According to the Tewkesbury Chronicle, Lady Anne was taken with her. Harl. MSS. No. 545. p. 102.

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tices of the city, for the sake of plunder, were ready for an insurrection; and the king was informed that to repress this new enemy, he would need a greater force than he had yet employed since his landing. As this required time to collect, he sent, without delay, on the 14th of May, a well selected body of 1500 men, with the ablest commanders, to act till he came; and two days afterwards, he left Coventry, searching on all sides for succor.

The mayor and aldermen closing their gates against Falconbridge, he withdrew to Kingston, to see what measures would be most efficient for his object. He was a man of great talent and enterprise; but he found that the victory of Tewkesbury had decided the mind of the country, and that the nobility and gentry were now preparing to join the king in great numbers. His object of restoring Henry, was therefore unattainable; but he had an army that must be gratified by plunder, and he resolved to force the metropolis for that purpose, and then sail away to regions where he might enjoy the booty. With this desperate plan, he collected his ships and men, rowed down to London, and cannonaded it with great violence. The citizens were as active with their artillery. The partisan, now aiming to be the robber, set fire to London bridge, then a street of houses; and dividing his host into two parts, attacked the city at Aldgate and at Bishopsgate. His guns caused the gates and adjoining mansions to be in flames, and 300 houses were involved in conflagration. But the defenders filled the streets with artillery, and he could not force the passage. Many knights and noblemen, from Essex and other parts, joined in the defence; and lord Rivers, who commanded the Tower, making a vigorous sally from a postern gate, while the mayor and nobility issued from another, the assailants were

driven to the water-side, and to their shipping, as the city was burning in three places.²⁰

Falconbridge, by the 17th of May, had collected them again on Blackheath; but when he found that Edward was swiftly marching towards him, with numbers increasing as he came, he moved leisurely thro Kent, to collect the means of a struggle with the king himself.

Edward entered London on the 21st of May, with 30,000 men; such was the effect of his great successes. He knighted the mayor and aldermen, with others, who had so bravely defended the city; but as Falconbridge was too active, and Kent too full of combustible materials to be left unguarded, he stayed only one day in London, and on the next, went with his whole army towards Canterbury.²¹

Falconbridge moved towards Sandwich, where forty-seven ships obeyed his commands, and he fortified the town with great strength. But, when he learnt that the king had reached Canterbury, with a force so overpowering, he determined to use his means of offence only to obtain a pardon; and therefore sent to Edward, at that city, offering to deliver up all the ships and army, on the terms of grace and forgiveness. A long deliberation followed in the royal council, on this subject. Vindictive policy suggested punishment; but the resolution of Falconbridge was known; his means were yet great, and despair would make them greater; and having the command of the sea, and the possession of a haven, he could take all the chances of battle, and work all its mischief, and yet escape to produce new disquiets elsewhere. It was rightly deemed wiser to convert such an enemy into an ally; and the duke of Gloucester was sent to receive his submission, and assure

²⁰ Harl. MSS.²¹ Ibid.

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Falcon-
bridge sur-
renders.

his forgiveness. On the 26th of May, he delivered up all his vessels and the town²²; and thus ended the eventful struggles which attended Edward's restoration. In the short space of eleven weeks, from an exile he had become a king, tho his means had been scanty, the population generally hesitating or adverse, and the existing government and its friends always opposing him with superior forces and zealous adherents.

The great consumption of human life in these numerous conflicts, and their widely diffusing calamities, strike painfully our imagination; and notwithstanding the attractions of their daring courage and vast exertions, excite our condemning sympathy. But it is a relief to the reason, if not to the heart, to consider, that as it is the violent and most impassioned, on both sides, who chiefly begin and uphold these contests, it is always they who press the foremost to grasp their advantages, to fight their battles, and to perish in their slaughter. The dying or disabled are usually those who volunteer to their fate, or who have been most instrumental in producing it; and bear no proportion to the more peaceful myriads, and sometimes millions, who, by taking no active part for either of the contending competitors, escape the personal miseries which every warring partisan confronts or participates; and who continue to enjoy that prolongation of life and tranquillity, that flow of social comfort, and domestic happiness; that approving conscience, and that applauding Heaven, which principally contribute to our earthly beatitude. They who perish, suffer by their own choosing and spontaneous agency; while the humbler, the gentler, and the calmer; the more moderate, and the more contented; the religious, the better-reasoning, the

²² At Michaelmas following he was beheaded. "His head was yesterday set upon London bridge, looking into Kent-ward." Fenn, vol. ii. p. 82.

less-interested, and the unambitious, decline both the prizes and the perils of scenes, so impossible to reconcile with philosophy, or its diviner queen—unperverted Christianity. The benevolent taste will, indeed, regret, that even the violent, the restless, the vindictive, the proud, and the mercenary, should so torment and destroy each other; sacrificing an existence which they cannot renew, and daring consequences which no mortal can either calculate or avert: but as every man may abstain from being any one of these characters, it is better for society, that they who choose to wield the homicidal weapons should be the principal victims. War is an evil so great, and its slaughter so abominable, that it would never outlive the flattery that disguises its deformities, nor the patronage that recommends it, if the rational would cease to praise it, and parents to value it as a profession. Wiser modes of arranging national disputes would be then adopted by statesmen, and national prosperity would flourish more uninterruptedly by the change. War has destroyed more kingdoms than it has saved, and will always produce far greater evils than it can prevent.

During these transactions, king Henry died in the Tower, so early on the 22nd of May, as that his body was on that day exhibited in St. Paul's churchyard.²³ Popular belief, excited by the partisans of Henry VII., apparently sanctioned by the violent death of Edward V., and perpetuated by the genius of Shakspear, has charged the duke of Gloucester with his murder.

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Henry's
death,
May 22.
1471;

²³ Stowe's transcript of Master Fleetwood's book dates Henry's death the 23rd of May. His extract from Master Bell's book places it on the 22nd of May, with these particulars: "F dominical and Wednesday, the vigill and even of the Ascension, from the Toure of London he was brought deade throughe London, openly, while upon the Friday next after was had and carried unto th' Abbey of Chetttsey, where he lyeth buryed." MSS. Harl. No. 545. p. 134. Fabian also mentions, that on the eve of Ascension-day his body was brought from the Tower to St. Paul's church, thro the high street of the city. P. 505. As Easter-day was, in that year, on the 14th of April, Ascension-day must have been on the 23d of May, as in the years 1805 and 1816, and its eve was the 22nd.

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not killed
by Glou-
cester.

Modern doubters have questioned the justness of this imputation; and as the manuscript documents, quoted in this History, enable us to judge of it more soundly, we will attempt, with these before us, an impartial discrimination of the probable truth.

Edward left Coventry on the 16th of May, and did not arrive at London till Tuesday the 21st.²⁴ He stayed but one day in the metropolis, and went with all his army in pursuit of Falconbridge.²⁵ Gloucester had come with him to London, and departed with him into Kent, and after conducting the negotiations with Falconbridge, received the submission of this dangerous partisan on the 26th of May. On the only day that Edward stayed in London, he had to await and receive the congratulations of the metropolis, to welcome his nobility, to confer with his counsellors, to take refreshments himself, to station and supply his accompanying army, and to provide the necessaries, and make the arrangements, for their immediate advance into Kent. In all these deeds and preparations of state, council, festivity, and war, Gloucester was a principal person; and must have been as much employed as the king, during the only day that both were in London: and this was the day on the morning of which Henry died, if Edward stayed in the city all the 22nd: but as they remained there only one day, and arrived on the 21st, the natural import of the words would seem to be, that the march into Kent was begun on the 22nd²⁶: but whether Edward and his brother quitted London on the day of Henry's death, or early the next morning,

²⁴ Harl. MSS. This writer gives the day of the week, which shews the date of 21st May to be correct.

²⁵ The words of the MSS. are, "The king, incontinent, after his coming to London, tarried *but one day*, and went, with his whole army, after his said traitors, into Kent."

²⁷ Edward was at Canterbury, with his army, on May 25. To have marched 70 miles, with all his military apparatus, by that time, makes it probable that he left London on the 22nd.

there does not seem to have been time for the perpetration of such an useless crime. It must be also remembered that Gloucester was then but eighteen years of age — a time of life when a prince is not likely to be an assassin; and all the exigencies were over that could have tempted him to be so. The presence of so many noblemen as now came to congratulate Edward, and the joyous movements of the pleased population, at his arrival from two great fields of decisive victory, increase the improbability, that a high-spirited youth, whom all were praising and applauding for his leading share of the triumphs, should have been either willing or able to have broke from all this bustle, acclamation, pomp, business, friends, and following crowds, to go into the Tower to commit the murder. At such a time he could have gone no where obscurely. The public eye of soldiers, nobility, or people, must have been upon him all that single day which he passed in the metropolis. The incredibility of the tale is augmented by the circumstance, that queen Margaret had been brought up with Edward to London, and was at this very crisis lodged in the Tower. That the second most honored person in the kingdom should, amid the feelings of general gratulation, have committed the savage butchery of killing a husband, in the presence or immediate vicinity of his wife, is not to be credited without evidence the most manifest. But the Tower was at this moment under the military command of lord Rivers, one of the most gallant and applauded characters of that age of chivalry; between whom, as the queen's brother, and Richard, there always existed a political jealousy: and, therefore, it is not probable that Richard would, under his eye, have committed an act repulsive to the feelings of all men; and which Rivers would have most indignantly censured, and if apprized of the intention, would have

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resisted. Hence we may consider this contemporary account as the true one: that Henry was so shocked at the tidings of the death of his son, the irretrievable defeats, and loss of his friends, and the captivity of his queen, that his frame sank under the effect of the sudden communication.²⁷ He had been frequently shaken by illness before: and his meek and kind temper had an affectionate sensibility, which sorrow without remedy, and despair without hope, occurring in an unexpected accumulation, may have fatally overpowered. At eighteen, Richard could not have formed designs on the crown, with Edward in full health, only thirty years of age, and having frequent children; and with an elder brother, also married, to precede him. Both of these were more interested to destroy Henry than he was. Yet it is not likely, that either of them would have chosen or could have used such a moment for such a purpose.²⁸

²⁷ This writer says, of the late disasters of Henry's family and friends, "The certainty of all which came to the knowledge of the said Henry, being in the Tower, not having afore that, knowledge of the said matters. He took it to so great despite, ire, and indignation, that of pure displeasure and melancholy, he died." Harl. MSS. This author's work shews that he wrote it while Edward IV. was alive, and about this very time; for he says, "Thus was finished the re-entry of our sovereign lord Edward IV. With the help of Almighty God, which from his beginning *hitherto* hath not failed him, *in short time* he shall appease his subjects through all his royalmes, that peace and tranquillity shall grow and multiply in the same, from day to day." Harl. MSS. p. 48.

²⁸ The suspicion, or belief, of some of the old writers, that he was murdered, may have had some foundation, without our referring it to Gloucester or to Edward. His unfortunate reign had been productive of such calamities to many, that there could be no deficiency of furious spirits, in that vindictive age, who would desire to gratify their resentments by his blood. His friend Blackman mentions two facts, which seem to be of this description. One man struck him a violent blow on his neck with a weapon, meaning to have dashed out his brains, or to have beheaded him. The mild king bore it patiently, and only exclaimed, "Forsooth, forsooth, you do foully to smite so a king anointed." p. 301. Another person, while he was in the Tower, stabbed him in the side, and then, thinking he had killed him, fled away. This was before Henry's short restoration. During that period, this assassin was taken and brought to the king on his throne, who was then convalescent, and who immediately pardoned him. p. 302. As this last attack, from its being mentioned that Henry was then only getting well, could have occurred but a few months before his actual death, it may be that which occasioned the notion of his being murdered. Indeed, the weakening effects of it may have contributed to his demise.

CHAP. V.

Death of CLARENCE. — Factions in EDWARD'S Court. — His Wars with France. — His Death, and Character.

EDWARD reigned about twelve years after his restoration. The principal events of this period may be arranged under four classes: The destruction of Clarence—The factions in his court—His wars with France—And, his death and personal character.

The great earl of Warwick had left his rich possessions the inheritance of his two daughters. Clarence having married the eldest in 1472, his brother Richard, the duke of Gloucester, wished the hand of Anne, the youngest. Clarence, aware that a division of the heritage must follow her nuptials, disguised and concealed her. She had been contracted, but not married, to the prince Edward, who fell at Tewkesbury¹: and Gloucester who became twenty years of age in October 1472, desired both her person and rightful fortune. He discovered her in the dress of a cook maid, and carried her to St. Martin's

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Fall of
Clarence.

¹ All our historians speak of this lady Anne, as actually married to prince Edward; and hence Shakespear's satirical scene, of Richard, the alleged murderer of her assumed husband, courting and winning her. But it is clear, from the MSS. before quoted, p. 327., that she was not actually married to the prince, when her father left France. It was an alliance required by Warwick, in July 1470, and refused by Margaret. She at last assented to it in August, not for its solemnization at that time, but only as a conditional contract. The prince *was* to marry her, if Warwick recovered the kingdom for him. But the Warwick drove out Edward in October, yet Edward, in the following March, recovered his throne; and Warwick fell, before the prince could land in the following April, to perish at Tewkesbury, on the 4th of May: so that the condition which Margaret annexed to the marriage did not take place, nor is there any contemporary account of its actual celebration; nor does there seem to have been time for it; and, with Margaret's adverse feelings, it is not likely that her son, then but sixteen, would have been allowed to shew much attention to the lady, who was, in the meantime, left under the vigilant care of the queen.

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sanctuary.² The quarrel between the brothers, on this subject, occasioned the king to remonstrate with Clarence, who forgot both equity and his own honor so far as to say, "He may have my lady sister-in-law, if he will; but we will part no livelihood."³ Richard married her, tho apparently with some informality⁴; and the pecuniary struggle between him and Clarence ended, in 1474, in an act of parliament, partitioning the inheritances of the ladies between them, and giving the husbands a life interest in the shares of their wives, if they survived them.⁵ The chronicler of the day marks the dissension as an incurable affair.⁶

Three years afterwards, a personal difference arose between Clarence and the king, which ended in a catastrophe that has disgraced Edward's memory. The duke, by degrees, began to withdraw from the king's festive parties, council and court. He was supposed to be affronted at the resumption of some grants. But a more important cause of dissension arose. Clarence becoming a widower, his sister Margaret, with whom he was the favorite, projected to unite him with the heiress of Burgundy.⁷ The queen desired this great match for her own brother, lord Rivers⁸; and Edward jealous that Clarence should become possessed of so much power as the dukedom of Burgundy would give him, opposed the alliance with him. Each began to look upon the

² Croyl. p. 557.³ Fenn, vol. ii. p. 92.

⁴ I infer the irregularity from the statute, expressing the possibility, "If they should be hereafter divorced, and, after the same, be lawfully married;" also, "If divorced, and, after that, he do effectual diligence and continual devolv, by all convenient and lawful means, to be lawfully married to the said Anne, and during her life be not wedded to any other woman." Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 101.

⁵ Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 100, 101. This partition reduced the fortune of the widowed countess of Warwick to a small jointure. One of the last things we hear of her is, that she was conveyed northward, out of Beverley sanctuary, by sir James Tyrrel, who became so notorious under Richard III., "men say, by the king's assent, whereto some men say, that the duke of Clarence is not agreed." Fenn, vol. ii. p. 145.

⁶ Croyl. p. 557.⁷ Ibid.⁸ Hall, p. 327.

other with no fraternal aspect : and Clarence, unable to contain his resenting feelings, took the occasion of Burdett, one of his esquires, being condemned for necromancy and treason, to assert the man's innocence, before the great council of the kingdom. The king, yielding to his suspicions and indignation, summoned him to appear to a charge of treason against himself, and arrested him. The painful debate was agitated in the ensuing parliament and the discussion was personal and public. The king forgot nature and decorum so far as himself to arraign Clarence, and Clarence answered his brother. Witnesses came forward, who seemed rather to act the part of accusers than evidence. The duke offered personal combat.⁹ But the parliament pronounced him guilty of high treason, on a strange medley of charges.¹⁰ His execution was ordered, and the duke of Buckingham was appointed to superintend it.¹¹ But this was delayed, perhaps from better feelings emerging in Edward's mind, till the speaker of the commons came to the house of lords, to require it to take place.¹² On the 17th of February 1478, his death occurred¹³, in private. Its mode was concealed¹⁴; but the opinion prevailed, that he was drowned in a

⁹ Croyl. p. 558.

¹⁰ The act of attainder in 1477, after mentioning the previous conduct which the king had forgiven, accused him of contriving the destruction of the king and his issue, and to subvert the government; of causing his servants to sow sedition; of giving his retainers money to assemble the people, and feast them with venison dinners, and to persuade them that his esquire Burdett had been wrongfully put to death; of saying that the king poisoned his subjects by necromancy; of declaring, *that the king was illegitimate*, from the incontinency of his mother, and had taken his livelihood from him, and intended to consume him as a candle perishes in burning; of inducing several of the king's subjects to swear fealty to himself; and of attempting to get a strange child into his castle, to pass for his son. Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 193—195.

¹¹ This appears from the commission, dated February 7. 1478, which, after reciting the conviction of Clarence, and that justice was a virtue of the Most High, which the king was bound to follow, first, for his own security; secondly, for the defence of the church; and thirdly, for the public good,—appoints the duke of Buckingham seneschal, for the execution of the judgment." Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 195.

¹² Croyl. p. 562.

¹³ Fab. p. 510.

¹⁴ Croyl. p. 562.

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butt of malmsey wine.¹⁵ That he was one of the idols of the populace¹⁶, may have hastened his fate. The king, when the act was irreparable, felt that he had killed a brother; and endeavored to ease his convicting conscience by inculcating others. Whenever any one sued to him for the pardon of another, he would exclaim, "O unfortunate brother! for whose life not one creature would make intercession!"¹⁷ It was a crime of jealousy and resentment which was aggravated by the legal charges that attempted to vindicate it. But his condemnation by the parliament involves both the houses in the production of his death.

It has been usual with our historians to impute the destruction of Clarence to the machinations of his brother, the duke of Gloucester; on whom, after the accession of Henry VII. it became fashionable to charge every crime. But there are grounds on which it may be ascribed to a very different party. There is a record, which speaks, at this time, of great differences¹⁸ between Clarence and the queen's brother, lord Rivers. His confiscated estates were chiefly given to Rivers¹⁹; and the wardship and marriage of his heir were granted to the queen's son, marquis of Dorset.²⁰ So that the persons who immediately profited by his death, were not so much Gloucester or his friends, as the queen's party, their great political antagonists. Besides the queen's efforts to gain the heiress of Burgundy for her brother Rivers, it is also to be remarked, that the act of attainder charges

¹⁵ Comines, vol. i. p. 65., Fabian, p. 510., Hall, p. 326., and Grafton, p. 742., mention this fate.

¹⁶ Croyland says, that on Clarence's death, "all the idols were now exterminated, on which the eyes of the people, ever desirous of novelty, were accustomed to be turned." Croyl. p. 562. Warwick and Clarence were idols of this sort, and hence the royal jealousy of the latter.

¹⁷ Hall, p. 326.; and Croyland says, "*sapissimè pœnitens facti.*" p. 562.

¹⁸ "*Grandia gravamina.*" Cal. Rot. Pat. 18 Ed. IV. p. 323.

¹⁹ Cal. Rot. p. 323. Tho a few were given to lord Howard, and Gloucester. Ib.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 325, 326.

Clarence with purposing treason against the queen and her son, and also against the greater part of the nobles of this land.²¹ If the queen did not destroy him, she at least did not interfere to save him; and, as her influence with Edward was persuasive to the last, Gloucester was not more implicated than she was, in not becoming his intercessor. But as Clarence was opposed in his wishes by her and her brother, and had been deprived of part of the king's grants to him, it is probable that he was becoming hostile to the family interest of her relations, and may have been a victim to their vindictive policy.

The factions in the court and councils of Edward, from his restoration to his grave, embittered his own peace, insured new commotions to the nation, and produced the destruction of his own dynasty. Pursuing a wise object in an unwise manner, he continued his plan to emancipate the crown from the control of the aristocracy, by the steady elevation of the queen's family. As the great families of Warwick and Somerset, who had commanded the west and north of England, had fallen in the civil war²², the main impediment to his wishes seemed removed. But other nobles had arisen, with the same opposing feelings on this subject, in their stead: and Hastings, Buckingham, Stanley, Howard, and others, were nearly as proud and aspiring, tho less formidable, than the Warwicks, Salisburys, and Montagues had been. But the dread of Edward's military exploits kept every one from revolt; and he thought, by inviting the heads of both parties to his court, and by sharing the bounties of the crown between them, he could ensure a peaceful reign, and appease their animosities. This policy procured a temporary paci-

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Divided
state of
Edward's
court.

²¹ Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 193. That it was "kindled and set afire by the queen and her blood," is one of Hall's suppositions. P. 326.

²² Comines, vol. i. p. 65.

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fication, while he held the sceptre; but left all the angry passions boiling in their breasts, and waiting the season of a safe explosion. Envy, jealousy, and ambition, never forgive. Favors nourish, but do not satisfy them. Continual strifes arose to produce increased hatred; and this fixed a mutual fear and distrust in all. The feuds were at one time so high, that the king arrested his favorite Hastings, on some quarrel with Rivers, and sent him to the Tower, where that nobleman daily expected his death warrant.²³ That a great hostility had long existed between this nobleman and the queen's family, is emphatically declared by a contemporary of consideration.²⁴ A long and wiser life might have cemented the two parties; but Edward's premature death, while their competitions and mistrust were in full vigor, only ensured the calamities that soon pursued his own children and the queen's relations. He left these, and the ancient nobility, in the state of as complete a struggle for life and death, as had formerly existed between his own family interest and the house and friends of Lancaster.²⁵

His hostilities with France.

The reign and deceitful policy of Louis XI. had diminished the power of the great vassals of the French monarchy; and gradually raised the crown to a superiority and effective influence, and increasing

²³ Sir Thomas More mentions, that he had been accused to Edward by Rivers, the queen's brother. p. 206.

²⁴ Croyl. p. 565. He describes himself as one of the king's privy councillors, a doctor in canon law, and one of the commissioners sent to recover Calais in 1471. p. 557.

²⁵ It is gratifying, amid the bloodshed of Edward's reign, to recollect, that, during its latter part, the ART OF PRINTING was introduced into England, and the first printing-press established in Westminster, by W. Caxton. The precise year cannot be determined; but it was between 1471 and 1477. The first book from his press, which has the year and place of printing subjoined, was the one of lord Rivers, mentioned hereafter. This is dated 1477. The connexion of great events with common incidents is curious. It was the marriage of Edward's sister that occasioned Caxton to go to Burgundy, as part of her suite; and there he became acquainted with this invaluable art, then recently discovered: so that Margaret's nuptials led to the first establishment of printing in England. The tale of the archbishop Bourchier's introducing it, is neither believed nor authenticated.

command, which it never lost in that country till the revolution of the last century. Louis had surmounted or defeated every confederacy against it, when, in 1473, Edward appeared earnest for an invasion of France. He stated his intentions from the throne. Many eloquent orations were spoken in parliament to excite the warlike fever. The national pulse began to beat with accordant emotion; 13,000 archers, and liberal subsidies, were granted. The new financial measure of requested benevolences, or voluntary contributions, produced a full exchequer.²⁶ A peace, to secure the northern borders, was completed with Scotland²⁷; and arrangements for his co-operation were settled with headstrong Burgundy, on whose supporting movements the brilliancy of the expected success would depend. The high road to his new temple of fame thus prepared, in June 1475, Edward passed over to Calais, and entered France with a splendid and powerful army, glowing with English vigor, and confident hope.²⁸

But happily for France, the final achievement depended on Burgundy's zealous concurrence; and this brave, restless, ambitious, but arrogant, unteachable, presumptuous, and untractable duke, had at this juncture embroiled himself, unnecessarily, with the Germans, and was unwisely besieging the petty town of Nuz, near Cologne, as a step in the prosecution of his

²⁶ Croyl. 558. Parl. Rolls, vol. ix. p. 4.

²⁷ After the feeble effort made by the Scots to assist Margaret, in 1463, her defeat at the battle of Hexham, occasioned a truce between the two countries, to be made in 1464, for fifteen years, which was afterwards prolonged to 1519. Commissioners were appointed, in the interval, to adjust the differences which arose from the conflicts of the borderers; and in 1474, a contract of marriage was settled between James, the prince of Scotland, and Cecilia, the youngest daughter of Edward IV., both children, which did not take effect. Henry's Hist. Engl. vol. ix. Pinkert. Hist. Scotl. vol. i.

²⁸ Croyl. p. 558. Comines mentions, that he was attended by the flower of the English nobility, being 1500 persons, in full armor, and each with several horsemen in their retinue; 15,000 archers on horseback, and a great number of infantry, with artillery. There was not one useless person in the army; and 3000 men besides were to have been landed in Bretagne. Vol. i. p. 329.

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great projects of aggrandizement²⁹, when England's gallant army appeared on the plains of France. The duke hated Louis XI. and had engaged to co-operate with Edward; but his pride could not submit to meet him as the repulsed assailant of an inconsiderable fortification, and he persisted in his attacks upon it, altho its resolute and successful defence baffled all his exertions. In vain Edward twice sent lord Rivers to intreat him to raise the siege. In vain the apostolic legate, and the king of Denmark, endeavored to negotiate a peace between the duke and the emperor. His answer was, that his honor rested upon the capture of the place, and he would listen to no other terms³⁰; but the emperor's overpowering army advancing, he was driven from the siege with disgrace³¹: and fighting the Germans soon afterwards, with an inferior force, against the advice of his best officers, he lost his bravest troops in a ruinous defeat.³²

During this infatuated conduct, Louis, who dreaded Edward's warlike talents, but knew the weaknesses of his character, and saw the complexion of his court, profited by Burgundy's absence; and by very conciliatory overtures, by the most flattering attentions, and by a profusion of costly gifts³³ to the chief lords,

²⁹ Comines says, "If he took Nuz, he meant, after capturing two or three more towns that would have blocked up Cologne, to have conquered all the country, from the Rhine to Holland." Vol. i. p. 310.

³⁰ *Ib.* p. 317.

³¹ *Ib.* p. 300. and 316. He lost 4000 soldiers at this siege. Comines, in simple language, gives the unvarnished truth, which Hall has exaggerated into a dramatic romance, in the old style of chivalry. p. 308—319.

³² *Ibid.* p. 438—440. This author, who knew him well, describes him as full of self-love and arrogance, always attributing his successes to his own wisdom and conduct: insatiably eager for fame, and ambitious to imitate the kings and heroes of antiquity; therefore always in wars, and ever forming extravagant designs. This conduct ruined his family and state. *Com.* vol. i. p. 443—446. His first victory, gained in 1465 against Louis XI. more by chance than conduct, but which he ascribed to himself, so inflated his mind, that he was never afterwards governed by any advice. *Ib.* p. 43.

³³ To the disgrace of the king's counsellors at that time, we read, that besides the 75,000 crowns paid to Edward, 16,000 more were distributed to his chancellor, master of the rolls, lord chamberlain, sir Thomas Montgomery, lord Howard, lord

and even counsellors of the king, persuaded Edward to change his warlike purposes, into a friendly negotiation. A truce for seven years, an immediate payment of 75,000 crowns, the annual remittance of 50,000 crowns to England, and an engagement from Louis, that his eldest son should marry Edward's daughter Elizabeth, formed the terms of pacification.³⁴ The conciliating annuity was for many years punctually sent³⁵; a sacrifice of policy, which, whether verbally called a tribute or a present, was meant to have the effect which it produced, of gratifying English pride, and of averting an English invasion.³⁶

This treaty laid one of the great beams of the structure of the French monarchy, that soon rapidly arose, to the astonishment, and almost to the command of Europe. Vigorous hostilities would have disabled Louis XI. from pursuing or profiting by the

1480.

Cheney, marquis Dorset, and others. To lord Howard, besides his pension, Louis gave, in two years, above 24,000 crowns in money and plate; and to lord Hastings, at one time, 1000 marcs in plate, and a pension of 2000 crowns a year, being double of what he had before taken from Burgundy. Com. l. 6. c. 2. vol. ii. p. 6, 7. This author, who was Louis's agent in some of these transactions, affirms, that Edward's "lord chamberlain, chancellor, admiral, master of the horse, and several other great lords of England, were at the same time pensioners to the king of France." *Ib.* Few sovereigns have bribed the ministers of their enemies with more publicity than Louis on this occasion. The moral coquetry of Hastings, in taking his pension, but refusing to give the French ambassador a receipt for it, is curious. He said, "If you wish me to receive it, you may put it into my sleeve; but you shall have neither letter nor acquittance for it, from me." *Com. ib.* He was, perhaps, afraid of furnishing a legal document for a future impeachment. The others gave their receipts, "which," Comines adds, "are still to be seen in the chamber of accounts at Paris." *Ib.*

³⁴ The public papers on this treaty are in Rymer, vol. xii. p. 14—20. The 50,000 crowns were to be paid in London, at Easter and Michaelmas, and the bank of the *Medicis* guaranteed the payment. p. 20. Louis also paid 50,000 crowns for the ransom of queen Margaret; and on the 13th November 1475, she was released, and sent to France. Thus, after above thirty years of harassed greatness and vicissitudes, returning to the private life from which she had been taken.

³⁵ Rymer has printed the regular discharges for this payment, up to Easter 1482. The last receipt is dated 25th August. p. 136.

³⁶ Edward's army reached Calais, in its return from this expedition, on the 4th September 1475; and on the 11th September, began to cross the sea to England. Paston's Letters, vol. v. p. 113. Comines remarks of Louis XI. that he understood breaking and dividing of leagues better than any prince he ever knew. He spared neither money nor pains, and applied them to both ministers and masters. p. 119. He allowed the English to call his pension, a tribute. *Com. p. 6.*

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progressive encroachments of his crafty policy ; and have rescued Burgundy and Bretagne from that advancing absorption, which this pacification accelerated and ensured. Some, both in the council and parliament, urged Edward into a vigorous interposition.³⁷ But seduced by his love of enjoyment, and interested friends³⁸, into inaction, the provinces of these two dukedoms were, by his indolent connivance, virtually surrendered to the ambition of the French king ; and the foolish and meddling restlessness of the duke of Burgundy, greedy of fame, but unable to discern the true path to it, only hastened the catastrophe which it was his dearest interest to have prevented. Plunging into needless hostilities with the Swiss, while Louis was hovering around him ever watching his day of self-sacrificing weakness, he lost, in one year, three battles, that consumed the military power of his state ; and in the last his life, when he had only a very young and unmarried daughter to succeed him. Louis availing himself of her enfeebled condition, seized immediately on several of her towns. Edward, soothed with the hope of his daughter's aggrandizement, looked on without any other interference than sending ambassadors to mediate a peace for Burgundy. Louis spoke kindly and treated them magnificently ; but instead of abstaining from the gratification of his ambition, invited Edward to share the spoil with him. Edward did not disdain the partition, but wished Picardy, which adjoined Calais, instead of Flanders and

³⁷ Comines, p. 9, 10.

³⁸ Comines' account is, " King Edward was a voluptuous prince, wholly addicted to his pleasure and ease ; and having been, in his former expeditions, reduced to great straits and necessities, he had no mind to involve himself in a new war. The 50,000 crowns being also punctually paid him, softened his heart, and hindered him from concerning himself in that affair. Besides, his ambassadors were always bribed, entertained so nobly, and left the French court so well satisfied, that no exceptions could be taken, tho the answers of Louis were always uncertain, in order to gain time, assuring them, that in a few days he would send an embassy of his own, that would satisfy their master in every point." *Ib.* p. 9.

Brabant, that had to be conquered, for his part. Louis preferred Picardy, for the same reasons which made the king of England desire it. And the heiress of Burgundy, finding herself between two plunderers, was advised to marry the archduke of Austria, to save some part of her pillaged inheritance.³⁹

In 1480, Edward demanded of Louis the solemnization of the covenanted marriage⁴⁰; and negotiated in behalf of the archduke⁴¹; and project a marriage between his heir apparent, Edward, and the heiress of Bretagne.⁴² But in 1481, doubts, too well founded, arose, whether the French king meant to fulfil this part of his contract. Edward had long been warned, that Louis was not sincere on this point. The ambassadors from the Austrian archduke, who had wedded the heiress of Burgundy, and those from Bretagne, strongly urged him to mistrust the French king, and to oppose his appropriation of Picardy.⁴³ Edward and his queen were so intent on this settlement for their daughter, that they would not question the assurances of Louis, till they received the news, that the archduke's daughter had been finally selected, that France might have a chance of inheriting the rich provinces of Burgundy. Edward's luxurious habits, by unfitting his body for war, had favored the self-delusion, and in 1482, both the pension and alliance disappeared. His indignation at the deceit and disappointment roused him to resolve on a vindictive descent on France. Parliament was appealed to, and concurred; but not venturing to solicit its

³⁹ On the distress and conduct of this princess, see Comines, vol. i. p. 452. 469.; vol. ii. p. 1—3. and 13—23. She died in the fourth year after her marriage, after a fall from her horse. P. 21.

⁴⁰ On the 24th August 1480, he appointed commissioners to make this requisition. Rym. vol. xii. p. 135.

⁴¹ In August 1481, Edward made an alliance with him, on condition of receiving from him the 50,000 crowns, if differences with Louis should suspend his payments; and he engaged to obtain of Louis a truce for the Low Countries, or to make war. Rym. vol. xii. p. 123—133. He appointed a fleet to assist. Ib. p. 135.

⁴² Rym. vol. xii. p. 172.

⁴³ Comines, vol. ii. p. 68.

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Edward
dies,
April 9.

supplies, he exerted his influence with the clergy, and their convocation made a liberal grant.⁴⁴ War-like preparations were immediately commenced; and as that revengeful irritability, which formed one of Edward's increasing vices, now governed him⁴⁵, all the desolations of an unsparring war would have overspread France, and its fierce preparations and pursuit have perverted the English mind, and checked the better tastes and studies that were beginning to enlighten and to humanize it, if the superior government of human affairs had not, by one single incident, produced a different issue. In the midst of the king's earnest attentions to collect a competent force, a disease, one of the personal results of his voluptuous life, suddenly attacked him at Easter; and on the 9th of April 1483⁴⁶, before he had completed the forty-first year of his age⁴⁷, he unexpectedly expired; exhorting his divided court, family, and cabinet council, to peace and harmony.⁴⁸ His brother Richard was at that time in the north, returning from his Scottish expedition.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ The Croyland doctor greatly regrets this concession: "O servile perniciosum exitium ecclesiae." p. 563.

⁴⁵ His immediate executions of the opposing nobility and gentry, whom he captured in his latter battles, shew his vindictive temper. Comines informs us, that it was his custom, when the victory was decided, to mount on horseback, and ride over the field, exhorting his men to save the common soldiers, but to put the gentry to the sword. p. 251. But in his battle of Towton, he ordered the common men not to be spared.

⁴⁶ Croyl. p. 564.

⁴⁷ He was born 28th April 1442. W. Wyr. p. 462. That vexation, at finding himself overreached by Louis, may have assisted to derange his health, is probable. It was then the general opinion, that it killed him. Com. p. 71. That his festivities in France had given him a tertian ague, which now turned to a quartan, with an indissoluble melancholy, and a continual cold, is mentioned by Hall, p. 338. That a surfeit, from the indulgences of a banquet, was the last immediate cause of his death, is the most credible.—Habington, p. 478.

⁴⁸ More ascribes to him a long speech on this subject. He may have expressed briefly such wishes, but not in the methodical or lengthy oration of sir Thomas. p. 158—161.

⁴⁹ Disappointed at James III. the king of Scotland's son, not marrying his daughter Cecile, and provoked by his breaking his truce, on the solicitations of Louis XI., Edward signed a treaty with James's brother, the duke of Albany, and sent Richard, in June 1482, with an army into Scotland, to place Albany on the throne, and to annul the alliance between France and Scotland. Richard invested Berwick, and marched to Edinburgh, while his fleet, under sir Robert Ratcliffe, assisted his move-

Edward had greatly desired and assiduously labored to ally his daughters with the princes of Europe⁵⁰; but his premature death frustrated all the prospects of his parental pride. Excepting Elizabeth, the eldest, who gave with herself the best title to the throne of England, they were content to take their husbands from its rival aristocracy.⁵¹

The soul of Edward IV. united the most inconsistent qualities. At times an intellectual vigor flamed within him, that transcended all his competitors. Most daring in valor, tremendous in battle, and unexampled in English history for the frequency and completeness of his victories, the numbers or characters of his opponents, even when superior to his own, seemed only to multiply his energies, and ensure his successes. Never calculating or caring for the comparison of forces, or for the fame, veteran experience, skill, or resolution of his adversaries; he fought them the moment he could reach them, whoever they were, and whatever might be their strength, or however posted — and victory, even when least probable, always came, as if enchanted, to his banner. The fields of Barnet, Towton, and Tewkesbury, and his recovery of his lost crown, are splendid instances, that neither superiority of numbers, nor able generalship, nor the opposing chances of unfavorable circumstances, availed against him. Yet, altho endowed with this extraordinary power of chaining, as it were, the fortune of war, and life's proudest greatness, to

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EDW. IV.Edward's
character.

ments. Possessed of that city, he negotiated with the Scottish prelates and nobility. It was agreed, that Berwick should be surrendered; that the money received by James for Cecile's portion should be returned; that Albany should be reinstated in his possessions, and pardoned; and that Margaret, the king of Scotland's sister, should be married to lord Rivers, the queen's brother. See the public papers in Rymer, vol. xii. p. 115, 117, 139, 140, 156—171.

⁵⁰ Besides those of Elizabeth to the dauphin, and Cecile to the Scottish prince, he commissioned persons, both in 1479 and 1482, to contract for Catherine to the infant of Spain, Rym. p. 110, and 146.; and agreed to give Anne to the son of the archduke and of the heiress of Burgundy. p. 110.

⁵¹ Cecile married viscount Wells; Anne, the duke of Norfolk; and Catherine the earl of Devonshire. Bridget became a nun.

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his standard; the paths of human slaughter, thro which only he obtained and preserved his crown, and from which worldly glory always flowed so lavishly upon him, even in his almost beardless youth, were neither his choice, his ambition, nor his taste. Tho fully equal to confront and master all the sublime horrors, and to supply all the wonderful exertions, of the most obstinate battle; and tho darting into it with eagerness, as if its storm and lightnings had been his native element, and his heart's dearest delight; yet no sooner had he secured the triumph, than, as if disdain and mocking what he had defied danger and death to acquire, the invincible hero transformed himself into the merry huntsman, or to the boon, effeminate and thoughtless reveller. The uproar and groans of war, the exulting clarions, the national shouts of wild applause, and the compliments of admiring reason, had scarcely ceased their vibrations, when he flew from pursuing fame and regal grandeur, from pomp and acclamation, from neighing steeds, blazoned shields, rejoicing trumpets, and venerating nobles, to relax and luxuriate under the greenwood trees, with the mellow horn and the sylvan echoes of the chace; or to trifle amid lutes and minstrels⁵², in jessamined bowers or stately halls, with the living rose of the human countenance, or with the pensive beauty of its absence; happier from displaying a fine person in a gaudy robe, or from the animal enjoyments of a sated palate, than from exploits and renown, which few conquerors have merited or surpassed. He had scarcely soared to the highest regions of human glory, than he chose to abase himself to the debility and vulgar level of sen-

⁵² Edward was very liberal to his minstrels. To John Clyff, "mareschal of the office of our minstrels," he gave an annuity of ten marcs, and the like sum to six other minstrels. *Parl. Rolls*, vol. vi. p. 89. His tailor had a shilling a day, and five pounds a year for his house. *Ib.* p. 87. His name implies him to have been a foreigner.—"Guillini Pault."

sual luxuriousness.⁵³ He was the ancient knight of invincible bravery, stepping down from his exalted pedestal to be the gay companion, the elegant coxcomb, and the voluptuous gentleman.⁵⁴ He neither sought nor valued power for its gorgeous state or lordly command; but because he disliked inferiority, loved to be active, and wished to be praised. He was never arrogant, presuming, nor ambitious, tho he had fought and conquered in nine pitched battles. No man ever rushed more cheerily to the conflict at the first sound of danger's trumpet, who was more delighted to forget all that he had achieved, and to throw off his coat of mail for the silken robes of peace and courtesy; becoming, as if from innate instinct, the easy, pleasing, free, enjoying, laughing, gallant, and liberal friend, lover, and associate.⁵⁵ Perhaps this combination of unexcelled valor and achievements, with all the blandishments and relaxing habits of the most indolent and refined voluptuary, tended more to dispossess the sturdy fighting spirit of ancient chivalry of its popularity, imitation and fame, than all that wisdom or religion could have devised or attempted. He made those enervating and mind-changing habits fashionable and creditable, which were inconsistent with that bravery, strength, personal vigor, habitual dexterity, and desperate courage, which were essential to the true knight of

⁵³ Comines says, he indulged himself in a larger share of ease and pleasures than any prince in his time. p. 252. Hence, perhaps, it was, that Warwick, as he says, looked on him as a very weak prince, p. 242.; and Comines deemed him a man of no great management or foresight. Ib. p. 246.

⁵⁴ He used to say that he had three concubines, who excelled in three distinct properties. One was the merriest; another the williest; the third, the holiest harlot in his kingdom. The two last were greater personages; the first was Jane Shore. More, p. 212.

⁵⁵ The account of the personal observations of Comines is, "His thoughts were wholly employed upon the ladies, on hunting and on dressing. In his summer's hunting, his custom was to have tents set up for the ladies, where he treated them after a splendid and magnificent manner." Ib. He was so devoted to his amusements, that when Warwick's invasion impended, he did not concern himself about it, but followed his hunting pleasures. More, p. 249.

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battle. And the new character suiting better the new cultivation of intellect, and emerging moral sense, that were then dawning in society, the English gentleman began to emancipate himself from the fierce spirit of the warrior, and to undervalue his barbaric taste, and sanguinary occupations.

Edward's bodily gratifications⁵⁶ ruined his health, destroyed his personal beauty⁵⁷, depressed his spirits, enervated his soul, extinguished his patriotism, degraded his reputation, and abridged his life. His last years exhibited all their deleterious effects. He allowed Louis XI. to aggrandize France, to the peril both of England and Europe. He lowered himself to seek distinction by gaudy and effeminate apparel.⁵⁸ Having benefited himself by the assistance of the friends of the reformation, his indolence allied him to the church, and he then abetted the persecutions of an hierarchy rather revengeful than bigotted.⁵⁹ His administrative vigilance was also degenerating into inquisitorial severity.⁶⁰ Yet so much talent emerged in his government, amid all his voluptuous relaxations, that the nation increased in strength, riches, intellect, civilization, and literature, during his reign⁶¹: and even his vices could not make him

⁵⁶ The doctor of Croyland describes him as devoted "sodalitiis, vanitatibus, crapulis," and "cupiditatibus," p. 564. ; and also, "cupiditatibus et luxui nimis intemperanter indulisse." Ib.

⁵⁷ Comines, who knew him, twice mentions, that he was the most beautiful prince that he had ever seen, or of his time, p. 246. and 252. ; but after his restoration, he grew very corpulent, p. 252. Croyland also mentions this unbeautifying circumstance: "homine tam corpulento." p. 495.

⁵⁸ At the Christmas festivities before his death, he appeared in a variety of most costly dresses, of a form never seen before, which he thought displayed his person to superior advantage. Croyl. p. 563.

⁵⁹ "Hereticorum severissimus hostis," Croyl. p. 564. ; after his restoration, we find in 1474, one John Goos, a loller, burnt at Tower-Hill, for heresy. Fabian, p. 507.

⁶⁰ After Clarence's death, that he might be "ab omnibus incollis formidari," he distributed in all parts of the realme, in the custodies of the castles, manors, forests, and parks, trusty persons, that nothing might be done, even by the greatest, without his immediate knowlege. Croyl. p. 562.

⁶¹ "Altho he found his kingdom greatly impoverished, and almost empty, both of men and money, he left it in all things rich and abundant." Hall, p. 341. Like Henry V. he was interested by the wars in the holy land ; and hence Caxton trans-

unpopular. A personal courtesy, and even kindness of temper, often added the affection of his subjects to their loyalty; and displayed the right-hearted character of a noble mind.⁶² He was steady in the observances of ceremonial religion⁶³, tho unable to govern himself by its morality. He was formed to be a great king, and he submitted to become a common one; rivalling only the reveller and voluptuary, and qualifying himself rather to be the companion of a Falstaff, than to place himself with the illustrious of all ages, who have obtained undying glory, by preferring, like Hercules, virtue to pleasure, self-government to self-indulgence, and the admiration of the wise and noble, to the flattery of the courtesan, the epicure, the parasite and the buffoon. The lights and shades of his character were each strongly marked; and among his redeeming, yet inconsistent qualities, his affectionate attachment to his family circle, made his follies and frailties more conspicuous, more censurable, more surprising, and more regretted.⁶⁴ He knew and felt where true happiness dwelt, and yet he wandered from it, to perish prematurely by his infatuated mistake.⁶⁵

1471.

lated the Acts and Life of Godfrey of Bologne, to please him. Pref. to King Arthur.

⁶² Fabian gives two instances of this. In July 1481, the king invited the mayor and part of the corporation to a hunt in Waltham forest, and feasted them with a rich dinner and wine, in a bower of green boughs, and gave them plenty of venison at parting. The next month, he sent two harts and six bucks to the wives of the mayor and aldermen, with a tun of wine to drink with them. p. 512. Hall remarks, that his courtesy, lowliness, and familiarity were so great, that they occasioned the suspicion that he was poisoned. p. 341.

⁶³ Croyl. p. 564. Thus in September 1471, we find, "the king and queen are ridden and gone to Canterbury on pilgrimage;" Fenn, vol. ii. p. 83. : and in Feb. 1472, "the king, queen, and Gloucester are gone to Sheen to pardon." Ib. p. 91.

⁶⁴ Sir Thomas More says of him, that no prince was so heartily beloved by his people, nor was he so especially loved, as, at the time of his death, and that even some of the friends of Henry VI. had grown into his favor. He says he was of "a goodly personage, and very princely to behold; of visage lovely; of body mighty; strong and clean made. Howbeit, in his latter days, with over liberal diet, somewhat corpulent and boorly, yet not uncomely;" and that "albeit, all his reign he was with his people so benign, courteous, and familiar, that no part of his virtues was more esteemed, yet that this quality, in the end of his days, marvellously in him grew and increased." p. 150, 151.

⁶⁵ Hollingshed mentions an incident, which intimates his attractive manners.

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The education of his son, had been an object of his tenderest care and wisest judgment. He had appointed the most accomplished nobleman in his court, earl Rivers, his queen's brother, to be the governor of this prince; and in the last year of his life, but six weeks before he died, or had any expectation of dying, he settled the rules for his son's daily conduct and studies. These display all a father's anxiety for his improvement, and a minuteness of attention, to lead him to habits that would be most beneficial, and to remove all that could injure.⁶⁶ What paternal judgment could provide to make the future happy to his child, he endeavored to secure. It is only to be lamented, that he himself yielded to indulgencies, which so immediately curtailed his own life, as to destroy the effect of all his prospective wisdom, and

He asked a rich old lady, what she would give him towards the war. Interested by his person and address, she said, "For thy lovely face, thou shalt have twenty pounds;" being twice as much as the king expected. He thanked, and kissed her.

⁶⁶ These are preserved in the Sloane MS. in the British Museum, No. 3479. They display part of the best customs of the gentlemen of the day:

1. He shall arise every morning at a convenient time, and till he be ready, none but earl Rivers, his chamberlain, or chaplain, to enter his chamber, and one other chaplain to sing mattins, then to go to his chapel or chamber, to hear mass.

2. That he hear, every holiday, divine service.

3. That on principal feasts, sermons be preached before him.

4. That he breakfast immediately after mass, and be occupied an hour at his school before he go to meat, and to be at his dinner at a convenient hour, and that to be reasonably served, and his dishes borne by worshipful folk wearing our livery.

5. That no man sit at his board but as earl Rivers shall allow; and that there be read before him noble stories, as behoveth a prince to understand; and that the communication, at all times in his presence, be of virtue, honor, cunning, wisdom, and deeds of worship, and of nothing that shall move him to vice.

6. After his meat, in eschewing of idleness, that he be occupied two hours at his school; and after, in his presence, to be shewed all such convenient disports and exercises as belong to his estate to have experience in.

7. To go to his evening song at a convenient hour; and soon after that to be at his supper.

8. After supper, that he have all such honest disports as may be conveniently devised for his recreation.

9. That he be in his chamber, and for all night; and the travers to be drawn by nine of the clock, and all persons then from thence to be avoided, except for attendance.

10. That sure and good watch be nightly had and kept about his person for safeguard.

11. That discreet and convenient persons be appointed to give attendance on his person, from his rising to his going to bed. Some other orders follow, for the regulation of his household and chapel. MS. No. 3479

to plunge all that he most loved, into irretrievable calamity.⁶⁷

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⁶⁷ The new fashion that he chose for the last state dresses was, to have very full hanging sleeves, like a monk's, lined with the most sumptuous furs, and so rolled over his shoulders, as to give his tall person an air of peculiar grandeur. Croyl. p. 563. He gave so much attention to dress, as to procure an act, making it the mark of every one's quality, and keeping down the inferior degrees from intruding on the splendor of the upper classes. Thus it was, in his last year, enacted, that none but the royal family should wear any cloth of gold, or silk, of a purple color. None, under a duke, any cloth of gold or tissue: none, under a lord, any plain cloth of gold: none, under a knight, any velvet, nor damask or satin, in their gowns: none, under an esquire or gentleman, any damask or satin in their doublets, nor gowns of camlet; none, under a lord, any woollen cloth made out of England, nor furs of sables. No laborer, servant, or artificer, were to have any cloth above two shillings a yard; but this act was not to extend to any woman, but the wives of the latter. Stat. of Realme, vol. ii. p. 469. Thus the rank of every one was known immediately by his clothes.

REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIFTH.

9 APRIL — 26 JUNE. 1483.

CHAP. VI.

Prejudices against RICHARD III. — Review of the State of the Nobility of England at this time. — Its various Classes and chief Leaders. — Their rival Interests. — The Knights of England. — The Clergy. — Violent Spirit of the Country.

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1483.

IN the brief reign of this prince, the violent spirit and habits of the higher classes of England, in the middle ages, appeared in their most daring and mischievous exertion; but by evincing so palpably, the moral deformity of a character so pernicious to society, contributed to its future degradation, and to its rapid disappearance from the English mind and history. The nobility patronized such deeds no more: and a new moral sensibility softened and improved both the heart and conduct, after the reign and fall of Richard III. He carried the unshrinking temper, fierce selfishness, and proud ambition of the European aristocracy, at that time, to their worst consequences; and thereby startled mankind into a perception and abhorrence of the criminality, and of the evils of such deadly struggles; such sanguinary resentments; such rapacity, cruelty and violence. The world has been often thus benefited by the extreme action of wrong principles.

From an eagerness in the Tudor princes, and their

partisans, to destroy all public sympathy for Richard III. and the line of York, which he had headed, and which others, after him, survived to represent; no part of our history has been more disfigured by passion, prejudice, injustice, and inaccuracy, than the two reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. To make the memory of the latter an execration among mankind, appears to have been a favorite object of the court and conversation of Henry VII., and of the chroniclers whom his successors patronized: and to achieve this end, most of the actions of Richard III. have been mistated, and his motives blackened. What he did that was evil has been exaggerated, and his proper conduct vilified and distorted.¹ His reign was too short for writers to have flourished during that space, who would have truly described it; and after his fall, it would have been deemed infamous and treasonable, and might have been dangerous to the then reigning dynasty, to have represented him in his just and fair proportions. The want of impartial documents makes it difficult, if not impossible, now to give his true history.² Yet some new facts may be rescued from our old materials, which will enable us to take a juster review, and to form a sounder judgment of this depreciated man, without either partiality or paradox. Modern criticism, averse alike to fable and to rhetoric, wishes history neither to defame nor to blazon; but to explore and narrate the simple truth,

¹ Sir Thomas More, Hall, Grafton, and Shakspeare, with many less known persons, have attached to his memory all that is most base and revolting, and have been indiscriminately followed by the chief writers of English history. Bucke attempted, above a century ago, to stop the stream of abuse; but his work was too feeble, and too random, to have any effect. It was lord Orford that first caused the public mind to begin to hesitate on Richard's defamation, in his "Historic Doubts on Richard III.;" but as he wrote with the spirit of a partisan, and without sufficient materials, he rather roused the attention, than satisfied the judgment. Both Hume, in his appendix, and Gibbon in his French review of this book (Miscel. Works, vol. iii. p 331.), read, praised, criticised, but differed from Walpole.

² I consider the monk of Croyland, his contemporary, to have left the most exact account of his actions; and only regret, that the chronicler has mentioned them so sparingly, and so concisely. His "Continuatio" is in Gale Script. vol. ii.

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wherever it is penetrable, or attainable, unvarnished and untwisted, with no disingenuous suppression, and without any political subserviency. On this principle, the present History has been attempted; and it has been our peculiar endeavor to apply it to the reigns of Edward V. and Richard III., anxious neither to be deceived, nor to deceive.

It is the supposition of sir Thomas More³, and was the belief of his Tudor friends, that Richard framed, immediately on his brother's death, all the vile schemes and deeds which he afterwards perpetrated; but that he concealed and prosecuted them with an art and an hypocrisy, the most assiduous and deeply veiled. It may have been so. There is no natural impossibility in the circumstance. But the charge must either be an inference of his antagonists, from the events they knew, and have communicated, or a fact revealed to the world spontaneously by himself. That Richard, at any time, made such a confession, is no where pretended.⁴ The idea of his consummate hypocrisy has arisen from the impenetrable mask that always covered his interior thoughts. The suggestion therefore must be considered, as the opinion which cardinal Morton⁵, and his sovereign and friends, thought to be the most probable; and if they had not been interested, by every motive of human aggrandizement and profit, to cherish and diffuse such a belief, the deduction of their personal experience, and contemporary reasoning, would have carried with it a force of impression that might be considered nearly equivalent to evidence. But as their inferences may have been their prejudices,

³ I shall quote More's English History, from Mr. Cayley's edition of it, in the second volume of his Life and Works.

⁴ Walpole acutely observes, "Whatever Morton might tell More, of the plots of Henry of Richmond, the archbishop was certainly not intrusted with the secrets of Richard." p. 46.

⁵ As Morton died in 1500, and More was born in 1482, he must have had the information which he derived from this prelate before he was twenty, unless he wrote from Morton's work on Richard III.

their passions, their policy, or their self-interest⁶, and are counteracted by the popularity and support which Richard received until his nephews disappeared; and by the regard with which, after his fall, his memory was cherished by many of his friends, it may approach nearer to the historical truth, if we narrate the events without this theory of original villany, and leave it to the reader to annex it, or not, as his own judgment prefers. Perhaps all that occurred, will be found to be satisfactorily accounted for, without an imputation, which it may be as unjust to affirm, as it would be partial positively to deny. The public and visible circumstances which occurred, and the natural probabilities that, from our usual experience of human nature, we may fairly attach to them, are all that now ought to influence our historical judgment, in estimating, or describing, this almost proverbial king. When the whole truth of the case is temperately considered, instead of Richard being regarded as some peculiar monstrosity of human nature, it may be doubted, if any nobleman of his court, tho not born with teeth⁷, would, under the same circumstances, dangers, inducements, and impulses, have acted otherwise. Such was the aristocracy of that period, and so great have been its improvements in England since. It would then have hung, burnt, drowned, stabbed, or beheaded, a witch, an heretic, an enemy, or a rival, with a pleasure, and as a duty. It now consigns these actions to the base and brutal portion of mankind.

At the death of Edward IV. the aristocracy of England was distinguishable into four classes — 1st, The queen's relations and friends; 2d, The nobles in the king's household and administration; 3d, Those

State of the
nobility.

⁶ Walpole asks, "Could More have drawn from a more corrupted source? Of all men living, there could not be a more suspicious testimony than the prelate's, except the king's. Who had so much interest to blacken Richard, as the man who had risen to be prime minister to his rival?" p. 18.

⁷ More, p. 154., and Shakspeare.

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who desired to participate in official dignities ; and 4th, The unemployed and unambitious remainder. A cursory review of the leading individuals of these different descriptions, and of their designs and interests, will enable us better to understand the two succeeding reigns, which are usually depicted as an unintelligible scene of moral confusion and absurd flagitiousness.

1st. The queen's relations were, her brother earl Rivers, and some younger Woodvilles ; her sons, by her first husband, who had been created marquiss Dorset, and lord Richard Grey ; and her brother-in-law lord Lyle.

Earl
Rivers.

Of these RIVERS was an accomplished, active, and superior character. He excelled in all the chivalry of the day, and had been successively appointed by Edward IV. governor of the Isle of Wight ; constable of England, after his father's death ; captain of the king's armed power ; knight of the garter ; the chief butler of England ; and the governor of the prince's household.⁸ In 1471, he is noticed as about to go against the infidels⁹ ; and in 1473, he went on that pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella¹⁰, which was then so fashionable. In his voyage, he amused himself with translating "the Dictes or Sayenges of Philosophers," which Caxton printed¹¹ four years

⁸ See Calend. Rotul. pp. 312—318.

⁹ Ib. p. 316.

¹⁰ He says of himself, "Understanding there was to be a jubilee and pardon at St. James, 1473, in Spain, he determined on a voyage thither." Caxton's Dictes. Oldys, Brit. vol. vi. lib. 65. Pilgrims were so respected, that when a ship's crew had taken some persons who were walking by the sea side, as soon as they found one to be a pilgrim, they gave him money, and set him again on the land. Fenn, p. 305.

¹¹ This was the first book from his press, with the year and place subjoined : Ames, Typ. Dibdin, vol. i. p. 104 ; "imprinted by W. Caxton, at West. 1477." The MS. has an illumination, representing Edward IV., his son and queen ; and Rivers, presenting his book to the king. The earl mentions it thus : "In July, in the same year, he set sail from Southampton, when a worshipful gentleman in his company lent him, to pass over the time, the book of the Sayings of the Philosophers, in French. He was much affected by the wholesome and sweet sayings therein of the Paynims ; but as he could not, in all that pilgrimage, ever see it well, at his pleasure, through the dispositions that belong to the taker of a jubilee or pardon, and the great acquaintance he found there of worshipful folk, he intended, at a more convenient time, to be better acquainted with it." The earl adds, "Remaining in this opinion, after the king commanded him to attend upon the prince,

afterwards. In 1476, we find him at Rome, returning from which place he was robbed. He aspired to the hand of the heiress of Burgundy, but was rejected as too inferior¹²; and in 1482, a few months before Edward died, he was so favored by his royal brother-in-law, that he was about to marry the king of Scotland's daughter.¹³ Besides being intrusted with the education and care of the prince, whom he was training at Ludlow, he had the command of Shrewsbury and the adjoining part of Wales.¹⁴ He possessed, therefore, the full confidence, the preferring regard, and the complete disposal of Edward V. at the critical moment of his accession, and at the same time, the power of assembling all the forces of South Wales, to support the line of politics which the young king should adopt.¹⁵ From these circumstances, he was in a position that naturally ensured him to become the head of the future government, especially if the queen should be made regent.

His nephew, LORD RICHARD GREY, was with him at Ludlow, an appointed counsellor of the prince¹⁶; while his elder nephew, THOMAS, remained in London with the queen, watching and promoting all the interests and ambition of her family. This gentleman had been rapidly advanced by his royal father-in-law. He was first created earl of Huntingdon, and four years afterwards, marquis Dorset¹⁷; altho then so

Marquis
Dorset.

and having then leisure, he translated it into English, which had not been done before." It is remarkable, that from his taste, or gallantry, Rivers omitted the last part, containing the sarcasms against the female sex, which Caxton, to make the work complete, supplied. Oldys, p. 65.

¹² Fenn, vol. ii. p. 200. Comines, vol. ii. p. 11.

¹³ This is mentioned in two documents in Rymer, vol. xii. One, 22 August 1482, p. 162.; and the other, dated 14 December, p. 171.

¹⁴ We have his ordinances made for the government of Shrewsbury, in 1478, in the Cotton MS. Vitell. c. l.

¹⁵ More remarks, that Gloucester complained of the sovereign being sequestered in the hands and custody of his mother's kindred. p. 162.

¹⁶ Sloane MS. No. 3479. The queen had recently paid 2000 mares for him, and several manors were given to him. R. Parl. vol. vi. p. 217.

¹⁷ He was made earl 11 Edw. IV. and marquis on April 18, 15 Ed. IV. Dugd. Baron. vol. i. p. 719., and Pol. Virgil.

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young, that in the last year of Edward IV.'s reign, he was put in possession of his lands without proof of his being of age¹⁸, an evidence that he had then scarcely attained it. But yet the important office of governor of the Tower was committed to him, which gave him the military command of the metropolis; and what was no less important, of the king's treasure, which was there deposited.¹⁹ He was one of the lords who attended Edward's funeral.²⁰ But if he was but twenty-one, at the death of Edward, his brother, lord Richard Grey, must have been still younger. LORD LYLE was another Grey ennobled by Edward. He was a brother of the queen's first husband.²¹

The prince's household at Ludlow, besides Rivers and Grey, consisted also of sir Thomas Vaughan, an aged gentleman of great influence in Wales, his chamberlain²²; sir William Stanley, steward of his household, and brother of lord Stanley; and two prelates and other officers.²³ Hence the party of the queen's friends, besides the actual possession of the new king's attachment, and therefore the direction of his authority, had a considerable portion of the great dignities and power of the country.²⁴

2d. Of the nobles who were seated in official power, the most important were, of the spiritual lords, the chancellor, Rotherham archbishop of York; Dr.

¹⁸ It was in 22 Ed. IV. he had this livery of his lands. Dugd. Baron, vol. i. p. 719.

¹⁹ More, p. 167.

²⁰ Harl. MS, vol. vi. p. 111. Edward had given to him the marriage and wardship of Edward, the son and heir of the duke of Clarence. Cal. Rot. p. 325. Thus he had the commanding influence over all this property and its dependants.

²¹ Dugd. Bar. vol. i. p. 719.

²² And treasurer of the king's chamber. Cal. Bot. pp. 318. 323.

²³ Sloane MS. No. 3479. Sir Richard Crofts was his treasurer, and Richard Hurst, esq., treasurer of his household. The prelates were, the bishop of St. David's, his chancellor, and Alcock, bishop of Worcester, the president of his council. MS. ib. The latter was highly celebrated in his day.

²⁴ Lionel Woodville, the queen's other surviving brother, was a clergyman; had been archdeacon of Norwich, Cal. Rot. p. 313., and was then a bishop. There was also a sir Edward Woodville, and a sir Richard Woodville, relations of the queen, who are occasionally mentioned.

Russell, bishop of Lincoln, the privy seal²⁵; Morton, bishop of Ely²⁶; Stillington, bishop of Bath and Wells; and Alcock, bishop of Worcester, the king's preceptor; and of the temporal peers, Hastings, Stanley, and Lovel.

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Lord
Hastings.

HASTINGS had first emerged into public notice, under the patronage of Edward's father, the duke of York.²⁷ He became so great a favorite with several of the nobility, in the year of Edward's accession, as to have from them many valuable grants of lands and money.²⁸ The king rapidly promoted him, and employed him on embassies. He assisted Edward's escape from the Warwicks, at Middleham; fled with him on his retreat to Flanders; and commanded 3000 horse on his side, at the deciding and perilous battle of Barnet. As a favorite and chief adviser of Edward, he was selected by the wily Louis XI. for an object of his gifts and pensions. He obtained several beneficial stewardships; married Katherine, the earl of Salisbury's daughter; and was appointed by Edward, the lord chamberlain of his own household, and of North Wales²⁹; and also governor of Calais and Guynes³⁰, the greatest stations and depôts

²⁵ This clergyman's name is connected with the earliest history of English typography. He was sent ambassador to Edward IV. to compliment the duke of Burgundy, on his receiving the order of the garter. His "Propositio" on this occasion, was printed by Caxton in 1469 or 1470. One copy of it only now remains, consisting of five leaves. A bookseller, who bought it for 2*l.* 5*s.*, sold it to the duke of Marlborough for fifty guineas, and at the sale of his books it was purchased by earl Spencer for 120 guineas.

²⁶ He was at first attached to the interest of queen Margaret, and sailed with her from the north to Flanders, W. Wyr. p. 495., but was pardoned by Edward IV. in 1472. Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 26. He went with him to France; and in 1476 was keeper of the rolls in chancery, and appointed, with lord Howard, an ambassador to negotiate with Louis XI. Edward made him bishop of Ely. Cal. Rot. pp. 321. 323. He was one of those who took stipends from the French king, under Edward IV., being then master of the rolls. Comines, vol. ii. p. 6.

²⁷ In 1455, the duke appointed him ranger of Ware, in Salop; and the next year made him a grant of 10*l.* a year, with the marking designation of "My beloved servant William Hastings."—Dugd. Baronage, vol. i. p. 580.

²⁸ Dugdale particularizes those from the duchess of Buckingham, from her eldest son, from J. lord Lovell, and from the queen's father and mother, besides others. lb. p. 580.

²⁹ Cal. Rot. pp. 299. 302. 309. 310. 318. 319. 320.; and see Dugd. Baron. vol. i. pp. 580—583.

³⁰ Croyl. p. 564.

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of the military forces of England. The list of the persons of quality, who freely served under him, when he accompanied Edward on his French expedition, attests his popularity and influence.³¹ He was the most reluctant of Edward's court, to take the French bribes, but he yielded to their temptation, tho he is praised by Comines for his singular wisdom and virtue.³²

Lord
Stanley.

STANLEY had married a sister of the great earl of Warwick; but notwithstanding his importunity, had refused to take up arms against Edward IV., as he had evaded the orders of Margaret and Henry, to attack the friends of the duke of York. This conduct ensured him the confidence and attachment of Edward, who appointed him steward of his household, took him into France, in his army, and in the last year of his life sent him with the duke of Gloucester into Scotland. A little before Edward died, he had the command of Gloucester's right wing, and distinguished himself by taking Berwick by assault. He married, for his second wife, not long before Edward died, Margaret, the duchess of Richmond, whose son, by her first husband, became Henry VII.³³ His character was high, his conduct had been always moderate and honorable, and his influence was proportionate with his believed honor, calm courage, soldierly knowledge, and personal respectability.

Lord
Lovel.

FRANCIS LORD LOVEL was another nobleman whom Edward raised to the peerage, a short time before he died, and who attended Gloucester to his Scottish campaign.³⁴

³¹ It comprizes 2 lords, 9 knights, 58 esquires, and 20 gentlemen.—Dugd. p. 583.

³² Comines, who had prevailed on him to be one of Burgundy's pensioners of 1000 crowns a year, was employed, and successfully, to induce him to take Louis' doubled annuity of 2000 crowns. The author says, "It was with great difficulty and solicitation, that he was made one of the French king's pensioners;" but Peter Cleret being privately admitted into his house in London, presented the 2000 crowns *in gold*, "for to foreign lords of great quality the king never gave any thing else." Comines, p. 8.; and see before, in this vol. p. 99.

³³ Dugd. Barol. vol. ii. p. 248. Pol. Virg.

³⁴ Made lord Lovel Jan. 4 22 Ed. IV. Dugd. Bar. vol. i. p. 560. Oliver King

3d. Of the unemployed, but aspiring nobility, the greatest in rank, and afterwards the most active in exertion, was HENRY DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM. He was the son of the former duke's eldest child, and heir, who had fallen at the first battle of St. Albans.³⁵ The preceding duke, his grandfather, had been very warlike, and so successful in his ambitious attentions to Suffolk, and afterwards to queen Margaret, as to obtain the high military grant of the captainship of Calais, and to be raised from earl to duke, by Henry VI.³⁶ The king had also elevated his governor Warwick to the same dignity, with the declaration of his precedency; but the aspiring pride of the Buckingham family, was evinced by the new duke contesting the priority of Warwick. Such great animosities arose on this point as to disturb the king; and they were only appeased by a special act of parliament, giving to each duke the precedency every alternate year.³⁷ Warwick dying two years afterwards, Buckingham obtained a royal grant for taking the lead of all dukes who should not be of the blood royal.³⁸ This haughty nobleman fell at the battle of Northampton, in 1460, leaving many children; but his grandson Henry, then not six years old, succeeded to his title and estates. This young duke was committed, by Edward, to his sister the duchess of Exeter, to be by her reared, with an attachment to the York family.³⁹ He had been brought forward to the public eye, in his nomination, to superintend the execution of the duke of Clarence, and was about twenty-nine at the accession of Edward V.; but in that day of jealous pride, grasping power, and family emulation, we can-

was Edward's secretary at his death, and sir John Ebrington treasurer of his household. R. Parl. vol. vi. p. 221. Sir William Husey was chief justice of the King's Bench. Ib. p. 209.

³⁵ Dugd. Baron. vol. i. pp. 165. 167.

³⁶ Ib. vol. i. pp. 164—166.

³⁸ Ib.

³⁷ Ib.

³⁹ Ib.

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not doubt that the ambition of his predecessors would become the character of his own mind; and that it was so, all his actions, after the death of Edward IV., most rapidly displayed. It is remarkable, that he had a near family connexion with the earl of Richmond and his mother. Before this lady married lord Stanley, she had been, by her second nuptials, the wife of Buckingham's uncle, sir Henry Stafford, who died at the latter end of 1481.⁴⁰ This peculiar position led to the events which destroyed himself, and raised Henry VII. to the throne.

Lord
Howard.

Another nobleman, who had been confidentially employed by Edward IV. on his embassies to France⁴¹, was JOHN LORD HOWARD, who, after the duke of Norfolk's sudden death, in 1476⁴², and of his daughter Ann, some few years afterwards, became entitled to the possessions of this illustrious family. He was naturally an aspirant to the same ducal dignity which had accompanied this property; but two events put his interests, and perhaps his spirit, at variance with Edward's court and family. Ann, the former duke's heiress, had been married by Edward, at six years of age, to his son, the prince Richard, also but a child⁴³; and to this young prince, created duke of York, a royal grant was made, vesting her lands in him.⁴⁴ When Ann, the baby heiress, died, and lord Howard thereby became the legal heir to the Norfolk property, his interests, and those of the young duke of York, came into hostile competition. Another circumstance dissatisfied his mind. In 1478, he had been appointed

⁴⁰ Sir Henry's will is dated October 2, 1481, by which he bequeaths to his stepson, the earl of Richmond, a trappure of four new horse harness of velvet. Dugd. vol. i. p. 167.

⁴¹ Cal. Rot. p. 321. Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. pp. 14. 50. 113. On the monies which he received from the French king, see before, p. 99.

⁴² Fenn, Lett. vol. ii. p. 186.

⁴³ The marriage was made in 1477. Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 168.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 206. In 1482, she is mentioned as then dead. Ib.

constable of the Tower, for his life⁴⁵; and Edward afterwards superseded him, to appoint the marquis Dorset in his stead. Thus his disturbed spirit was directed or prepared to act against the queen's family, by whom he had been supplanted.

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4th. The most distinguished person of the rest of the nobility was the EARL OF OXFORD. He had been a zealous and active warrior for Henry VI. and Margaret, and had much troubled Edward, but at last was pardoned by him. Being afterwards committed to the castle at Hannes, on the French coast, he had attempted to escape by leaping from the walls into the ditch⁴⁶, but was taken and continued a prisoner till Edward's death. Many other noblemen appeared on public occasions, whose interests and desires tended principally to the conservation of domestic peace, and to the discouragement or prevention of civil warfare.⁴⁷

Earl of
Oxford.

Of the gentry who took a part, or came forward to the public eye, after Edward's death, were sir John Cheney, the master of his horse, sir Thomas Montgomery, one of his executors⁴⁸, and sir Richard Ratcliffe.

Amid these noblemen and gentlemen, some of great, and the others of much, power and influence, reputation, ability, independence, and high spirit; and under their impulses, and with their approbation, or against their opposition, Richard had to act. This view of the political state of the country, will shew at

⁴⁵ Cal. Rot. p. 323. Some of the manors of the duke of Clarence were then granted to him. *Ib.*

⁴⁶ Fenn, vol. ii. p. 149.

⁴⁷ Of the other noblemen, we find mentioned, as attending parliament or court, or acting at this time, the earls Lincoln, Arundel, and Huntingdon, viscount Berkeley, and the lords Dacre, Dudley, Burgenny, Audley, Cobham, Wells. It may be remarked, that soon after Edward V.'s birth, all the chief spiritual and temporal peers swore to take him for king, if he should outlive his father. Among them were Gloucester, Norfolk, Buckingham, Hastings, and Howard. *Parl. Rolls*, vol. vi. p. 234.

⁴⁸ Both these are mentioned by Comines, as partakers of the French king's corrupting stipends. *Comines*, vol. ii. p. 6. Ratcliffe had been benefited by grants from Edward IV. See *Parl. Rolls*, vol. vi. p. 80.

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once, that he had neither the freedom nor the power to do as he pleased. He was surrounded and circumscribed in all his movements, by active and able men; and he could not, in any of his measures, effect what he wished against the general will, nor without the co-operation of the most leading men of the country. The chains of circumstances and necessities that surrounded him, and by some of which he was governed, will appear more conspicuously when we contemplate the views, passions, and interests of these different bodies.

The parties
and oppos-
ing inter-
ests of the
great.

It was the wish of the queen and her family that they should conduct the government of the country, and enjoy its chief advantages, and, if possible, under her regency or their own.⁴⁹ The young king, brought up under their tuition, could have no other feelings; and from his predilections, and their own situations, and the active spirit of Rivers, supported as it was by the command of South Wales, they appeared to be certain of governing both the cabinet and the kingdom. This prospect of power was more ensured to them by the disposition of the dignified heads of the clergy, who, from the chancellor archbishop to the last of the episcopal bench, were disposed to identify themselves with the royal power. Nothing was wanted to crown this political ambition with success but the appearance of Edward V., and his late governor, in the metropolis, at the head of a force large enough to deter all opposition.

But against this arrangement of power the two classes of the lay official, and of the aspiring nobles, immediately presented themselves, from motives of personal safety, as well as of personal ambition: and

⁴⁹ Sir T. More remarks, that "every one, as he was nearest of kin to the queen, so was planted next about the prince." p. 160. "This drift was not unwisely devised by the queen, whereby her blood might of youth be rooted in the prince's favor." p. 162.

all the rest of the more indifferent part of the aristocracy, who prided themselves on ancient ancestry and family celebrity, being adverse to the elevation of the queen's family of inferior birth, and of such recent greatness, gave their sanction, more or less avowed, to the opposition of the interested lords. The selfish views and the irritated passions of the great English aristocracy were therefore roused and united against the queen and her family; and it was obvious that an immediate contest must succeed the burial of Edward IV., to determine whether Rivers, Dorset, and Grey; or Hastings and Stanley, with Howard and Buckingham, should guide the young king, and direct the future government. If the duke of Gloucester had died before his brother, still this battle remained to be fought, and could not have been decided without the convulsion of a civil war, or the violence of anticipating murderous executions. Hastings, Stanley, Buckingham, and Howard, at first moved in amicable concert, till the queen's friends were overthrown: and to produce this event, the interests of these noblemen, and their partisans, were in perfect union; tho' it is obvious, that as soon as that result should be attained, their future views would become as divergent. The clergy, who had found Edward IV. at last as obsequious to their possessed establishments as they could desire; and some of whose chiefs were forming and influencing his son's mind, could not hope for any better event to themselves than his accession, under a continuation of the same predilections and impressions. Hence they attached themselves to the queen and her friends, at the outset, while the preponderance of this party was likely; but being actuated greatly by policy, they were as ready to adhere to any other scheme of government which should be substituted instead, if it bore to them a friendly aspect, and could pro-

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tect them against the hostility which surrounded them.

The duke of Gloucester was naturally looked up to by all the classes of the aristocracy except the queen's family, as their patron and head. His power and predominance would suit every interest but the Woodvilles. These must either subside into subordinate and defeated nobles, or plunge themselves into direct competition with Gloucester. If they did not govern the king and kingdom, they would become insignificant; because, having risen wholly by the late king's favor, they would fall into obscurity without the new king's as zealous support; but this prop would be lost, if others obtained the command of his official mind. Hence their interests and the duke of Gloucester's were wholly irreconcilable. He knew the weight they had thrown into the fatal scale against his brother Clarence, when Edward's mind was balancing on his execution. He could not be slow to foresee or dread his own destruction, if they obtained the triumph. Two dukes of Gloucester, both uncles of reigning sovereigns, had, under those sovereigns, been allowed to perish from the accusation, if not the direct authority, of their kingly relatives.

But Hastings and Rivers had already become pitched against each other, in deadly hostility, during the life of Edward IV.; and from Hastings' differences with the queen's family, he had been, notwithstanding his high favor with the king, imprisoned in the Tower, and remained there for a while, believing his life to be in jeopardy every hour. He could not suppose it would be less so from them now, if they obtained the ascendancy in the cabinet; nor could the Woodvilles imagine that the administration of Hastings would be more friendly to them.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Sir T. More says, "Against Hastings the queen specially grudged, for the great favor the king bare him, and also for that she thought him secretly familiar

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Hence, if no historical information had reached us, of the issue of this state of personal interest and feelings, we should expect it to be, that all the other parties would combine to depress the queen's; and that this being accomplished, they would begin to differ among themselves, on the participation of the advantages of their victory.⁵¹ The aspiring would be inimical to those who were in possession. Buckingham and Hastings would be each indisposed to allow the superiority to the other; and as the king and queen-mother on the one hand, and Gloucester on the other, were the centres of two great opposing factions, they who found themselves least secure of Gloucester's favor would endeavor to add to their strength, by coalescing with every other party. Hence, as Buckingham and Gloucester cemented their political cordiality, Hastings and his friends would be tempted to ally with the queen and her assisting churchmen, and thereby to have a new claim to the young king's partiality. The final struggle would therefore be between Gloucester and Buckingham, on the one part, and Hastings, the queen, and Edward V. on the other; and the destruction of one side of the competitors, and possibly of both, would seem to be the ultimate result, which all former experience, and especially of the last two reigns, would teach us to anticipate. The melancholy catastrophe which actually occurred, corresponded with those probabilities.

From this preliminary survey it is obvious, that unless all the noble competitors for the power, rank,

with the king in wanton company. Her kindred also bare him sore, as well because the king had made him captain of Calais, which lord Rivers claimed of the king's former promise, as for divers other great gifts which he received, that they looked for." p. 157.

⁵¹ More intimates the rivalry between Buckingham and Hastings, as well as their temporary union against the Woodvilles. Both men of honor and of great power; the one by long succession from his ancestry, the other by his office and the king's favor. "These two, not bearing to each other so much love, as hatred both unto the queen's party." p. 163

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and fortune, which the command of the English government would give, had suddenly abandoned their ambitious pride, passions, and self-interest, a moral conflict must ensue, to determine in whom the regency, the administration, and the patronage of the crown of England should be vested. And this warfare did not depend on any secret intrigues or dark plottings of the duke of Gloucester; it was the open, palpable, and avowed state of things. Every one saw that these competitions existed; every one knew the resenting and aspiring feelings of the great leaders; and all the reflective must have expected a civil war. Indeed, one great cause of the ease with which the violences we have to narrate were committed, was, that they seemed to be preventive of those sanguinary battles, which had in the former reign produced so much destruction, and which, but for this more private way of suppressing each other, would certainly take place. A due impression of this truth will shew, that there is no necessity for supposing Gloucester to have been that vulgar and Satanic anomaly, which party prejudice has represented him to be. He was, like most great men who stride forward to command their contemporaries, the creature and the mirror of his age and its circumstances. The very success which is so often ascribed to recondite art, is more frequently but an illustration of Oliver Cromwell's remark, "that no man often advances higher than he who knows not whither he is going." Men are rather pushed into the grand elevations they occupy, by the interests and efforts of others, or by the waves of succeeding circumstances, or by the opposition of their enemies, than raised to them by their own antecedent plots and cunning. These may somewhat assist, or awhile maintain, but rarely, if ever, exalt.

It will enlarge the picture of England's interior

state, at the accession of Edward V., if we glance at the state of the knighthood of the country at that period.

This had been the main prop of the military vigor and reputation of England. Every nobleman had been first a knight; every king coveted the honor, as his earliest distinction; and it was long the fashionable and certain avenue to the winning of wealth, honors, fame, beauty, and power.⁵² But near the death of Edward IV. a remarkable change became visible in the minds and habits of the English gentry. Whether so many had perished in the French campaigns, and in the civil wars at home, that the population did not provide a supply as rapid as the loss; or whether the calamities of a fighting life, or the introduction of cannon in battle, or Edward's luxurious habits, had created a distaste for the chivalric pursuits; or whether all these causes combined to change the public humor; it is manifest, that the warlike amusements of knighthood were, at this period, falling into disuse. The ancient books of chivalry were laid aside; and gentlemen, instead of courting the knightly honor, avoided its imposition. This feeling began in the reign of Henry VI. after the reverses of the French wars. We find persons, in 1439, petitioning parliament to be discharged from the legal obligation of assuming this once coveted dignity, on their paying fines to the king instead.⁵³ Hence, Richard was

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1483.

The
knights of
England.

⁵² How highly knights were estimated in the reign of Henry VI. appears from the king's official letter, on the creation of a knight of the garter, 23 Henry VI.

"With great praises are they to be mentioned, and with singular glory to be extolled, who, with a fervent desire and unwearied mind, strive to apply their time and life to the welfare of the republic; who incur danger to themselves, that others may be tranquil; who thirst for an excelling fame, and an immortal name, above all worldly goods; and who deem themselves happy, if they perceive that the common good can be assisted by their labor and fidelity. O most happy race of men! without whom cities, walls, kingdoms, lordships, the princes of the world, nay even the world itself, could not enjoy safety! O most illustrious and just men; by whose consecrated disposition all the virtues flourish, the bad are restrained, and the perverse kept down." Rot. Turris Lond. ap. Anst. Reg. Gart. vol. i. p. 131.

⁵³ Roll Parl. p. 27. The king of Prussia says truly, "In these gross ages, the

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obliged to issue an order, as protector, in the name of Edward V., to command those who had the requisite forty pounds a-year to receive the dignity. Such compulsions had occurred before; but it is in the reign of Richard III.⁵⁴ that Caxton complains, that the exercises of chivalry were not used as before⁵⁵; and that the knights of his day, instead of these employments, wasted their time at baths and dice, sleeping, and taking their ease.⁵⁶ He exhorts them to read the old romances, where they would see manhood, curtesy, and gentleness.⁵⁷ He intimates, that few of them were ready at a point, to display a knight's accomplishments⁵⁸; and calls upon Richard, twice or thrice a year to celebrate jousts of peace, to make knights provide themselves as they ought, and to have tournaments for prizes, that gentlemen might court fame by chivalry, and be always ready to serve their prince, when called on.⁵⁹ The same happy decline of

address of the body was estimated as it was in the time of Homer. Our times, more enlightened, grant their esteem only to the talents of the mind; and to those virtues, which, raising man above his condition, cause him to trample his passions under his feet, and make him benevolent, generous, and sympathizing." Hist. Brand. vol. i. p. 25.

⁵⁴ Caxton addressed his book "Of the Ordre of Chyvalry, or Knyghthode, translated out of Freneshe," to "my redoubted lord king Richard." He says, "which book is not requisite to every man to have, but to noble gentlemen, that, by their virtue, intend to come, and entre into the noble ordre of Chivalry." Oldys. Brit. Lib. p. 191.

⁵⁵ "Forgotten, and the exercises of chivalry not used, honored, nor exercised, as it hath been in ancient time, at which time the noble acts of the knights of England that used chivalry, were renowned through the universal world." Ib.

⁵⁶ "O ye knights of England, where is the custom and usage of noble chivalry?—What do ye now, but go to the baynes, and play at dyse? Alas! what do ye, but sleep and take ease, and are all disordered fro chivalry." Ib. p. 192.

⁵⁷ "Leve this; leve it, and rede the noble volumes of s^t Graal, of Lancelot, of Trystram, of Galaod, of Perseforest, of Perceval, of Gawayn, and many mo. There shall ye see manhode, curtoyse, and gentylness." Ib.

⁵⁸ "I would demand a question. How many knights been there now in England that have the use and exercise of a knight; ready at a point to have all thing that longeth to a knight; an horse that is according, and broken after its kind; his armorers and harness mete and fyting, and so forth?" Ib. p. 193.

⁵⁹ "I would it pleased our sovereigne lord, that twice or thrice in a year, or at least once, he would do cry justs of peace, to the end that every knight should have horse and harness, and also the use and craft of a knight; and also to tournaye, one against one, or two against two, and the best to have a prize, a diamond or jewel." Ib. It is clear, from these passages, that the ancient knight was now going out of fashion.

the battle spirit seems to have also pervaded the yeomanry of the country; for Richard found it necessary to issue mandates to his bailiffs, to prohibit men from neglecting the lawful game of shooting with arrows.⁶⁰ This seems to have been a point of even national importance; for Comines remarks, that the chief strength of an army, in the day of battle, consisted in the archers; and gives the English the merit of being then the best archers in the world.⁶¹ Till guns came into full use, they were, in fact, the artillery of an army; the agents that destroy without personal contact. It was, perhaps, fortunate for our national happiness and improvements, that while the nobility were most factious, the people were becoming less warlike.

The state of the public mind towards the church, at this time, and the ecclesiastical feeling on this subject, ought not to be omitted, when we are contemplating the various causes of agitation which were disturbing England, when Richard took the helm of government, and was permitted or excited to seize the crown.

A discourse, prepared to be delivered at the convocation of the clergy, ten days after the death of Edward IV., and which still exists in manuscript, will give us sufficient information on this important point.⁶²

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State of
the church.

A speech
for open-
ing the
convoca-
tion.

⁶⁰ This was issued May 7. 1484. It forbade them to use carding, dicing, bowling, playing at the tennis, quoiting, pikking, and other unlawful and inhibited sports. Harl. MSS. p. 215. But this injunction implies that men were exchanging the violent exercises of war for those amusements which have occupied the English gentry and rustics till our own times. This change of taste, or diminished use of shooting, was then ascribed to the advanced price of bows and bowstaves; and acts were passed forbidding long bows to be sold for more than 3s. 4d. each, and bowstaves for more than 40s., or at most 46s. 8d., the hundred. Stat. Realm, vol. ii. pp. 472. 494.

⁶¹ Comines, vol. i. p. 31. One cause of the decline of knighthood may have been, that the sovereigns found it to be important to their own safety to discountenance it in peace. Knights made their nobility too formidable. Hence, in Nov. 1413, the king issued orders, forbidding knights or squires to obey the summons of any lord. Monstrel. vol. iii. p. 260.

⁶² It has not yet appeared in print. It is in the British Museum MSS. Cleop.

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The orator or preacher alludes strongly to the necessity of lessening their pecuniary avidity : —

“ Let us, after the example of the gospel, make ourselves good shepherds, not mercenary ones ; that we may know our sheep, and they may know us. It is time ; it is indeed time, excellent fathers ! to listen to the precept of the apostle, that we should be instant in season and out of season.”

“ But many will say, that all these things are most accurately fulfilled ; and that such elaborate addresses ought not to be made in public. Human faults should not be chided with such acrimony as they are in this kingdom.”

After praying for “ our new prince, of the best disposition and the sweetest hope, our dread king Edward V., the lady queen Elizabeth, his mother ; all the royal offspring ; the princes of the king ; his nobles and people ; ” he directs his address to lament the hostility, which, as he could not disguise, was pressing against the church. “ There are two kinds of christians, clergy and laity ; but the laymen now harass the clergy. These are two armies unequal in worldly power ; and one will destroy the other, unless the kindness and harmony of the fellow-soldiers resist prudently what opposes.” He then regrets, “ that the clerical body should be divided by discords within itself ; and states that the laity wished to suppress the power and liberty of the church. That the negligences, ignorances, cupidity, and avarice of the prelates, were every where inculcated ; that their judgments, processes, sentences, and decrees were held in contempt ; and that the orders of their councils were irreverently disputed before the laity.”

“ These things,” he says, “ provoke the laity of our time, to attempt such unbridled enormities against

Attacks on
the clergy
in 1483.

E 3. It does not appear to have been actually spoken, as the convocation is not stated to have met as intended.

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the church. Fearing no censure, they even indict clergymen for fictitious crimes; drag them to examinations; throw them into squalid prisons, to make them empty their barns, while some are even fixed in pillories, or fastened to the gibbet." He continues:

"There are scarcely ten in any diocese, who do not yearly suffer either in their person or their purse. Hence parsons do not reside on their benefices; yet this cause not being adverted to, they are publicly inveighed against for their absence; and all the regard and devotion of the faithful to the priests have become chilled; and tithes, oblations, and other benefits to the churches, fall to nothing. No censure is omitted which can make priests and their actions displeasing and hateful to the people. Consummate orators apply themselves to these topics only to please the public; their vanity blinds them to the future, and they will not see the venom which is gathering in the tail."

"It is easy," he adds, "for clergymen, who are clothed in soft raiment, in this city and other large towns, and who, from the greatness of their literature, have the first seats at the banquets of the great, and the first greetings in the market-place, and who know nothing of the persecutions of the country priests, to enlarge invectively against these for non-residence. Could they experience such evils themselves, they would alter their opinions."

He then exclaims, "Thou city priest! art thou ignorant how greatly thy good fortune differs from thy rustic brother's? You take only ready money, of which neither violence nor craft can deprive you: But where can he place his safety, his sheep, oxen, lambs, wool, calves, horses, grass, and corn?—For if the power and equity of a good king could restrain the audacity of wicked force; yet there are so many local pretensions of law, so many loopholes; such in-

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tricacies made; so many presentations before twelve men, and other contrivances, that scarcely any ecclesiastic dares to say, that what he possesses, will be his own."

Having painted these evils, he very emphatically calls upon the convocation to end all their differences: "Let there be no more schisms among us. Let us not dispute either upon law or reason. If any one has a measure to propose of reform, in the clerical state, or jurisdiction, let him come here and propose it to this assembly. Here we sit remote from laymen. No wicked Ham can here act indecently to his father, nor have seat or voice among us."

"So I wish that all preachers, who would suggest any thing great to prelates or ecclesiastical persons, for their emendation, would chuse such a place apart, to announce the crimes of their pastors, where the horned cattle will not be present with us. Where they who particularly exult, and erect their horns to strike the pastors of their churches, and to disperse their flocks, may *not learn from us* what is objectionable in us."

"We have now rolled the stone, from which — from which, I say, the people laugh at us, and make us their songs all the day long."

He again exhorts the different orders of the church to love each other as brethren. He reminds them, that some of the middle ranks of the people (the third in order) are not slothful spectators of such an odious contest, and attend to it only to consider and look forward to its inevitable result.⁶³

To this survey of the leading interests and feelings of the various classes of the state, let us add the recollection of the spirit of individual violence, which then generally raged in society, both at home and

The violent spirit
of the
times.

⁶³ MSS. Cleop. E. 3. pp. 106—116.

abroad. One of its worst features was an indifference to the shedding of human blood, especially in the upper ranks, which to us is inconceivable. The duke of Burgundy easily found gentlemen to assassinate the duke of Orleans⁶⁴; and the Dauphin, with every previous treachery, had Burgundy destroyed in his presence.⁶⁵ Friars of repute even preached, to justify such deeds.⁶⁶

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It was not only in a civil war, that after defeating 50,000 people of Liege, with 3200 men, their feudal lord purposely continued the slaughter, till 28,000 had perished⁶⁷; but when in regular battle the admiral of Bretagne had beaten the English fleet, and taken 2000 prisoners, the greater part of these were thrown over board and drowned.⁶⁸ Where there was no hope of ransom, there was little mercy. Garrisons were repeatedly put to the sword, after being taken by storm, by both the English and French, in France⁶⁹; and the count Namur seized and beheaded his illegitimate brother, because he had consented to his sister's marriage with a great lord, whom he disliked.⁷⁰ Of the unsparing cruelty with which the English nobility and gentry put each other to death after capture, in their civil contests, we have before given frequent instances.⁷¹ To behead or kill a personal or political enemy, the moment they had him in their power, seems to have been a matter of course. If two gentlemen met, who had any dislike towards

⁶⁴ See vol. ii. of this History, p. 202.

⁶⁵ See vol. ii. of this History, p. 282.

⁶⁶ Monst. vol. i. p. 220.

⁶⁷ When the duke was asked, after the defeat, if they should cease from slaying the Liegeois, he replied, "Let them all die together, for I will not that any prisoner be made, nor that any be ransomed." Monst. vol. ii. p. 36.

⁶⁸ This was in 1403. Monst. vol. i. p. 90.

⁶⁹ Thus in 1423, when the duke of Bedford, in the month after his marriage, took Pont sur Seine, he put all the French there to the sword. Monst. vol. vi. p. 35.; and see the cruelties on the capture of Soissons, vol. iv. p. 31.; and so when Luxemburg retook Hamme, "he cruelly put to death the greater part of his enemies." Vol. vi. p. 65. Such things are often mentioned.

⁷⁰ Monst. vol. i. p. 160.

⁷¹ See especially Chaps. I. and IV. and Chap. X. of Book III.

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each other, it did not, as now, cause an honorable discussion or a single duel, on equal terms, but an immediate attack, followed by murder.⁷² The most deliberate and daring homicides were committed without remorse, and even in the face of the gazing public.

The change of sentiment in English society, on this point, is as remarkable as it is beneficial. The murderer's grudge, which in the fifteenth century was often a cherished inmate in the nobleman's breast, is now consigned to be the opprobrium of the lowest and most worthless of mankind. No others, in our happy country, now exhibit it. A few examples will be given, in the notes, of the personal violences and atrocities which repeatedly occurred, during the fifteenth century, in England.⁷³

⁷² Sir Henry Stafford, eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, had some old debate with sir Robert Harcourt, about taking a distress for rents. By chance at Coventry, Stafford, with his son Richard, was going to his inn, Richard being a little behind. Harcourt came near. He struck Richard violently on his head with his sword, who rushed on him with his dagger, but stumbling, one of Harcourt's men stabbed him in the back with a knife. His father, hearing a noise, rode up with his followers; but as he was dismounting, some one struck him on the head with an edge tool, and he fell down dead by his son. His servants pursued Harcourt's and killed two of his party, and several were wounded. Both parties were indicted, but nothing seems to have followed. Fenn's Letters, vol. i. p. 15.

⁷³ The following instances of illegal violences done by persons of the upper ranks of society, between 1410 and 1480, will shew their general conduct, whenever their passions or their interests were concerned:

An abbot, having been three years in possession of his abbey, was ousted forcibly by another, who had obtained the pope's grant of it over his head. The dispossessed abbot, with his brother and 40 friends, armed from head to foot, attacked the other; shot at him several barbed arrows to kill him, wounded him and three of his followers, and took away his jewels, plate, and property. Rolls Parl. vol. iv. p. 28.

The prior and canons of Bernewell, claiming the tenants of Chesterton as their bond ceorles, who denied their right of slavery, six priests and canons, at the instigation of another priest, laid in wait for one of the resisting tenants, on the king's highway, beat and wounded him almost to death, took away his books and bills, and kept him in prison seven years; the marks of his wounds still remaining when he petitioned Parliament for relief. *Ib.* p. 61.

It was stated to Parliament that a great number of scholars and clerks of Oxford, armed and arrayed for war, often dispossessed and ousted many persons of the contiguous counties of Oxford, Berks, and Buckingham, of their lands and tenements, so that their owners could not live on them. *Ib.* p. 131.

Another petition complained, that in Herefordshire, even before the civil wars, besides divers extortions, oppressions, and murders, various persons were lawlessly deprived of their lands and goods, and their women and children carried off, and kept in dungeons, till they had ransomed themselves

Having thus sketched the spirit and state of society, the leading persons, and the counteracting currents

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Sir John Talbot, his brother sir William, and 49 other persons, are named as pursuing these practices. *Rolls Parl.* vol. iv. p. 254.

In Cambridge, its county, and in Essex, several persons sent orders to many people, commanding them to put great sums of money in certain places, or their houses should be burnt. Many mansions were robbed and destroyed accordingly. The Irish, Welsh, and Scotch scholars at the University, are declared to be the authors of these atrocities. *Ib.* p. 358.

In 1430, the House of Commons called the attention of the government to the murders, rapes, robberies, and burnings, that pervaded the counties of Salop, York, Nottingham, Derby, and Sussex. *Ib.* p. 421.

A lady of quality's house was attacked by a gentleman, with an armed party, who forced an entrance at five in the morning, carried her away from her bed, in her linen and kirtle only; took her to a church, and insisted on the priest marrying her. She refused; he menaced. The priest read the ceremony, in spite of her resistance; and she was taken away to the wild and desolate part of Wales. *Ib.* pp. 497, 498.

In 1439, another lady of distinction complained of her late husband's great friend, who had undertaken to conduct her to her sick mother. On the way, an armed ambush, he had secretly provided, started into the road, smote her on the arm, and beat down her servant. Her friend pretended to relieve her, but it was only to carry her to the marches of Wales, where he kept her without any meat or drink, but a little whey, till she was nearly dead, that she might consent to marry him. On her refusal, she was put into a dungeon at Glamorgan, and threatened to be transported to the Snowdon mountains. Tho she was pregnant, she was forced to a church; she persisted in her refusal; and, notwithstanding her outcries, was taken off, and violated. *Ib.* vol. v. p. 15.

In 1472, as the deputy of the duchy of Cornwall was sitting on the bench, holding its legal court, a gentleman, who had malice against him for the office, suddenly, with 14 armed men, attacked and grievously wounded him and his servants; tore the official rolls, and robbed and imprisoned him without relief, that he might bleed to death, till they had compelled him to give the release and pecuniary bonds which they desired. After they had let him go, the same person procured others to way-lay him at a fair; killed him, clove his head into four pieces, and cut off one of his legs and arms and head, and stripped his body of all his money. *Ib.* vol. vi. pp. 35—37.

In the same year, as another person was travelling in Yorkshire, three brothers, for some grudge, suddenly thrust at him with a spear; and when he had fallen from his horse, with their swords they smote off both his hands and one of his arms, and hamstrung his legs; and left him bleeding and dying, taking away his armor. They then endeavoured to get into the duke of Gloucester's service, to have his protection against all legal consequences. *Ib.* p. 38.

About the same time, as sir John Asheton, with his lady and family and friends, were at his manor house, she then in childbed, a squire, at the head of 200 persons in arms, and sounding their horns and trumpets, at two in the morning attacked his fortified house; broke down the walls, and, with fire that they had brought with them in a salette, set fire to the gates. To save his wife's life, and stop the outrages, he was compelled to come forth, and submit to them. They carried him to Pomfret castle, and extorted from him a bond of 1000*l.* *Ib.* p. 51.

As a Cornish gentleman, with his wife and family, were going on a pilgrimage, they were attacked by ten others with bows and arrows, swords and bills, acting under the orders of a neighbouring gentleman. They escaped much wounded, but were afterwards again assailed by them, when reinforced by 30 others, a part of whom afterwards assaulted and plundered his mansion. *Ib.* p. 54.

In 1477, a gentleman headed 24 persons, by the command of the duke of Clarence, broke into a lady's house, and carried her off violently to Bath; took all her jewels and money; separated her from all her servants, and imprisoned her; and

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of interests and passions, amid which Richard was, by his brother's unexpected death, suddenly called upon to act, we proceed to narrate the events that ensued; which, from the preceding considerations, may be expected to be of an odious and direful kind; not in him alone, but in all who were then struggling for ascendancy or advantage.

then caused her to be indicted on an absurd charge of contriving the death of the duchess. *Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 173.*

Even official men used their power to give effect to their rapacity. The inhabitants of the Isle of Wight complained to Parliament, that John Newport, the steward of the isle, tho he had but ten marks a year from his office, and had no other livelihood, yet kept an household and a countenance like a lord, with as rich wines as might be: naming himself Newport the galaunt, or Newport the rich. To maintain this style, he so acted, "the country daily cursed him, that ever he came there." *Ib. vol. v. p. 205.*

CHAP. VII.

First Acts and Divisions of the Royal Council. — King brought to London. — Arrest of Lord RIVERS. — GLOUCESTER made Regent. — Further Party Contests. — Death of HASTINGS.

THE funeral of Edward was attended by the lords of all the parties who were then in London; but Buckingham was not among the number.¹ It is probable, that none of those who were in power at that time, wished to introduce him into it.

As Gloucester was in the marches bordering on Scotland, at Edward's death, and it had occurred so unexpectedly, the first measures of the government must have been without his participation; and therefore shew the conflicts that would have occurred, independently of his interference. The royal council appointed the 4th May for the new coronation, and urged the young king to come up immediately to London²: so far they were unanimous. Every one wished him to succeed to all his father's majesty.³ But while so young, some sort of regency was thought necessary, or rather was desired by those who coveted power; and the first disturbing question was, to whom

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¹ His body was borne by sir John Cheyney, master of horse, sir Thomas Tyrrell, and others. Lord Howard bore his banneret, and these peers followed:

Earl Lincoln,
Marquis Dorset,
Earl Huntingdon,
Viscount Berkeley,
Lord Stanley, high steward,
Hastings, king's chamberlain,

Lord Dacre, queen's chamberlain,
Dudley,
Burgenny,
Audley,
Lyle,
Cobham,
Wellys.

Harl. MSS. vol. vi. p. 111.

By the MSS. Vit. l. 17., in the Cotton library, it appears, that Edward's mother the duchess of York, in 1480, became a Benedictine nun. p. 250.

² Hist. Croyl. p. 564.

³ Ib.

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should this be intrusted. A division arose on this important subject. That it was aspired to, if not claimed by the queen's family, is evident, by the more prudent part of the council determining that it should not be held by the king's maternal uncles or brothers.⁴ But the decision of their votes could but produce a temporary exclusion; it still remained to be afterwards contested, as a matter of influence or power. Hence the next and most vital question arose (and both occurred in Gloucester's absence, and without his privity at that time), with what degree of military force should the king come up from Ludlow to London. They who had decided, that the Woodvilles or Greys should not be the regents, perceived that this exclusion could not be effected, unless the number of the royal forces brought from Wales should be sufficiently restricted⁵; as resolutions in council would be useless against a superior martial force. Hastings thought, that if they came in strength, they would avenge their former resentments on him, as long-standing ill-will had prevailed between him and this party.⁶ He therefore declared, that unless the king and Rivers advanced to the metropolis, with such a retinue as could cause no alarm, he would retire to his government at Calais⁷, and there abide the issue. These feelings avowed a determination to appeal to the sword, rather than to be in the power of his political rivals. The queen's friends had the same motives to dread and distrust their antagonists. It was visibly a dangerous game of political chess, of which life and dignity were the stake. Both parties had reason to expect mortal attacks from each other, on account of preceding injuries, as well as from present competition: neither could give confidence,

⁴ We learn this from Croyland, p. 564. He says, the "prudenciores" of the council so decided it.

⁵ Ib.

⁶ Ib. p. 565.

⁷ Ib.

or expect favor; and all that could be then done was to watch each other with balancing forces, till one of them could obtain the chances of a deciding superiority.

The queen suspended, rather than prevented, the impending battle, by proposing, that her brother's forces should be limited to 2000 men. Hastings assented to this, because he thought that his own powers, with those of Gloucester and Buckingham, whom he now found it necessary to act with, would be fully equal to those.⁸ The queen communicated the agreement to Rivers.

Gloucester was, during these transactions, in the north; and his conduct, on hearing of his brother's death, was frank, decided, honorable, and loyal. He wrote to the queen kind and consoling letters, assuring her of his fidelity and duty to the king; and reaching York, he celebrated there a funeral service for Edward, with affectionate pomp; and caused all the nobility of those parts to swear fealty to the king; and, as an example, he took the oath of allegiance himself first.⁹ No behaviour could avow more sincerity and good meaning than this early loyalty. It was contrary to all common policy to have fettered himself, and the nobility of the north, with the obligations of an oath to Edward, if he had then meant to supplant him. Such an action was only creating the formidable obstacles of conscience and honor against himself, without any impulsive necessity.

Artifice would have appointed the day of fealty

⁸ Croyl. p. 565. I have taken these facts from this valuable author, who was a near spectator of these events, and had been employed by Edward IV. as one of his ambassadors, in preference to More, who could only have his account from the information of Richard's enemies.

⁹ Ibid. After the funeral at York, Richard received at night a private messenger from Buckingham, who came to assure him, that his master would act with him, and could command "a thousand good fellows if need were." The same messenger met Richard at Nottingham, before he reached Northampton. More, p. 252.

after the coronation, instead of volunteering it beforehand. The most honorable intentions could not, at least, have acted more uprightly. It is necessary to attend to all these circumstances, because the historical probability seems to be, that Gloucester was gradually led to all that he did by the events and emergencies that successively occurred, instead of having started from the beginning an atrocious and preternatural villain, of the foulest treachery, and the darkest deceit; a witch-born Caliban, rather than a man. The son of a high-minded father; brother of a gallant and generous king; head of a brave, chivalrous, and spirited, tho' haughty, violent, and irascible nobility, and himself but entering the vestibule of manhood, was not likely to have been such a revolting monster.

Edward V. remained at Ludlow till the 23rd of April, and there celebrated St. George's day, with those splendid entertainments, which usually distinguished the anniversary of the popular champion of England. On the 24th he set off for London¹⁰ with his uncles, lord Rivers and lord Richard Grey, sir Thomas Vaughan, and a retinue not exceeding the appointed number.

Having seen what was done by the late king's cabinet council, at London, during Gloucester's absence, it is important to observe what the queen's friends did before he met them, and, therefore, of their own free will and deliberate choice; recollecting that the minds of all parties being in a state of the most jealous suspicion, and each being in the greatest personal danger from the other, nothing but the most straight-forward, unsuspecting, and upright actions ought to have been done, till time and mutual intercourse had, if it were possible, allayed each other's

¹⁰ Ross, Hist. Reg. p. 212.

fears, and laid some foundation for harmonious co-operation.

The marquis Dorset took the king's treasure out of the Tower, of which he was governor, and with part of it equipped a naval fleet.¹¹ This was, in fact, securing it for the queen's party; and providing a force at his own command on the sea, which the compact with the queen had prevented on land. Falconbridge's attack on London in the preceding reign, proved what a formidable attack might be made with an hostile navy. To take possession of such an engine of power as the treasure of the crown, before the regent was appointed, was to secure the most ready and formidable means of endangering and counteracting both him and his government.

Rivers accompanied the king to Northampton, to meet Gloucester, who set off from York for the same place. The most natural wish of the duke's mind, in its most honorable purposes, and most reasonable expectations, was to pay his homage and congratulation to his royal nephew, as soon as possible; and the candid conduct of Rivers obviously would have been, to have made the meeting as early, as frank, and as confiding as he could, if he was himself disposed to establish cordiality, or to remove any mistrust between himself and Gloucester, or between Gloucester and the king. But instead of thus acting, and as if to prevent Gloucester from any interview with his nephew, Rivers, as soon as he arrived at Northampton, sent the king thirteen miles in advance to Stoney Stratford, while he remained behind to receive the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham; so that, when they came to Northampton, they found

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¹¹ More owns this, tho he says it was "done for good purposes, and necessary, by the whole council at London." p 167. The ecclesiastical lords may have turned the majority of the council to sanction this measure; but it is impossible that Hastings could have assented to it, and there were no foreign dangers to make it of immediate urgency.

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the king not there.¹² That it was a part of Rivers's plan, that the king should hasten to London, without seeing Gloucester, seems evident, from the duke finding his sovereign early the next day at Stratford, ready to leap on horseback, and depart forward¹³, without waiting for any one. If Rivers and the Greys had projected to keep the king exclusively in their hands, they could not have taken a more direct course to this object. No step could be more expressive, at least, of such an intention; and if it were adopted from mere caution, it was, at least, the measure most likely to alarm and dissatisfy Gloucester's mind, and to fill it with jealousy, and anger, and apprehension.

Buckingham reached Northampton with 300 men, about the same time that Gloucester arrived there, with 600 gentlemen of the north, and both were introduced to Rivers. The immediate result was, a cordial greeting, and protracted friendly banquet, between the three noblemen.¹⁴ They separated for the night with great courtesy; but while Rivers retired to his repose, happy, perhaps, that he had so managed as to give the king the start to London, the two dukes, "with a few of their most privy friends, set them down in council, wherein they spent a great part of the night."¹⁵

The discussions of this consultation are not mentioned, but we can perceive for ourselves, what subjects they had to consider. The singularity of the king's being sent on before, as if to avoid them; the fact of the queen's relations having pretended to the regency; her son Dorset having taken possession of the king's treasure; the desire of this party, that their friends should come up from Wales, with

¹² This is More's account: "The king was in his way to London, gone from Northampton, when these dukes came thither. Where remained behind the lord Rivers, intending on the morrow to follow." p. 165.

¹³ More, p. 167.

¹⁴ *Ib.* pp. 165. 252. Croyl. p. 565.

¹⁵ More, p. 165. Croyl. p. 565.

an army of force, which only Hastings's resolution had prevented; and the certainty that when the king was in London, surrounded by his mother's friends, and exercising the royal power, it would be directed against them, by their political antagonists, from his predilections, and the queen's and her family influence;—These were topics that demanded the most anxious consideration, as they involved the safety and fortune of all who were not of the Woodville party. It was not a dark, private plotting, between Gloucester and Buckingham only; More says, that they sat down in council, with a few of their most privy friends. It was, therefore, a serious discussion of their party, on the measures proper to be taken, in a critical and perilous conjuncture. It was the same debate, in this council, which had been agitated in the cabinet council at London: Whether the queen's family should exclude, or be excluded, from the regency and government—and whether this should be determined by an appeal to open war, or by their using the opportunity that lay before them? The battle would have the disadvantage, that the king's feelings being with the Woodvilles, all who opposed them must be rebels, and be attainted of treason, if they failed in arms.

The result of the deliberation was, that Rivers, Grey, and the king's friends, should be forcibly arrested; and the king be taken immediately out of their hands. Nothing can be said in justification of such conduct. It was injustice, violence, and legal, tho not intentional, treason. But it was a resort to crime, to prevent the exertion of similar crime, apprehended to be in contemplation against themselves. It was violence anticipating violence. The action was abominable; but there seems no reason to doubt, that their apprehensions were well founded. It is in a crisis like this, that true virtue

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displays itself. Alarm often hurries men of mere worldly honor, sometimes, indeed, infirm rectitude itself, into vice: but genuine probity allows no circumstances of danger, or profit, ever to reduce it to think, that the end can sanctify the means; or that what is really criminal can cease to be so, because it happens to become expedient. The nobility of England were then too ambitious to be upright; and no one cared how they secured the glittering objects for which they were contending. The folly, as well as the iniquity of such conduct, is written in characters of blood and misery, in the history of England, from the elevation of Suffolk to the accession of Henry VII.

At dawn, the dukes broke up their council, and privately ordering their followers to harness themselves for their journey, planted some on the road to Stoney Stratford, to prevent any one from going thither without their permission, and had the keys of the inn, where they and Rivers lodged, placed before them. He rose to depart; but finding himself obstructed, went boldly to the dukes, and inquired the cause of the impediment. They accused him of setting a distance between the king and them, and of meditating to bring them to confusion; but assured him that he should not have the power.¹⁶ He attempted to excuse himself; but as he had, in fact, separated the king from them, no apologies availed. He was put into custody, and they advanced to Stoney Stratford.¹⁷

They found the king and his retinue on the point of departing for London; the allegation is, because Stratford was too small for both companies. This was no doubt the ostensible reason; which may have been true at Stratford, tho it could not have been

¹⁶ More, p. 166.

¹⁷ *Ib.* p. 167.

so at Northampton, where parliaments had been frequently held. As soon as they came into the king's presence, they alighted down, with all their friends; and, Buckingham ordering his gentlemen and yeomanry to go before and take their places, they approached the king in goodly array, and saluted him on their knees, with uncovered heads, in a very humble manner.¹⁸ There is no occasion to ascribe this to their hypocrisy. It was their duty, according to the custom of the age; and as their first intentions seem not to have reached beyond securing the regency and the administration, it was the natural expression of their feelings, as well-educated men.

The king received them kindly; but in a short time, in his presence, they accused lord Richard Grey of conspiring with Dorset and Rivers, to rule the king and the realm, to set variance among its estates, and to subdue and destroy the noble blood of the nation¹⁹; and they adduced the seizure of the royal treasure, by the marquis, as evidence of this design. Edward disavowed any knowledge of what Dorset had done; and strongly expressing his belief of the innocence of at least Rivers and Grey; Buckingham replied, that they had kept his good grace in ignorance of their plottings.²⁰ Gloucester assured him, that he was acting in his own defence, as those persons were confederating against his honor and life.²¹ Grey and Vaughan were instantly arrested; all went back to Northampton, where the dukes held again another council on their most expedient course of conduct.²² These events happened on Wednesday, the last day of April.²³

¹⁸ More, p. 167. Croyl. p. 565.

¹⁹ More, p. 167.

²⁰ *Ib.* p. 168.

²¹ Croyl. p. 565. Rous, who lived at the time, says, they were conspired against, because they had contrived the duke's death, p. 213. So that this was the belief at the time.

²² More, p. 168.

²³ Croyl. *Ib.*

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They discharged from the king his former attendants, and placed their own friends about him. He wept at this, but could not prevent it. At dinner, Gloucester sent from his own table a dish to lord Rivers, praying him to be of good cheer, as all should end well. The earl returned his thanks for the courtesy, but desired it might be carried to his nephew lord Richard, to whom adversity was a novelty. To this he added, that he himself had been inured to it, and therefore could bear it better.²⁴ The arrested noblemen were then sent to different castles in Yorkshire. There is no evidence, that at this period, Gloucester intended to destroy them, whatever might be the wishes of Hastings. The duke was coming to town to obtain the regency, and to judge for himself of the state of the different parties, and of the line of conduct he should pursue. He had, as yet, no interest to do more than to depress the queen's party till he was settled as regent. By what coalitions he should most securely possess and exercise his dignity, and secure the king's future favor, he had yet to ascertain. It was not become quite visible, whether Hastings or the Woodvilles would act most submittingly or most cordially with him.

But thus far it is clear, that Rivers had thrown himself into the lion's mouth, and provoked its grasp by his own refining policy. The very act of sending the king forward to London, by which he thought to put him out of Gloucester's reach or influence, occasioned both himself and his nephew to fall into Richard's power; for by dividing, in this manner, the forces he had brought with him, he enabled Gloucester, by his superior numbers, to disarm him

²⁴ More, p. 168. Rivers mentioned the same feeling six years before, in the introduction to his "Dictes," when he said of himself, "Every human creature is subject to the storms of fortune, and perplexed with worldly adversity, of which he had largely had his part; but having been relieved by the goodness of God, he was exhorted to dispose his recovered life to his service." Oldys, Brit. Lib. p. 65.

at Northampton, and in the same manner to overpower his friends at Stratford. If he had kept the king with him at Northampton, this could not have been attempted, as the followers of both the dukes amounted but to 900 men. But the separation gave his antagonists both the temptation and the opportunity to do what they effected. Gloucester ordered all those who had accompanied the king from Ludlow, to withdraw from the town, and not to come near the places where he resided, on pain of death.²⁵

A little before midnight, the news of these transactions arrived in London. The queen, terrified, immediately left her palace with her youngest son and daughters, and lodged herself in the sanctuary of the abbot's residence.²⁶ Hastings, who approved of what had been done at Northampton, sent the communication of it to the chancellor archbishop, then in bed, with an assurance, that there was no cause for any apprehension, but that all would be well.²⁷ But the prelate went immediately with his household, "every man weaponed," to the queen. He found all her servants busy in taking into the sanctuary her coffers and goods, but herself sitting alone on the rushes, all desolate and dismayed. He strove to comfort her by the chamberlain's message; but she told him, that Hastings was one of those who were laboring to destroy both her and her blood. He promised her, that if they crowned any other than her eldest son, he and his friends would, the next day, make her youngest, king, and delivered into her hands the great seal for the benefit of her son.²⁸

The next day all was commotion, curiosity, mur-

²⁵ Croyl. His preceptor Alcock, bishop of Worcester, was removed with the rest. Rous, p. 213.

²⁶ Croyl. p. 565. More, p. 169.

²⁷ The prelate's foreseeing reply to him was, "Be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as we have seen it." More, p. 169.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 170.

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murs, discussion, and conjecture, in the metropolis. The active and zealous immediately took their different sides—all armed themselves; some went to the queen, and others to Hastings²⁹, and a deadly conflict appeared approaching. The peers of parliament assembled: the chancellor, anticipating that his hastiness would be censured, sent to the queen for the seals back again: and Hastings assured the lords, that Gloucester was faithful to the king; and that the arrested persons had been secured, not for his majesty's jeopardy, but for their own plots against their antagonists, and would be detained only till they could be fairly examined and judged.³⁰ He caused it to be publicly dispersed, that the dukes were bringing up the king, expressly for his coronation: and that the Woodville party had been contriving the destruction of the noble blood of the kingdom, that they alone might govern the king at their pleasure.³¹ It is too probable that these representations either were true or would have been soon made so. It was the unhappy state of the case, that one party was certain of so acting towards the other. The only difference was, that Rivers had given to his competitors the opportunity of being the first to act; and after an anxious deliberation, they had promptly seized and effectually used it. It is manifest, that thus far Gloucester had done nothing but what Buckingham, Hastings, and their friends, wished, approved, and thought necessary.

The metropolis was soon quieted, by the tidings of the king's approach to London. The lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, in their scarlet gowns, and 500 citizens on horseback, in velvet, met the king at Hornsey, and accompanied him into the city, to the

²⁹ More, p. 170. Croyl. p. 566.

³⁰ More, pp. 171, 172.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 172. Carts of armor were taken to London by the duke's servants, as evidence of the preparations that had been making by Rivers and his friends, to effectuate what they were charged with. p. 173.

bishop's palace at St. Paul's, on the 4th of May. Gloucester was seen by all, behaving to him with that demeanor of reverential humility³², with uncovered head and humble bows, with which the sovereign was then attended. Soon afterwards, all the peers took the oath of fealty to Edward.

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But the arrival of the king in the metropolis set all the feelings of ambition into full activity. He was found to be an interesting prince, of pleasing manners, and of cultivated and advancing mind.³³ He was in his fourteenth year; and the first considerations that occurred were, as to the necessity of a regency, its nature, and the person who should exercise it.

From his proximity of blood, there could be no competitor with Gloucester, as the fittest person; but he was not made regent. The precedent under Henry VI. of appointing a protector and defender only, was carefully followed³⁴; and, as in that instance, the exercise of the royal authority was intrusted to a superadded council of regency.³⁵ From a loss of the parliamentary documents, we cannot specify from the records the members of this council, as in the case of Henry VI.; but the names of those who acted will afterwards appear. Gloucester seems to have been first nominated, or suggested to be protector, by the government council.

On the 13th of May, a new parliament was summoned to meet on the 25th day of June³⁶; yet a

³² More, p. 173.

³³ More says, of both him and his brother, that they "had as many gifts of nature; as many princely virtues; as much goodly towardness, as their age could receive." p. 152. Rous describes him as of "mirabilis ingenii, et in literatura, pro tempore suo, optime expeditus." p. 212.

³⁴ "Acceptit illum solennem magistratum, qui duci Humfrido Glocestre, stante minore ætate regis Henrici, ut regni protector appellaretur, olim contingebat." Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

³⁵ See before, vol. ii. p. 287.

³⁶ We learn this new fact from the register at Lambeth, which has preserved the summons to the archbishop; it is dated May 13, and states, that the king had ordered a Parliament to meet on June 25. It has been printed in the Royal Wills, p. 347. As it does not mention the protectorate, it shews that this did not exist on May 13.

parliamentary meeting took place in May, for the historian of Croyland mentions, "that the residence of Edward was discussed" in the senate; and I have found the copy of a speech delivered from the throne³⁷, to the three estates of the kingdom, as assembled in parliament, in the name of Edward V. and in his presence, as also before the duke of Gloucester. The probability is, that the late king's chancellor and ministry continuing at first in office, collected the members of the parliament existing at his demise, to meet for present exigencies; and that a new one was ordered to be summoned.³⁸ This official speech proves, that the youthful sovereign was brought by his uncle to meet his parliament in the usual royal manner.³⁹ The address is made to it, not in the protector's name, but in the sovereign's⁴⁰; it was delivered to the lords and commons in Edward's presence, whom he styles "Kyng Edward the Fifth."⁴¹

³⁷ It is in the Cotton MSS. Vitell. E 10. It has been so much injured by fire, and is so burnt round the edges, that the commencement and speaker's name are destroyed. Like most of the speeches by which parliament was then opened, if a bishop was the chancellor, it begins with a scripture "texte, such as I found yn the divine service of yestyrday's fest." These words make it probable that the speech was made on a Monday.

³⁸ As the first act of Richard, as protector, is dated the 19th May, and the first grant of Edward from the Tower is on the same day, and as that day in May 1483 was on a Monday, I would infer that this speech was delivered, and the protectorate appointed, on the 19th May. The two acts alluded to are in Harl. MSS. No. 433.

³⁹ After mentioning, that in kingdoms "theyr public body ys compowned of three notable partes; the prince, the nobles, and the people,"—it adds, "and therefore having to speke at thys tyme of all three as *they be nowe here assembled for the wele of thys most noble and famous reme of England.*" MSS. Vitell. E 10.

⁴⁰ The speaker says, "My mynd is, that thys schuld be the word of the kyng, and by me to be spoken at thys tyme in hys name."—He then personifies his royal master, and adds, "God hath called me at my tender age, to be your kyng and sovereign." MSS. *ibid.*

⁴¹ After his texte he says, "the whych to my purpose implyeth the present estate of our nobles, our commons, and our glorious prince and kyng, Edward the Fifth, *here present.*" In another part he mentioned, "Wele ys this young prince our sovereign lerd here present, set between two brethren, that one his fadyr; that other hys uncle:"—This would seem to imply, that there was some picture or statue of the late king near the throne. It proceeds, "The rule of the first (his father) is determined by the over-hastely course of nature. The second (Gloucester) is ordeyned as next in perfect age of the blod ryall, to be hys tutor and protector, to take example of majorall kunnyng, felicite, and experience." MSS. Vitell. E 10.

This speech was made to both lords and commons, as if in full parliament before the throne.⁴² The king is there spoken of to his people in terms of the highest eulogy⁴³, Gloucester himself attending; a source of popularity to Edward, which his uncle would never have suffered, if he had then intended to depose him.⁴⁴

That it was a parliamentary body he was addressing, appears from its being expressly so mentioned.⁴⁵ He urges it to confirm to Richard his title of Protector, "That at the departyng of the lordys, and of such as ben here for the commons, everich to their proper home, the armes, hand and fete of thys gret body of England; the kyng may have cause largely

⁴² The speaker, representing the king, says, "First, to you, right noble lordys spiritual and temporal; secondly, to you, worshipful syrres, representing the commons, God hath called me, at my tender age, to be your kyng and sovereign." MSS. Vitel. E 10. In the quaint style of that day, which was thought rich eloquence, it digresses to state, that "the cosmographers, which have left to us in their writings the description of the round world," had divided it into land and water, with rivers. This was to lay a basis for the following comparison:—"And therefore the noble persons of the world, which some for the merth of their ancestors; some for their own virtues, been endued with gret havours, possessions, and riches, may more conveniently be resembled unto the *ferme ground* that men see in the land. Then the *common people*, which for lack of such endument not possible to be departed among so many, and therefore living by their casual labours, be, not without cause, likened to the unstable and wavering running water." MSS. *ibid.*

⁴³ After mentioning the grants from parliament to other kings, he exclaims, in a very ingenious appeal to their liberality, "Who can suppose, but that they that see the most toward and virtuous disposition of our sovereign lord that *now is*; his gentyl witte, and ripe understanding, far passing the nature of his youth;—who can think, but that the lords and commons of this land will as agreeably purvey for the sure maintenance of his high estate, as any of their predecessors have done to any other kyng of England afore?" MSS. *ibid.*

⁴⁴ The speech also praises Gloucester: "considered the necessary charge, which, in the tyme of the kyng's tender age, must nedely be borne and supported by the right noble and famous prince the duke of Gloucestre, his uncle, protector of the reme; in whose great prudence, wisdom, and fortunes, restyth, at this seson, the execution of the defence of this reme; as well against the open enemies as against the *subtyl and faynt friends* of the same." MSS. *ibid.* It also says, "of the tutele and oversight of the kyng's most royal person during the years of tenderness, my said lord protector will acquit himself like to Marcus Emilius Lepidus." MSS. *ibid.*

⁴⁵ "The power and auctorite of my lord protector is so behoffull and of reason to be assented and established by the auctorite of *this* hygh court, that among all the causes of the assembling of the parliament in thys tyme of the yere, thys is the grettest and most necessarie to be affermed. God graunte, that this matter, and sych others as of necessite owyth to be first moved for the use of the kyng, and the defence of thys lond, may have suche goode expedition yn thys hygh courte of parliament, as the ease of the people, and the condition and the tyme requireth." MSS. *ibid.*

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to rejoice, and say to my lord protector, his uncle, here present, 'Uncle! I am glad to have you confirmed in this place, to be my protector.'"⁴⁶

We have no official detail of what was done in this parliamentary meeting. That Richard was appointed protector, appears from all the subsequent events; and it is mentioned, that it was publicly discussed in the senate⁴⁷, in what more suitable place than the bishop's palace the king should reside. Some named the priory of St. John's, Clerkenwell, and others Westminster; but Buckingham recommending the Tower, this was thought to be so proper, that even they who had wished otherwise, assented to it⁴⁸; and the king removed thither. The coronation was recommended to be about Midsummer.

We shall misconceive the state of things, if we suppose that Richard had, at this moment, the power of commanding events, or of perpetrating what he pleased; or could as he wished control the king. He had at this period no military force of his own to overawe any party; for that which he afterwards wanted and obtained, did not come up till the end of June, after he had taken the throne.⁴⁹ He was now in the same sea of trouble, ambition, and conflict, in which all the great men were then engaged; and was in equal danger and in equal uncertainty, even of his own interests and dignity, as any of those who then surrounded him.

⁴⁶ MSS. Vitel. E 10. The speech ends with this intimation, which proves that Richard had been named protector before, by the lords of the council, as More intimates, p. 172.; and that it did not become a parliamentary appointment until the end of May. This is an important fact in distinguishing Richard's real plans and motives; because it shews, that he had not been fully seated in this dignity until this time; and therefore till the parliament affirmed it, the honor remained in sufficient doubt and uncertainty, considering the state of parties, to agitate Richard's mind.

⁴⁷ Hist. Croyl. "Sermo in senatu." p. 566.

⁴⁸ "In ejus sententiam ab omnibus etiam qui id nolebant verbis, itum est." Ibid. By Edward's grants it appears, that he was in the bishop's palace on the 9th May, and in the Tower on the 19th. Harl. MSS. No. 433. pp. 221, 222.

⁴⁹ See further, pp. 179. 186 of this volume.

His political position, at this juncture, has not been considered; but if duly contemplated, will be found to have been peculiar and critical. He was not made regent, like his father in Henry's illness, but he was appointed protector, after the precedent of the same dignity, in the minority of Henry VI.; but this, as already mentioned, conferred no actual power. It invested him with nominal and presiding dignity, but made him only one of the lords of the council of regency.⁵⁰ This precedent left him under the anxiety of even this conferred dignity ceasing as soon as Edward was crowned. No writer has attended to this fact. Henry VI. was crowned at eight years of age, for the express purpose of terminating the protectorial office.⁵¹ According to this precedent, Richard's dignity would cease at Edward's coronation, and if so, would not last two months. Hence the question could not fail to be in Gloucester's mind, Whether it was meant, that he should be dispossessed of it, like his namesake, at that period. This would, in the first instance, depend on what the majority of the cabinet council, or council of regency, should determine; and this majority would either rest on the conduct of Hastings, or on the superior influence of the queen's party, if that should be the greatest. The same point would also remain in the decision of the new parliament, which was to meet on the 25th of June. If thus degraded, he would be like the former Gloucester, but a lord of regency; thwarted, disregarded, endangered; and at last attacked as he was.⁵²

For he had been led to place himself in still greater personal jeopardy than that unfortunate prince. That by acquiescing in the plans of Buckingham and Hastings to arrest Rivers and Grey, he had deeply offended these nobles and the king, and also the

⁵⁰ See before, p. 149. *ibid.*⁵² See before, vol. ii. p. 434, &c.⁵¹ See before, vol. ii. p. 399.

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queen, is palpable, and is confessed. He had therefore every thing to dread from the royal resentment, as Buckingham and Hastings also had, as soon as the king attained a fuller age. The queen did not disguise her mistrust and dread.⁵³ Gloucester had therefore nothing but peril before him; and needed as much protection and assistance as any other of the then agitated peerage.

But from whom could Gloucester procure this aid and safety? He could not obtain it from the nation against the king, without direct rebellion, civil war, and all its crimes and evils. His strength could only be made up by the adhesion to his interest of the powerful great. But from which of these was he to acquire that cordial alliance and co-operation which would prolong his protectorate, shield him against the king's future anger, and against the present effect and plans of all those who, knowing the king's feelings and wishes, would be every day confederating against him? Who would erect for him a general banner of safety, in that stormy day, against the competitions and combinations of the nobles themselves, and amid the conflict and alarms of the church establishment, and of the emerging feelings and antipathies of the people?

The leaders of the church, who were in the council, were not his friends. They had been in the confidence of Edward; they favored his queen — they would not fail to ally themselves with her son. Indeed, their relation, as the chosen executors of his last will⁵⁴, made this bias a species of pious duty, in addition to their moral loyalty. Rotheram, the archbishop of York, having displayed an instability of

⁵³ More, pp. 170. 192.

⁵⁴ The executors appointed by Edward IV. were, the archbishop of York, the bishops of Lincoln, Chichester, and Ely; Hastings, Stanley, and sir Thomas Montgomery. Royal Wills, p. 348. The will is not now extant.

mind, or being less able, was displaced; and John Russell, the bishop of Lincoln, was appointed the lord chancellor, in his stead.⁵⁵ His abilities and character are highly praised⁵⁶; but he had been Edward's privy seal, and therefore was to be considered as one of the supporters of the young king's interests, and, as connected with them, of his feelings likewise.

Morton, the bishop of Ely, was decidedly on that side; and being a man of very superior talents⁵⁷, would probably take the lead against the protector, as the cardinal of Winchester had done under Henry VI. It was not, therefore, on the ecclesiastical part of the ruling council, that Gloucester could rely for his support.

Of the lay lords, the most prominent, the most powerful, the most active, and the most formidable, and one of the most ambitious, was Hastings. Grateful for twenty years of patronage and kindness from Edward IV., he was the natural and zealous friend of his son, with no limitation but his resentment against Rivers, for former competitions and conceived wrongs, and from present rivalry and alarm. He had joined Gloucester, to put down Rivers and the Greys, not from affection to Richard, or from alienation to Edward, but from fear and aversion to them. Their arrest and imprisonment took them out of the present field of ambition, and made him the most important friend of the young king; and the natural centre in the metropolis, of all the feelings, interests, and passions, that were attached to Edward's power and reign. This position put Hastings into the first rank of opposition against Gloucester. He stood as the bulwark, shield, and sword of all the parties, and

⁵⁵ More, p. 174.

⁵⁶ "A wise man and a good, and of much experience, and one of the best learned men, undoubtedly, that England had in his time." More, p. 174.

⁵⁷ See his character in More's Hist. pp. 254, 255. But sir Thomas describes him most fully in the Utopia, p. 20.

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their interests, who did not make Gloucester their patron. Whether he chose it or not, the natural state of things thus placed and kept him: and the release of Rivers, to dispute with him the pre-eminence as the king's friend, could alone alter this situation.

Hence it does not seem possible, that Hastings and Gloucester could long act cordially together. But as the protector had Rivers and Grey in the hands of his friends, he possessed some control over the mind of the lord chamberlain. To make his power and influence certain, against these dangerous, and now indignant, tho imprisoned rivals, Hastings had concurred in council to have them tried and executed.⁵⁸ It was the selfish interest of Hastings to obtain this foul act, because while they lived, Gloucester might seek to please the king, by liberating and uniting with them; and that would ensure the destruction of the hostile chamberlain: and if the protector did not use this policy, nor threaten it, yet if by any other means they should obtain their release, they would immediately supersede him in the affections of his sovereign.

The party whom we have called the queen's friends, tho, from the king's identity of feeling with them, they may be now more properly considered as his interior and immediate party, is represented in the speech ascribed by More to Hastings, as equal in strength to what opposed them.⁵⁹ Two of their leaders, the marquis of Dorset and lord Lyle, were yet in the metropolis, tho in sanctuary; and therefore this body of active partisans, whom every day of the king's reign would, from natural expectation of future

⁵⁸ See More, pp. 202. 207. 214. Hastings expected them to be beheaded the day he was arrested. Ibid.

⁵⁹ Hastings so put the case, in his address to the council, after the onset at Northampton; "which strife, if it should hap, as it were likely, to come to a field, *tho both parties were in all other things equal*, yet should the authority be on that side where the king is himself." More, p. 172.

advantages, increase, was peculiarly formidable to Richard. It was irreconcilable with his protectorship and interests; and from the dreaded part which he had taken against Rivers and Grey, it was personally threatening both to his liberty and life. Stanley was another nobleman attached to the late king, who befriended, tho more disinterestedly than Hastings, the young sovereign and his future sway.

To combat all these opposing powers, Richard found some nobles, at present, from their own interested motives, desirous to ally with him. These were the aspiring great, who were not in official situations at Edward's death—Buckingham and the lords Howard, Lovel, and Northumberland; with others of inferior rank, who sought promotion under him, as sir Richard Radcliff, the Brakenburys, Tyrrells, and a few others.

In calculating his future position and perils, Richard had likewise to recollect, that the duke of Gloucester, in the reign of Richard II., had been destroyed by that king, from political oppositions, altho his uncle⁶⁰; and that the last duke of Gloucester, notwithstanding he was uncle to the reigning sovereign, and his presumptive heir, had, with the use or abuse of the royal authority, been arrested; and that his imprisonment had been followed by an immediate and mysterious death.⁶¹

Richard could not be blind to the motives of Hastings, in pressing the deaths of Rivers and Grey; and this may have been one of his inducements to delay any further proceedings against them. But this delay would also tend to cause Hastings to mistrust Gloucester's future intentions.

Thus stood Hastings and Gloucester with respect to each other, on the king's arrival in London. The

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⁶⁰ See the 2nd vol. of this History, p. 125.

⁶¹ See before, vol. ii. pp. 440, 441.

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life or death of either depended on the conduct which each should adopt towards the king and his friends, as well as towards each other. The union of either with the king's friends was certain to be the degradation or destruction of the other.

Nothing could prevent the danger which hung over every one of these great nobles, but a general coalition and reconciliation of all. As the public anxiety for internal peace, and the dread of that civil warfare which all thought to be likely, were very great, we cannot doubt that every effort was made to accomplish this end. The principal churchmen were deeply interested in the maintenance of peace, and must have labored to produce it; but the pride and passions, and the worldly interests of the competing parties, prevented this happy result. Rivers and Grey were still detained; Hastings continued hostile to them; the queen remained in sanctuary; her son Dorset, and her other relations, kept themselves in the same state. The king was therefore unfriendly to the protector and Buckingham, who had begun the attack on his beloved relations; and all the jealousies, expectations, and apprehensions of the contending great, remained as strong and as unappeased as before. The monk of Croyland mentions, that Hastings publicly exulted, that the government had been taken from the queen's family without any bloodshed, and that all men hoped for peace and prosperity; but that the continued detention of Rivers and Grey, and the protector's not exhibiting a courteous attention to the queen's honor and safety, created some doubts and anxieties.⁶²

From causes not explained, but probably resulting from this disordered state of things, the executors of the late king deferred the proving of his will, or inter-

⁶² Croyl. p. 566.

meddling with his property⁶³; and, in consequence of this conduct, on the 12th of May, the two archbishops and eight bishops met Gloucester and Buckingham, Hastings, Stanley, and some other noblemen, at the king's grandmother's, the duchess of York, at her house near St. Paul's wharf; and the cardinal of Canterbury put all the late king's jewels under ecclesiastical sequestration, that they might not be wasted.⁶⁴ Nothing more strongly implies the unsettled condition of the kingdom and government than this measure. Neither party could let the other have the advantage of the possession of so much property; therefore the executors would not act; and it was placed in a state of neutrality, out of the immediate reach of either. Eleven days afterwards, the ecclesiastical authority was resorted to, that enough might be sold to pay the expenses of the funeral.⁶⁵

Richard had before him but three courses to choose from for his future path of action. A coalition with the king's friends and family; a cordial union with Hastings; or the formation of a distinct interest, independent of both the former, and capable of maintaining itself against them.

The most natural, the most loyal, and the most moral path, was to have pleased the king and queen, by releasing Rivers and Grey, and by coalescing with them against all their enemies. But in the unfortunate state of the opposing resentments and interests, this could not be done without opposing or destroying Hastings and Buckingham, Howard, and probably

⁶³ See the extracts from the Lambeth Register, in the Royal Wills, p. 347.

⁶⁴ Ibid. One of these bishops was Alcock, bishop of Worcester, which shews, that on the 12th May, the king had procured leave for him to come to London, tho he had been driven from him at Northampton. The other bishops were, Kemp, of London; Wainfleet, of Winchester; Stillington, of Bath and Well; Story, of Chichester; Russell, of Lincoln; Morton, of Ely; and Audley, of Rochester. Ibid. p. 947.

⁶⁵ The expenses of the king's funeral were stated to be 1496*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* Ibid. p. 348.

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others of the nobility: and it was not probable that their destruction could be accomplished without a previous war. But by coinciding so immediately with the politics of Buckingham and Hastings at Northampton, he had fettered himself strongly, with all the ties of honour, not to attempt this coalition. It is also probable, that the hints which were conveyed to Buckingham, on the same points, were also suggested, or occurred to himself; namely, that he had already sinned unpardonably against the king and queen mother, and her friends, by the alarm and disgrace to which he had subjected them; and that they would use, but never cordially forgive him.⁶⁶ Richard had taken the wrong step, in acquiescing with his Northampton advisers; and he could not now retrieve it. Personal ambition, and his former differences with the queen and her friends, concurred to lead him to the determination not to ally with them.

The next question would be, Was a cordial union with Hastings practicable? but this would depend upon another, Whether this lord desired it on such terms as Richard could concede?

Buckingham had attached himself to Richard; hence, before any stable union could take place between Hastings and the protector, it must be decided whether Hastings or Buckingham, and their respective friends, should have the pre-eminence in the new administration, and its consequential benefits. If there had been no aspiring Buckingham, Howard, or Lovel, it is probable that Hastings and Richard could have soon agreed on the king's coronation, and on a protracted protectorate. Hastings would have willingly become his first minister, and Richard would not have molested his nephew's reign. But for this to

⁶⁶ See More, p. 196.

take place, Buckingham must be disappointed, and made inferior; or Hastings, accustomed to fill the first situation at court and office, must suddenly consent to be subordinate to a new aspirant. There was nothing in all the feelings and habits that composed an ambitious nobleman of that day, which could submit to this. Hastings and Buckingham stood in this irreconcilable relation, and with these unappeasable jealousies towards each other⁶⁷; and as Richard must have quarrelled with the duke, to satisfy the chamberlain, it was scarcely possible that they could coalesce. That Richard loved Hastings, and tried to persuade him to co-operate with him, is stated by More⁶⁸; tho he makes the point of difference, suggestions as to the elevation of Richard to the throne. It is more probable that the first negotiations were for a prolonged protectorate during the king's minority, and a cordial coalition of their parties and interests; and that these friendly efforts failed, because the interest and ambition of Buckingham and Hastings could not be united.

The third course, that which Richard adopted, was the formation of a distinct and independent interest of his own, capable of standing against every other, and beating down what opposed. Four noblemen, three of the greatest weight and rank, offered themselves for this purpose, and solicited him to pursue it; the duke of Buckingham, lord Howard, lord Lovel, and the earl of Northumberland. It was their interest that he should not coalesce with either Hastings or the Woodvilles; and they united with him against them. How far they looked forward to the inevitable result of this policy at the outset, we cannot now determine. It is probable, that they con-

⁶⁷ More says of them, "These two, *not bearing to each other* so much love as hatred both unto the queen's party. p. 163.

⁶⁸ More, p. 200.

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sidered nothing but the humiliation, imprisonment, exile, or even destruction of the individual nobles who opposed them; and they may have thought, that the deaths of Rivers, Hastings, and Grey, would be sufficient to beat down all competition, and to establish their power, and to continue Richard's protectorship. To these events, the noble consciences of that day cherished no repugnance. It was in the common course of their competitions to do such things, which had been in several reigns repeated without scruple. With these sentiments, they prepared to co-operate, without hesitation, in these direful incidents; and Richard himself may at first have acted with the same self-blinded view. These violences, however, would be soon found to make other actions, still more revolting, tho scarcely more criminal, necessary; and in determining on this course, Richard virtually, tho not, perhaps, at first intentionally, resolved to perpetrate all that followed, and which he ought to have foreseen was certain to ensue.

The young king's real situation, at this period, must be also adverted to. There is neither any appearance, nor any probability, that he was immured or secluded. His meeting the lords and commons in parliament⁶⁹—his residence in the Tower being appointed by them—his public acts signed, on some days in the Tower, and on others at Westminster⁷⁰—the presence of the bishop, his preceptor, in London⁷¹—the interest of all parties to conciliate him—the zealous friendship of Hastings, Stanley, and the great clergy for him, and the popular attachment to him, leave us no doubt that, during the month of May,

⁶⁹ See before, p. 150. note 39.

⁷⁰ There are six royal acts dated from Westminster, in the months of May and June. Rym. vol. xii. pp. 180—187. These imply, that Edward went from the Tower to meet his council at Westminster, as occasion required.

⁷¹ See before, p. 159. note 64.

and in the first two weeks of June, he was under no confinement or unroyal restraint. Up to this period, all that was done appears to have been transacted with the approbation or concurrence of the chief nobility; and therefore it seems reasonable to infer, that the usual access to minor kings was not denied to all suitable persons. With this previous review of the actual state of things, we proceed to narrate such of the succeeding incidents as the scanty materials that we can now procure will enable us to detail.

On the 13th of May, the four great friends of Richard's distinct party received liberal grants. Lord Howard was made head seneschal of the duchy of Lancaster, and admiral of England, with other large fees⁷²; and the next day, Buckingham was appointed constable of all the castles in five counties, capital justiciary and chamberlain of North and South Wales, and of various castles there, and also constable and seneschal of Monmouth and the duchy of Lancaster.⁷³ Lord Lovel was also benefited by the office of chief butler, which Rivers had enjoyed⁷⁴; and to one of the Nevilles was given Pomfret castle.⁷⁵ Thus the aspiring nobles were gratified, as well as the official ones; and the queen's relations only had hitherto suffered.

Every one exists amid surrounding circles of circumstances, and with varying successions of events, by which he will be materially affected in the following periods of his life. These are what may be called the impelling necessities of things to him, and they will considerably influence his conduct. If he be a weak man, and of no moral energies, education, or habits, they will probably govern him, as animals are overruled by what acts upon their senses, who

⁷² Harl. MSS. No. 433. p. 23—26. Several manors were also given to him; and his son was made steward of the same duchy in Norfolk. Ibid.

⁷³ Harl. MSS. p. 6—12.

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 223.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

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obey the immediate motive, without any foresight or consideration of the consequences. But every intelligent being knows that he has a reason to use, and duties to perform; and that he must discern and select from the impelling circumstances that approach him, those which he ought to obey, and those which he ought to resist. We all know, that we have to consider the consequences of what we may be urged to do, both to ourselves and to others. We soon learn, if we choose, that we may acquire the habit of exerting this foresight, and of making the selection; and we ought not to yield to any impulse or persuasion that will occasion us to injure another's welfare, or our own. If our temper be too feeble to use this discrimination, we are invited to apply for superior assistance to enable us.

Richard was, like other men, surrounded with circumstances that were connected with evil, as well as with those which were associated with good. Like all men, he had to make his election between these; and his moral freedom was equal to his moral obligations. His choice lay among difficulties, dangers and temptations, but so does every man's path; and it is this which makes self-government, wise tuition, fixed principles, and the divine aid, so essential to us all. The daily experience of life gives constant evidence that these are attainable by every one who will direct his mind to their acquisition; and our greatest human safeguard is, to cultivate not only that moral delicacy of spirit, which, like Almorán's ring, will pain us at the first approach of what is wrong; but also the habit of immediately obeying its admonition, and abstaining from what it censures, tho we may not be immediately satisfied why the forbearance should be necessary.

The month of May closed, and June opened with these conflicting interests unreconciled, and therefore

with all the materials of storm preparing to explode; tho it was not as yet certain who would be the first aggressors, or who the earliest victims.

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On the 5th of June, the protector proceeded to announce Edward's coronation to have been fixed for the 22nd of that month; and he caused official letters to be written, in the king's name, to forty esquires, summoning them to prepare themselves to receive, as the document expresses, "the noble order of knighthood, at our coronation, which, by God's grace, we intend shall be solemnized on the 22d day of this present month, at our palace of Westminster; commanding you to be here at our Tower of London, four days afore our said coronation, to have communication of our commands."⁷⁶ The protector also sent for the lords from all parts of the realm, to be present at the ceremony.⁷⁷

On the 8th June—it is necessary to advance by days, and to mark them with precision, in order to elicit the exact truth amid so much obscurity and prejudice—this political harmony continued unbroken. On that day, Gloucester wrote a letter, from the Tower, to the mayor and corporation of York, reciting their application to him to move the king for a diminution of their yearly payments to him, in consideration of the expences they had incurred in the public service: and stating to them that he had not then convenient leisure to accomplish their business; but declaring that he would be their especial good and loving lord. He ended, by recommending his servant Thomas Brackenbury, the bearer of the letter, to their credence and favor.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ This letter is copied in the Harl. MSS. No. 433. p. 227., and has been printed by Rymer, vol. xii. p. 185. It is addressed to Otes Gilbert, esquire, and purports to be, "by the advice of our derrest uncler the duc of Gloucester, protector of this oure royaume during oure yong age, and of the lords of our counsel." Ibid.

⁷⁷ More's words are, "The lords being sent for from all parts of the realm, came thick to that solemnity." p. 197.

⁷⁸ Mr. Drake has printed this document, ex libro chart. at York, in his Eborac-

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But two days afterwards a document appears, preserved also in the public records at York, which shews that the political serenity had suddenly changed into an aspect of the most fearful storm. On the 10th of June, the protector sent sir Richard Ratcliffe from London, with a letter to the same mayor and corporation⁷⁹, written in a tone of emphatic earnestness and alarm; charging the queen, and "her bloody adherents and affinity," with intending to murder and destroy him and the duke of Buckingham, and the old royal blood of the realm; and urging the city authorities at York, to come up to London in all the diligence possible, with as many as they could have defensibly arrayed, to aid and assist him. He conjures them not to fail, but to hasten to him.⁸⁰

The particular facts which occurred, or had been discovered by Richard, between the 8th and the 10th of June, that thus excited and endangered him and Buckingham, beyond the general state of things, have not been transmitted to us. Ratcliffe was instructed to shew to the corporation of York, "the

cum, p. 115. The corporation's letter of supplication to Gloucester, had been delivered to him by *John Brackenbury*; and he returned this answer by *Thomas Brackenbury*. It is thus dated: "Given under our signet, at the Tower of London, the 8th day of June." *Ibid*.

⁷⁹ We will give this important letter at length, that the reader may judge for himself of the urgency of its style and feeling.

"The duc of Gloucestre, brother and uncle of kynges, protectour, defensour, gret chamberleyne, constable, and admiral of England.

"Right trusty and well beloved, wee greet you well. And as you love the wele of us, and the wele and surety of your own self, we heartily pray you to come up unto us to London, in all the diligence ye can possible, after the sight hereof, with as many as ye can make defensively arrayed; there to aid and assist us against the queen, her bloody adherents and affinity, which have entended, and daily do entend, to murder and utterly destroy us and our consyn the duc of Buckingham, and the old royal blood of the realm: And as it is now *openly known* by their subtle and dampnable wais forecasted the same; and also the final destruction and disherison of you and all odyr the enheriters and men of honor, as well of the north part, as odyr countryes that belongen unto us; as our trusty servant, this bearer, shall more at large show you; to whom we pray you to give credence, and as ever we may do for you in tyme comyng. Fail not; but haste you to us. Given under our signet at London, the 10th of June." *Drake's Eboracum*, p. 115.

⁸⁰ The York record states, that this letter was delivered by sir Richard Ratcliffe to the mayor, on the 15th June. *Drake, ibid*.

subtle and dampnable ways" of the queen and her adherents; but they are not particularized in any existing record.

This document being addressed to a public corporation, may be thought too official or artificial to shew the real feelings of the protector, because the language of such applications is often that of the convenient and the factitious. But the same agitation and earnestness also appear in Richard's more private letter on the next day, to lord Nevyll. In this there was likely to be less disguise, more nature, and a more genuine expression of the true state of the existing circumstances, and of his interior sentiments. But this is as urgent in its solicitation for immediate aid, and betrays the same personal alarm as the public dispatch to the lord mayor of York; tho, being an appeal to the private attachment of an individual, it omits to state the particular causes of the application, or to describe the pressing emergency of the case.⁸¹

The appointment of the coronation for the 22d, and of the meeting of parliament for the 25th of June, made the question every day more pressing, Whether the protectorate should then cease, or be continued? Friendly negotiations having failed to produce a cordial coalition, we can have little doubt

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⁸¹ We owe the publication of this important letter to Mr. Serjeant Frere, the editor of the last volume of the Fenn Letters. It is thus worded: "To my lord Nevyll in haste. My lord Nevyll, I recommend me to you as heartily as I can; and as ever ye love me, and your own weal and surety, and this realm, that ye come to me with that ye may make, defensibly arrayed, *in all the haste that is possible*; and that ye will give credence to . . . Richard Radcliff this bearer, whom I now do send to you instructed with all my mind and intent.

"And my lord! *do me now good service*, as ye have always before done; and I trust now so to remember you, as shall be the making of you and yours: and God send you good fortunes. Written at London the 11th day of June, with the hand of,

"Your heartily loving Cousin and Master,

"R. GLOUCESTER."

This was taken from the copy of some letters found at Raby Castle in Durham. Fenn's Orig. Lett. vol. v. p. 303.

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that both parties were preparing to decide it by a trial of strength. As the lords came in, the adherents of each would increase; and it only remained to see who would have the greatest power, and could strike the first blow. Richard charged Hastings with having contrived and settled to seize him, on that day on which he secured the lord chamberlain, by anticipating violence.

We cannot now decide, with certainty, on their mutual accusations. But that the king and queen's friends, and all who did not unite with Richard, would make use of the coronation to end the protectorship, is highly probable, from the recollection of Henry's precedent. The government would then be wholly lodged, as it was under him, in a council of lords or regency; and these would be selected from the adherents of the dominant faction. Hence, as the coronation of Edward came nearer, it tended to bring all the intrigues and ambition of the yet contending interests to an actual explosion: and to present an epoch peculiarly dangerous to Gloucester's authority, and unless he patiently acquiesced in his own degradation, also to his life. No one of the former minor kings, Henry III., Edward III., Richard II., or Henry VI., had a protector after they were crowned.

I have searched to see if any document could be found, that would ascertain whether attempts were making, at this crisis, to put aside the protector; and I have observed two documents, whose application to this dark and difficult subject has not been yet noticed, which seem to me to imply, that Richard's allegation of intrigues against him was not so unfounded as it is usually represented. I will state the impression they make on my mind; my readers must judge for themselves.

From the time that Richard was appointed pro-

lector by the parliament, the legal style of the royal acts and grants became, "by the advice of our uncle, Richard duke of Gloucester, protector and defender."⁸² This phrase appears in the first instrument that was made after this dignity had been conferred; and it is an invariable part of every other dated from the Tower, up to the fifth of June. All the acts of the crown, executed with Richard's privity, were thus done with the expressed concurrence of the protector: and from the natural jealousy of new power, we cannot doubt that he would never allow the important expressions to be omitted in any public paper that he knew of, or that originated from him; they became a necessary part of the legal official phraseology; nor would they be left out, without some purpose adverse to his government.⁸³

But there are two royal grants remaining, dated after the annunciation of the day of the coronation, and before the arrest of Hastings, which omit these expressions; and, by the omission, purport to be made by the king's own instrumentality, without the protector's concurrence or authority. These are, one dated the 9th of June, being a restitution of temporalities to a prior; and another, of the 12th of June, appointing a king's serjeant at law⁸⁴; both important legal acts, and both dated from Westminster, and not from the Tower.

This omission cannot be easily conceived to have been accidental, because legal formularies, being drawn by official persons, always follow legal pre-

⁸² The grants in the name of Edward V. of the 19th, 20th, 21st, 23d, 25th, 27th, 28th, 31st May, and of the 2d and 5th June, all in the Harl. MSS. No. 433., except the 27th, which is in Rymer, vol. xii. p. 184., have this legal form and addition; and almost all of them are dated from the Tower, where the king resided.

⁸³ It was as necessary and essential for this legal form to be observed in all official documents then emanating from the crown, as it was, during the Regency established in our late Sovereign's incapacity, to insert the formulary "in the name and on the behalf his Majesty."

⁸⁴ These important instruments are in Rymer's *Fœdæra*, vol. xii. p. 186.

cedents; and the addition, of the protector's advice, had become a formal part of the royal grants, which was as important to him always to retain, as it was alarming to his authority to expunge. These two grants, thus defective in leaving out the protector's concurrence, become a species of presumptive evidence that these were done without his concurrence; and that some persons were inciting the king to act of his own authority, without the protector's sanction; and such conduct would be the first step to put aside or to nullify Richard's appointment.⁸⁵

The minds of both Buckingham and Hastings appear to have been, at this juncture, in much perturbation. Each having now to pass both the moral and political Rubicon, contemplated with anxiety as well the past as the future. Buckingham is described as deliberating, whether to continue to act with the protector, or to quit him; till suggestions were made to him, that he had done too much to secede.⁸⁶ Hastings also, who had exhorted Richard to assume the care of the young king, is stated to have repented of it; and to have convoked a meeting of Edward's most zealous friends at St. Paul's, and to have discussed with them what was the most expedient to be done.⁸⁷ An act like this was the

⁸⁵ There are but two other documents without this addition, on the 16th and 20th May, Rym. vol. xii. p. 179—181. But of these, one precedes his parliamentary appointment; and the other was but the next day, before the new official style was known or settled. But both these are remarkable for being dated from *Westminster*, like the two of the 9th and 12th June, where the council most hostile to him would meet. After the parliamentary appointment, it was dangerous to the protector to omit this phrase, as that would be dispensing with his advice and authority, and using the royal power in public without it. Hence, it looks like an overt act of some meditated hostility against it.

⁸⁶ "The matter was broken unto the duke by subtle folks, and such as were then craft masters in the handling of such wicked devices; who declared unto him, that the young king was offended with him for his kinsfolks sakes, and that if he were able he would revenge them." They also remarked, that Rivers and Grey would urge the king to this "if they escaped, for they would remember their imprisonment; or else, if they were put to death, without doubt the young king would be careful for their deaths, as their imprisonment was grievous unto him." More, p. 196.

⁸⁷ Polydore Virgil mentions this circumstance; he says, that Hastings, who from

commencement of direct hostilities against the protector.

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It was quite natural that Gloucester and Buckingham should, as these contending views and interests were in agitation, think it fit, or find it necessary, to hold councils with their own friends at Crosby House, distinct from the councils in which the two archbishops, the bishop of Ely, and lord Hastings and Stanley met⁸⁸; and it certainly implies, that these two bodies were now meditating far different measures. The probability is that both parties, at this critical moment, had their secret meetings. The leaders of those from whom Gloucester and Buckingham were separating, were the three ecclesiastical prelates above named, combined with Hastings and Stanley. Of these church statesmen, two of them were peculiarly attached to the queen's party, and hostile to Richard. That these two cabinet councils knew of each other's existence, is evident, from Stanley remarking and expressing to Hastings, his dislike of Gloucester's separate consultations⁸⁹; but Hastings, instead of countenancing any alarm at the circumstance, assured him, that he had a spy in one of the protector's council, who would immediately communicate to him whatever should have any hostile tendency.⁹⁰ It would seem from this conversation, that Stanley was no party to Hastings's alleged plans, if he really was pursuing them.

his enmity to the queen's relations, "hortatus erat Ricardum ad suscipiendam curam principis; cum vidisset omnia, jam spectare ad arma, et multo secus cadere ac putarat, *facti sui penitens*, ad ædem Divo Pauli, amicos, quibus magnæ curæ, vitam dignitatem, amplitudinem Edwardi principis esse sciebat, in unum convocat, atque quid agendum sit, cum eis disputat." p. 540.

⁸⁸ More informs us of this fact, and that "by little and little, all folk withdrew from the Tower; and drew to Crosbie's-place, in Bishopsgate-street, where the protector kept his household." p. 198.

⁸⁹ Richard's separate council at Crosbie-place was not therefore a secret thing. More says "Lord Stanley said unto the lord Hastings, that he much misliked these two several councils: "For while we," quoth he, "talk of one matter in the one place, little wot we whereof they talk in the other place." p. 199.

⁹⁰ More, p. 199.

Any confederation between the ecclesiastical counsellors and the queen's friends, was not likely to bring immediate personal danger to Richard or Buckingham; but from the lay power, influence, and resolution of Hastings, it was a question of vital importance to them, whether this lord was uniting with their antagonists. Intrigues of this kind are always covered, as far as they can be, with impenetrable secrecy. The public eye could not see them; they would be too dangerous to be intrusted to any but those in the highest confidence; and could be only known to Richard by the treachery of some one of this description. Catesby is declared to have been in this situation, and to have thus acted⁹¹; and it was on his information, and by his recommendation, that the subsequent measures that were pursued were at this crisis adopted.

That Richard loved Hastings, and was loth to lose him from his party, and therefore employed Catesby to attach him to it, is mentioned⁹² by More. He also states, that Hastings expressed to Catesby the mistrust which others began to have of Richard; and that Catesby advised the protector to get rid of Hastings.⁹³ It was the interest of Catesby to please both this lord, and also Gloucester. He was a lawyer, who, by the special favor of Hastings, had risen to good authority; and he possessed much rule in Leicestershire, where this nobleman's power chiefly lay.⁹⁴ On the 14th of May, he had been appointed, under the protector's patronage, to the chancellorship of the marches of Wales⁹⁵; and on the 21st of May, was directed to execute all such commands, concerning this office, as Buckingham should direct.⁹⁶ It is clear that his communications, whatever they were, of Hastings's purposes, decided the protector and

⁹¹ More, p. 199.⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 199.⁹² *Ibid.* p. 200.⁹⁵ Harl. MSS. pp. 6. 12.⁹³ *Ibid.*⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

Buckingham to destroy this peer. More intimates, that these were, the expressed aversion of Hastings to Richard's taking the crown⁹⁷; but this could not have swayed Buckingham on this occasion; for the same writer also declares, that they who knew the protector, denied that he had ever opened to Buckingham his enterprise of seizing the crown, till after he had secured the person of the duke of York.⁹⁸ But this last incident did not occur until the 16th of June⁹⁹, the Monday after the arrest of Hastings; and therefore, on this representation, it was not the refusal of Hastings to let Gloucester be made king, that induced Buckingham to concur in his destruction.

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The interest which Hastings had, at this time, to join the party of the queen, has not been taken into due consideration. The experience of six weeks, and more especially the grants to Buckingham, Howard, and Lovel¹⁰⁰, proved, that this duke, and others, stood higher in Richard's favor, and was deriving from it larger benefits than himself. No grants were made to him under Gloucester: he would, therefore, be subordinate to Buckingham; but with the queen's party, he would be the principal minister.

But there is also a circumstance to be noticed, which in addition to the preferments given to Buckingham, may have alienated the mind of Hastings from the protector. His chief courtly dignity under Edward IV. was that of lord chamberlain. But in the letters of the 8th and 10th of June, Richard is styled, "great chamberlain."¹⁰¹ This would seem to imply that instead of Hastings being continued in this high confidential office to Edward V., Gloucester was himself appointed to it. The loss of this dignity

⁹⁷ More, p. 200.

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 195.

⁹⁹ Croyland, p. 566.

¹⁰⁰ See before, p. 163.

¹⁰¹ The words are, "The duke of Gloucester, brother and uncle of kings, protector and defensour, *grett chamberleyne*, constable, and lord high admiral of England." Drake, Ebor. p. 115.

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may have combined, with Buckingham's superior favor, to incline Hastings to unite himself with the party of the queen; and he may have been forming a plan with the other lords, in that interest, to dispossess Richard of the protectorate, when the coronation was completed. That the minds of the great were in a very unsettled and undecided state at this time, is strongly stated to us.¹⁰²

Beyond these circumstances, we cannot extend our authorized conjectures on the dark and violent transaction which is next to be recorded. On Tuesday the 10th of June, Richard wrote the agitated letter to York and on the 11th to lord Neville, as already noticed; and on Friday morning, the 13th, his mind had fully implicated Hastings in the conspiracy which he imputed to this nobleman; and avenged itself upon him, in the manner which sir Thomas More, from the information of the protector's enemies, thus details.¹⁰³

On the 13th of June, many lords assembled in council, at the Tower, to conclude upon all that was necessary for the coronation. About nine the protector entered courteously; and saying, he had played the sluggard that morning, desired the bishop of Ely to let him have some strawberries from his garden, in Holborn, for his dinner; and after a short attention, took his leave, and departed.

A little more than an hour afterwards, he came back to them, with an angry countenance, knitting his brow, and frowning and biting his lips; so that

¹⁰² "For the state of things, and the disposition of men were then such, that a man could not well tell whom he might trust, or whom he might fear." More, p. 196.

¹⁰³ More has left a blank for the day of the month, but gives the day of the week, "Friday." Croyland supplies us with the day of the month, "13th June," p. 566., which in that year was on a Friday. Polydore Virgil distinguishes with apparent accuracy, that Richard caused his chancellor, and others of the council, to meet at the same time at Westminster, to deliberate on the coronation; while he convened the prelates of York and Ely, Buckingham, Hastings, Stanley, Howard, and a few more, to the Tower, p. 543.

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the council were amazed at the sudden change. He sat down, and was for some time silent; but then suddenly asked, what punishment they deserved who were plotting his death. The council, startled, returned no answer; but Hastings declared, they should be punished as traitors. The protector then said, "That sorceress, my brother's wife, and another with her;" and then complained, that she and Shore's wife had, by their witchcraft, wasted his body; unbuttoning his left sleeve, and shewing them that arm, withered and small. The council, knowing that the arm had never been otherwise, supposed now that he meant to quarrel with them. Hastings, who was keeping Jane Shore, replied, that "If they had done so heinously, they were worthy of heinous punishment." The protector exclaimed, "Dost thou serve me with ifs and ands? I tell thee they have done it; and that I will make good on thy body—traitor!"

Then striking the council table hard with his fist, one without cried "Treason!" and several men in armor rushed into the room. On their entrance, Richard arrested Hastings as a traitor; and had also Stanley, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Ely, with some others, seized. A blow was made at Stanley in the bustle, with a pole-axe, which he partly avoided by sinking under the table, but it wounded his head. While the others were imprisoned in different places in the Tower, Hastings was ordered to confess and prepare for death, as Richard had sworn not to dine till his head was off. It was in vain he complained of severity, or demanded justice. The protector's oath must not be broken. He was forced to take the nearest priest, and make a short confession; was hurried to the green by the Tower chapel; was laid upon a log of timber, provided for repairing it, and was there beheaded.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ That in this violence towards Hastings the protector acted in conjunction with the advice of other noblemen, may be inferred from the words of the son of one of

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It is obvious, that this account gives the scene of the catastrophe, and not its causes. These were, according to More, but a part of Richard's long-meditated design of usurping the crown, and his resentment at the refusal of Hastings to assist it. But Richard's assertion of his own motives is, that Hastings had intended¹⁰⁵, on that day, to have perpetrated on him the violence which he had been made to undergo. How the truth on these deplorable actions really stood between these two great men, the heads of their respective factions, no modern historian can decide. All that can be justly done to either, is to bring, as we have attempted, all the facts that can be now elicited, and the most natural probabilities which they suggest, on both sides, to the reader's consideration. Every moral reasoner must deduce his own conclusion from these imperfect premises.¹⁰⁶

Immediately after dinner, Richard sent for the principal citizens, and, with Buckingham, appeared in rusty armor, taken, as if suddenly, from the Tower; asserted to them, that Hastings and others had formed

"the priviest of Richard's council," the duke of Norfolk. This young nobleman went to bring Hastings to that council: as they went together, they met an ecclesiastic, and Hastings stopping to converse with him, [this conductor expressed his wonder that he talked so long with a priest, as he had no occasion for one "as yet." More thinks, these two words ought to have raised some suspicion. They certainly look like a previous knowledge of the intended violence, and a voluntary co-operation to produce it.

¹⁰⁵ That Hastings had then some great and secret design in agitation, seems the natural inference from his own expressions to his namesake, whom he met that morning on Tower Wharf. The pursuivant being reminded by him, that they had met there when Hastings had been arrested in Edward's life, upon his differences with Rivers, answered, "They gat no good, nor you none harm thereby." The reply of Hastings was, "Thou wouldest say so, if thou *knewest* as *much* as I know, which *few know else* as yet, and *more shall shortly*." More applies this to mean, that Rivers and Grey were that day to be beheaded at Pomfret, p. 207. But this cannot be, because we find, by the date of his will, that Rivers was alive above ten days afterwards.

¹⁰⁶ Hastings, by his will, made about a year before his death, ordered one thousand priests to say one thousand placebos and dirigies, and one thousand masses for his soul, and that each should have sixpence. Dugd. Baron. vol. i. p. 585. Such were the opinions of the day, of the efficacy of these ceremonies; and so inventive was the mind, in the mode of varying their performance. Hastings is said to have been one of those who struck prince Edward at Tewkesbury. Pol. Virg. p. 543. But it is not certain that this occurred.

the treasonable intention of destroying him and Buckingham that day in the council: that he himself had not acquired knowlege of the fact till ten o'clock that morning; that he had scarcely time to put on, for his preservation, such harness as came to hand; and desired them to report to the people these true circumstances of the case.¹⁰⁶ A proclamation was immediately issued, alleging, that Hastings had conspired with others, to have killed the protector and Buckingham, sitting in the council; and to have taken upon them to rule the king and realm, at their pleasure.¹⁰⁷ That this official document should have been so neatly composed, fairly written, and completely published, within two hours after the death of Hastings, led most to believe, it must have been prepared before his death.¹⁰⁸ Jane Shore was then arrested on the charge of participating in the conspiracy. She was taken to prison; her valuable goods were confiscated; and she was consigned to the bishop of London, to be punished, not for her alleged treason, but for her notorious unchastity. She was sentenced to penance; and on the next Sunday, with a wax taper in her hands, clothed only in her kirtle, she walked before the cross, in a penitential procession. The populace was subdued by her modest air, and decorous conduct.¹⁰⁹ She was

¹⁰⁶ More, p. 208.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 209. It charged him also with misleading the king into his injurious debaucheries; and, with his subsequent attachment to Jane Shore. It declared, that he had been put to death by the king's faithful council; and intimated, that the suddenness of the execution was to prevent his friends from making some great commotion for his deliverance. Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ More has preserved two of the popular remarks. A schoolmaster printed in rhyme,

“Here is a gay goodly cast,
Foul cast away for haste.”

A merchant answered, that it was written by prophecy. More, p. 210.

¹⁰⁹ More, p. 211. If Hastings had really joined the queen against Gloucester, Jane Shore may have been an assisting instrument to produce the coalition. Her affection to Edward's family was great; and his death removed the queen's personal objection to her, when the need of a reconciliation with Hastings arose. The protector's charge against her was a confederation with the queen; tho the popular

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still very beautiful; and the shame of her exposure diffusing over her cheeks the bloom she had lost, she appeared but the more lovely for her disgrace. She survived to be reduced at last to a miserable poverty, and even to ugliness, in her old age.¹¹⁰ That she died, from Richard's cruel prohibition against any one relieving her, of famine and fatigue, in Shoreditch, seems therefore to be but a traditional fiction. If this story contain any truth, it must relate to her final death in the day of her decrepitude; and this must have occurred under Henry VIII. More's expressions of the miserable poverty of her old age, are not inconsistent with the popular tale of her place and mode of expiring; but these sufferings cannot have been inflicted by Richard.¹¹¹

The arm of violence having been thus put into action, continued its illegal exertions without any public trial. The two prelates were sent off to two castles

idea of witchcraft was used in the accusation. This was, probably, but an adoption of the public talk, that she had bewitched the king, and was now bewitching Hastings. She certainly had beauty's power of personal witchery; for she afterwards attached the marquis of Dorset, and, when he fled, even Richard's solicitor-general.

¹¹⁰ More adds a brief history of her life, and gives it this conclusion:—"Now she is old, lean, withered, and dried up; nothing left but shrivelled skin and hard bone." They who knew her in her youth, declared "she was proper and fair; nothing in her body that you would have wished to have changed, unless you would have wished her somewhat higher." "Albeit, some who now see her, for yet she liveth, deem her never to have been well visaged." p. 212. She used her influence with Edward, to obtain many acts of kindness and mercy to others. *Ibid.* p. 213. She died 18 Henry VIII.

¹¹¹ Hollingshed. There is a curious letter of Richard, after his becoming king, to his chancellor, stating, that his solicitor-general, Thomas Lynom, "marveyllously blynded and abused with the late wyfe of William Shore, nowe being in Ludgate, hath made contract of matrimony with her;" and that he "entendeth to our ful gret merveille, to procede to the effect of the same." He adds, "We, for many causes, wold be sory that hee soo shuld be disposed. Pray you, therefore, to sende for him, and, in that ye goodly may, exhorte and styre hym to the contrary." Richard goes on to tell the bishop, "If ye finde him utterly set for to marye hur, and noon otherwise wol be advertised; then, if it may stand with the lawe of the church, wee be content the tyme of marriage deferred to our comyng next to London; that, upon sufficient suretie founde of hure good bearing, ye doo sende for hure, and discharge hym of our sayd commaundment, committing hur to the rule and *guyding of hur father*, or any other by your discretion, in the meane season." *Harl. MSS.* p. 433. This document displays Richard acting, not with tyranny, but with great moderation, towards one whom he deemed so much his enemy. He desires his solicitor to be reasoned with against the marriage; but, if he persist in it, he only desires that it be deferred till his own arrival in London; that Jane might give sufficient security for her good conduct, and be for the time committed to her father's care.

in Wales.¹¹² In one of these, at Brecon, under the command of Buckingham as its constable, Morton was confined; an important designation, remarkable for its result. Richard chose its locality and its lord, as the most secure mode of imprisoning Morton; and this selection proved one of the immediate causes of his final overthrow. Stanley was soon released and promoted, and trusted by Richard.¹¹³ That he had some intimation of the impending danger, tho he chose to convey the caution to Hastings as a dream, seems inferrible from that communication.¹¹⁴

On the Monday after this, or the 16th day of June, Richard went at the head of a large force, with swords and clubs, and compelled the archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to enter the sanctuary, and to solicit the queen to let the duke of York go to the Tower for the comfort of the king.¹¹⁵ It is at this time we must place that conversation with her, which More has amplified with such flowing, and yet perhaps not altogether improbable rhetoric; and which ended with her parting with the princely boy.¹¹⁶ He was conducted by the cardinal to the king at the Tower.¹¹⁷

While these events were transacting in London, sir Richard Ratcliffe, on the 15th of June, had reached

¹¹² Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

¹¹³ See the grant to him in the Harl. MSS. p. 433.

¹¹⁴ Stanley sent his chamberlain to Hastings, on the preceding midnight, to say, that in a dream, he had seen a wild boar wounding himself and Hastings. He advised, that they should take their horses, and fly to their friends. More, p. 204. The boar was Richard's crest. It must have been something more than a dream, which suggested, that two such men should suddenly quit the metropolis, and begin a civil war. Hastings treated the admonition of a dream with derision; but if he had planned his own measures, as Richard alleged, he would equally disregard the advice. This message, as Hastings probably joked with Stanley about it when they met, may have produced the blow at Stanley's head.

¹¹⁵ It is of importance to mark the specific date, which the Croyland doctor attaches to this incident, p. 566. ; because More, by erroneously placing it before the arrest of Hastings, p. 174., as he also wrongly places the day of Rivers's death, confuses his history, and thereby aggravates, untruly, the facts against Richard.

¹¹⁶ More has given twenty-one pages to it, pp. 174—195.

¹¹⁷ Croyl. p. 566. More, p. 195.

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York with Richard's earnest letter of the 10th, soliciting their aid. The corporation ordered all the forces that could be assembled to meet at Pomfret, on the 18th, where the earl of Northumberland was waiting to conduct them to London. On the 19th a proclamation was issued at York, in the protector's name, probably in consequence of fresh orders from London, after the catastrophe of Hastings, commanding all manner of men, in their best defensible array, to rise up incontinently, and come to London, to his highness, in company of the earl ¹¹⁸, again charging the queen, and her adherents, with projecting the destruction of him and his noble friends.

That on the 16th of June, it had been determined by Richard, and the noblemen who formed his council, that he should be crowned instead of Edward, there can be no doubt. The seizure of the little prince of York, on that day, sufficiently proves it; and the concurrence and efforts of the cardinal, and his attendant prelates, and of all the council, to procure the queen to deliver him up, as satisfactorily shew that they were then assenting to this revolutionary violence. This measure, after the arrest of Hastings, could leave no doubt on the subject. More declares, that all the council affirmed, that Richard's motion, to take York from the queen, and put him in the Tower, was "good and reasonable ¹¹⁹;" that the archbishop of York took upon him to move her to it ¹²⁰; that divers of the clergy were then present at that approving council ¹²¹; that the temporal members of it wholly, and good part of the spiritual,

¹¹⁸ The proclamation stated, "And the lord Nevyle, and odyr men of worship; there to aid and assist him to the subdewing, correcting, and punishing the queene, her blode, and odyr hyr adherentes, whilk hath intended, and dayly doth intend, to murther and utterly destroy his *royal* person, his cosyn the duke of Buckingham, and odyr of old royal blode of this realm, as alsoe the nobilmen of their companys." Drake's Eborac. p. 115.

¹¹⁹ More, p. 176.

¹²⁰ Ibid. p. 177.

¹²¹ Ibid. p. 183.

also agreed, that if the young child were not willingly delivered, he should be fetched out of the sanctuary¹²², but that the lord cardinal should first essay to get him with the queen's good will; and that the cardinal, with divers other lords with him¹²³, went and urged her to give him up. This dignified ecclesiastic told her, what he must have known to be untrue, that the child being with his mother, was an insupportable grief and displeasure to the king¹²⁴, tho it was palpable to all, that the king would, at that time, have eagerly preferred being also with his parent. When the queen averred her doubt of his safety, if taken from her, and steadily refused to surrender him, the cardinal degraded himself by expressing a threat, that upon her further opposition, he would depart from the business, and leave it to *others* to shift with it; and by pledging his own body and soul to the child's safety¹²⁵; a pledge that we must call a wilful delusion, because it was in opposition to the manifest peril of the case, unless he had kept him in his own palace; and because, after the sudden violence to Hastings, it was clear, that when the prince was once in the Tower, no prelate had the power to hinder Richard doing whatever he should resolve on. It was then that the queen seeing no friend able or willing to help, unwillingly surrendered her child, whom the same cardinal took and lodged in the Tower.¹²⁶

The most probable inference from these facts is, that Richard proceeded to the usurpation of the crown, with the approbation of most of the great men, both of the church and state, then in London. What

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¹²² More, p. 184.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid. p. 192.

¹²⁶ Croyl. p. 566. The queen at parting, said unto her child, "Farewell, my own sweet son; God send you good keeping! Let me kiss you once yet, ere you go; for God knoweth when we shall kiss together again." And therewith she kissed him, and blessed him; turned her back, and wept and went away, leaving the child weeping as fast." More, p. 194.

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motives determined them to this assent, we cannot now ascertain. But the terror of military force was not one of these; for Richard's army from the north was not ordered to be at Pomfret till the 18th of June, and did not, in fact, leave that city till after the execution of Rivers, and therefore not till after the 23d of June¹²⁷; and could not be in the metropolis till the end of the month, several days after Richard had seated himself on the throne. Not that the assent of the whole country could be any justification of the treasonable and immoral action; but the preceding facts prove, that the protector, however bad or blameable, was no worse than the most distinguished men of rank at that day. All who hoped to profit by it supported him; and the same interested motives would have made them as readily put him down by the same means, if his competitors had anticipated him. This is probably the real truth of the case. Both parties were playing the same game of unprincipled violence: and Richard was the most fearless, prompt, determined, and unshrinking.

The mode adopted by the protector and his council, to announce his intended usurpation to the public, was as singular as the reason on which he chose to rest it.

On the Sunday after the possession of the duke of York, which would be the 22d of June, Dr. Shaw, brother of the lord mayor, preached a sermon at St. Paul's cross, in which it was planned, that he should impeach the legitimacy of the young king, and introduce a panegyric on Richard, so exactly timed, as to be uttering while the protector entered. To the destruction of its theatrical effect, it was delivered, but Richard was not at hand to appear. He had been delayed; and the preacher was absurd enough

¹²⁷ See the date of his will, hereafter mentioned.

to repeat the personal allusion verbatim, when he really came. The obvious concert of the artifice defeated its expected result; and the public indignation was excited against a man, who could profane a place and office so sacred, for purposes so base.¹²⁸

On the Tuesday following, the 24th, the duke of Buckingham attended the meeting of the common council; and employed all his eloquence to persuade his audience to an acclamation, that Richard should be king; but the act was too treasonable, and the real sympathy too strong for Edward, to gain more than a few rabble voices for such a proposition.¹²⁹

The scheme for making the young king's deposition a sort of popular act, having failed, Buckingham, on the next day, accompanied by the mayor, aldermen, and chief commoners, and by several noblemen, knights, and other gentlemen, went to Richard, at his house, and formally solicited him to become their king. He made some difficulties, which enabled Buckingham to display more of his rhetoric, and Richard to seem to have the honor thrust upon him¹³⁰: and this scene having been well acted, Richard prepared with the decisive boldness of his spirit, to take the throne, without further coquetry or hesitation. The parliament had been summoned for the 25th of June.¹³¹ When the members met, tho not in due form, a roll was presented to them, as a bill, claiming the crown for Richard; and stating the grounds of the application.¹³²

¹²⁸ More, p. 226, 227. That the preacher attacked the chastity of the protector's mother, to put the late king's legitimacy in doubt, is scarcely credible, because it was unnecessary; and if this were done, it did not originate with Richard. It was one of the articles of Clarence's attainder, that he accused his brother, Edward IV. of being a bastard. *Rolls Parl.* vol. vi. p. 194. Polydore Virgil describes the sermon as representing Richard to be like his father the duke of York, in two points, being a small man, with a short and compact face. p. 545. Dr. Shaw lived but a short time afterwards. He was of the Augustine friars, and had borne a great reputation.

¹²⁹ More details this scene and the duke's speech, p. 228—238.

¹³⁰ More, p. 238—240.

¹³¹ See before, p. 149. (note 36.)

¹³² See it at length in the *Parl. Rolls*, vol. vi. p. 240—243.

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He seems to have rested it on the ancient canon law of pre-contracts.¹³³ The bill stated, that before Edward's private marriage with lady Grey, he stood plighted to dame Eleanor Butteler, daughter of the old earl of Shrewsbury, with whom he made a pre-contract of matrimony, long before his nuptials with the present queen; and therefore, that his issue were illegitimate: and that the line of Clarence being attainted, Richard was become his father's heir.¹³⁴ It prayed him to accept and take upon him the crown and royal dignity.¹³⁵

He took possession of the throne on the following day, the 26th of June¹³⁶; having issued a previous proclamation, ordering every man to be in his lodging by ten o'clock at night; and that none, but those licensed, should bear any manner of weapon, on pain of imprisonment.¹³⁷ He described the popularity of his assumption of the crown, in an official letter to lord Mountjoy at Calais.¹³⁸

¹³³ By the ancient canon law, a contract for marriage might be valid and perfect without the church ceremony. See Gibson's Codex, tit. 22. Hence there have been decisions in the ecclesiastical courts, by which second marriages have been annulled, on account of the existence of a pre-contract; and see the Decret. l. 4. tit. 1. c. 21. It was the subsequent statute of 32 Henry VIII. c. 38. which, reciting the fact that marriages had been annulled, by reason of pre-existing contracts, enacted, that all such marriages should be held good notwithstanding such contracts. So that Richard was right in the law of his objection. Buckingham told Morton, that Richard brought in "instruments, authentic doctors, proctors, and notaries of the law, with depositions of divers witnesses," to prove the young king's illegitimacy. Graft. p. 815.

¹³⁴ More, 241. It also stated the protector's great wit, prudence, *justice*, princely courage, and memorable and laudable acts in divers battles. Ibid. Stillington, the bishop of Bath, who was present at the pre-contract of lady Butler, is said to have given Richard information of this formidable difficulty. Comines declares, that he heard this prelate say, that he had married Edward to her. C. 112. 122.

¹³⁵ The act, which in the next parliament made this bill an act, states that it was presented "by many and divers lords spiritual and temporal, and other nobles and notable persons of the commons, in great multitude." P. 240. From which I should infer, that the parliament was summoned, but that it was not opened in due form; Richard not chusing to do it as protector, because he meant to be king; and for the same reason determining that Edward should not meet it.

¹³⁶ Croyl. p. 567.

¹³⁷ Harl. MSS. No. 433. p. 239.

¹³⁸ This states, that the king, "notably assisted by well near all the lords spiritual and temporal of this royaume, went the same day unto his palace of Westminster; and thence in such royal, honorable and apparelled way in the great hall, there took possession, and declared his mind, that the same day he would begin to reign upon his people; and from thence rode solemnly to the cathedral church of

The path of bloodshed and injustice being once chosen, more blood and crime necessarily followed. The death of Rivers and Grey now became essential to the plans of the protector and his friends. Rivers was, on the 23d of June, at Sheriffs Hutton castle, and there made his will¹³⁹; as uncertain of life, but not as then immediately expecting death. He was removed after that day to Pomfret, where he was arraigned and tried, before the earl of Northumberland, on the charge of conspiring Richard's death.¹⁴⁰ He was declared to be guilty, and adjudged to death. In this state, he wrote a poetical effusion, which has been handed down to us¹⁴¹; and was, with Grey and

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London, and was received there with procession, and with great congratulations and acclamation, of all the people in every place, by the way that the king was in that day." Harl. MSS. Ibid. More's account in p. 244.

¹³⁹ This is dated 23 June 1483, at Hutton castle. He bequeaths his heart to be carried to Our Lady at Pisa, to be buried: and he directs, *in case he should die* south of Trent, to be also buried there. He orders all his apparel for his body, and horse harness, to be sold, and from the produce, shirts and smocks to be given to the poor. Dug. Baron, vol. ii. p. 233.

¹⁴⁰ Rous, p. 214, 215. That Northumberland was at Pomfret, we perceive from the York registers already quoted: and that he was the principal judge of Rivers, we learn from Rous, who says, of all the queen's friends, "*conspiratum est contra eos quod ipsi contrivissent mortem ducis, protectoris Angliæ.*" Ibid. 213.

¹⁴¹ Rous has preserved this "balet," which we subjoin, as shewing this nobleman's calm, pensive, and cultivated mind:—

Sumwhat musyng,
and more mornyng,
In remembring
The unstydfastness;
This worl being
Of such whelying
Thus contrarieng
What may I gesse?
I-fere, dowltes
remedeless;
Is nowe to seie my woful chauce.
Lo! in this trauce;
Now in substance:
Such is my dawnce.

Wyllyng to die,
Me thynkys truly,
Bownden am I
and that gretely
To be content.
Seyng plainly,
That fortune doth wry,
All contrary
From myn entent.

Vaughan, beheaded at Pomfret.¹⁴² This was the second blood¹⁴³ shed by the protector and his friends. But by the earl of Northumberland presiding and sanctioning it, the guilt of it cannot be laid to Richard alone.

Five thousand ill-provided troops now came up from the north, Wales, and other parts¹⁴⁴; and Richard proceeded fearlessly to his coronation. Thus far it seems, that all which he had done, was aided, approved, and sanctioned by the great men, both temporal and spiritual, about him. His determined spirit, inflamed with ambition, and fond of the pomp of state, executed unshrinkingly whatever atrocity they recommended, or that appeared to him to be necessary to the accomplishment of their councils, and his designs.

Thus ended the short reign of Edward V. Two months and eighteen days comprised the brief duration of his royalty. We cannot now ascertain the extent of the popular approbation that accompanied his deposition. The promiscuous multitude shout at the showy pomp which pleases their momentary

My lyff was lent,
Me to one entent,
Hytt is ny spent.
Welcome, fortune !
But I ne went (thought)
Thus to be shent (killed)
But so hit ment.
Such is her won.

Rous, Hist. p. 214.

¹⁴² His body was found to have an hair shirt under his clothes; which was afterwards hung before St. Mary's image at Doncaster. Rous, p. 214. The aged sir Thomes Vaughan exclaimed on the scaffold, "I appeal to the high tribunal of God, against the duke of Gloucester, for this wrongful murder, and our real innocence." Ratcliffe, with a sneering insensibility that does no credit to the gentry of the day, remarked, "You have made a goodly appeal. Lay down your head." The knight replied, "I die in the right; take heed you die not in the wrong," and submitted to the blow.

¹⁴³ Croyl. p. 567. Polyd. Virgil correctly places this execution at this time, p. 546.

¹⁴⁴ Croyl. p. 567. Pol. Virg. p. 546. They "came up evil apparelled, and worse harnessed, in rusty harness, neither defensible nor scoured, which mustered in Finsbury Field, to the great disdain of all lookers on." Hall, p. 375.

gaze, without befriending the circumstances that cause it. Both Richard's anxiety and self-flattery would desire to construe the applause of the voice into the favor of the heart; but the condemning fact, that he had governed in his nephew's name, and taken and given oaths of allegiance to him, and appointed his coronation, without impeaching his legitimacy, could leave no one ignorant, that the imputations were but a pretext; and that his usurpation was a daring violation of all legal right and moral justice, as well as of impartial reason and conscientious religion. It stood on no grounds but that of oppressing power, fancied expediency, selfish gratification, and a supposed necessity of self-defence. Hence, his throne stood merely on the narrow foundation of self-interest; and tho, from soon feeling this, he became lavish of gifts and honors till he impoverished his own resources, he found the mercenary basis too weak to uphold him; and he vanished with the same rapidity with which he had burst into his transitory greatness.

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EDW. V.

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CHAP. VIII.

REIGN OF RICHARD THE THIRD

1483—1485.

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WHEN Richard thus ascended his nephew's throne, he was but thirty years of age.¹ It was an easy measure, at that moment, with so many assisting friends, to step into the royal chair; and as the dangerous consequences of such an usurpation seemed to him, and them, of less magnitude than the reign of Edward V. might have produced, the immorality of the action was disregarded, and the perils that might evolve from it were dared. He relied upon his own judgment and activity for surmounting these; and he prepared to enjoy the regal splendor he loved, in its fullest blaze.

One of his first objects was, to secure the important fortresses of Calais and Guynes, and their well-disciplined garrisons. These, like the great nobility and gentry, before the deposition of Edward had been resolved upon, had sworn to him their oath of allegiance. It was for Richard, on the unexpected

¹ He was born at Fodingay, on 2d October 1452. W. Wyr. p. 477. Hence, on 26th June 1483, he was thirty years, eight months, and twenty-four days old. Shakspear, with correct judgment, did not place the death of Henry VI. in his tragedy of Richard III. Yet, by opening it with Henry's funeral, he, as Cibber afterwards, has confused the chronology. When Henry VI. was buried, Richard was but nineteen. He did not, at that funeral, court or see lady Anne, nor marry her till a considerable time afterwards. At Edward the Fifth's accession he was thirty; and not thirty-three years of age when he fell against Richmond. So that to personate the real historical character, the actor, as the play now stands, should be of the inconsistent ages of nineteen, thirty, and thirty-three, during the representation, instead of the elderly ruffian whom we usually see. It may be also noticed, that the old duchess of York, his mother, was at this time a Benedictine nun. See before.

révolution he had made, to persuade them that they might violate this solemn pledge of loyalty to their natural, admitted, and living sovereign, and transfer it to himself.

To this end, on the 28th of June, he sent instructions to lord Mountjoy, at Calais, desiring him to insinuate to his troops, that when they took that oath, they were ignorant of the "verray sure and true title" which Richard then had to the crown; that upon the knowlege of this, every good true Englishman is bound to depart from his first oath, so ignorantly given to him, to whom it did not appertain; and therefore that they should make their oath anew to him, whom good law, reason, and concordant assent of the lords and commons, had ordered to reign over the people.² To sir Ralph Hastings, at the castle of Guynes, he sent four persons, to whom he desired the lieutenant to give full faith and credence, in such things and news as he had commanded them to explain; and he prayed sir Ralph to disclose them to such of the subjects under his rule, as by his wisdom should be thought most accordant.³

From policy, from love of public applause, or from a desire to discharge with credit the full duties of a sovereign, or from a blending of all these motives, he endeavoured immediately to acquire and deserve popularity. In imitation of an ancient sovereign, he went himself to the court of king's bench, "because he considered, that it was the chiefest duty of a king to administer the laws."⁴ He went about with pleasing speeches, "to win to him the nobles, the merchants, the artificers, and all kind of men, especially the lawyers of the realm."⁵ And in order that no man should hate him for fear, and that his clemency might

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² See the instructions in Harl. MSS. No. 433. p. 239.

³ See the letter, MSS. *ibid.*

⁴ More, p. 244.

⁵ *Ibid.*

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procure for him the good will of the people, he made another proclamation, That he had put out of his mind all enmities ; and he declared, that by this official instrument, he openly pardoned all offences which had been committed against him.⁶ As an indication of the fulness of the application of this forgiveness, and of the sincerity of his feeling, he sent for one Fogge, then taking shelter in a sanctuary, and towards whom he was known to have had a deadly hatred ; and in the sight of all the people, he took him graciously by the hand.⁷

If it be allowed to have been afterwards noble in Charles, when he became king, to have declared, that he forgot the injuries of the duke of Orleans, Richard may claim some credit for this similar example of a prior magnanimity. The author who has recorded it, speaks the language of his prepossessions, in calling it a "*deceitful*" clemency. But as there is no intimation given, that the king ever violated this remitting promise, as to all past hostilities against him, the wise generosity of the action ought not to be depreciated. His subsequent severities were directed against subsequent attacks.

As he returned to his palace, he saluted whomsoever he met.⁸ This is also branded as the servile flattery of a guilty mind ; but it is not the interest of the public at large to discourage royal condescensions. Every act of kindness from the throne, which unites the hearts of the sovereign and his people, strengthens the kingly power ; and increases both the happiness and the prosperity of the nation. Proud

⁶ More, p. 244.

⁷ Ibid. p. 245. Grafton, p. 798. The sincerity and permanence of Richard's forgiveness, and his readiness and courage in trusting his enemies again, is evinced, not only by his giving an official pardon afterwards, under his sign manual, to this person, who was sir John Fogge, but by making him a friendly grant of some manors in the ensuing February. Harl. MSS. p. 98. This man afterwards joined his enemies.

⁸ More, p. 245.

dignity weakens its own stability, and diminishes its own comfort; and awakens evil feelings at every step of its arrogance. Courteous majesty is always the most honored. It is a perpetual compliment to its admiring subjects.

Two days before his coronation, he went in great state by water to the Tower, where his dethroned nephew was residing; and made several peers, and seventeen knights of the Bath.⁹ He released Stanley and the archbishop of York; and appointed the former his lord high steward.¹⁰ As the soldier's blow at Stanley, on the arrest of Hastings, and the earl's subsequent imprisonment, were incidents calculated to plant in Stanley's bosom a mortal resentment against the king, it was an action of very liberal and rarely equalled magnanimity in Richard, to have placed such a nobleman in an office, so confidential in his household, and so near his council. That it was as unwise as it was generous, Stanley's future treachery proved. In this transaction the king had all the honor, the earl all the disgrace. A true nobleman would have declined the trust-imposing and truth-demanding honor; or would have steadily fulfilled its moral and political obligations. If Richard advanced him, because he dreaded him or his son, it does not lessen the greatness of the action. The king could have rewarded him with royal honors and emoluments, without making him so near a companion of his state and cabinet. It is clear both from the concession and the acceptance of the appointment, that whatever may have been the hypocrisy of the king, it was exceeded by that of Stanley, who deceived even the suspicious jealousy of his lynx-eyed master up to the last moments, in which he betrayed and ruined him.

⁹ Grafton names them in p. 799.

¹⁰ Ibid.

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Richard at the same time liberated Morton from the Tower; and committed him to Buckingham, to be kept in friendly restraint in the duke's Welsh castle.¹¹ It is a remarkable instance of men's blindness to the consequences of their own actions, that, by this destination of the bishop, the king was laying the foundation for his own future destruction. The preservation of the prelate's life produced the loss of his own. But as Richard had betrayed his own trust, he was suffered to fall by the perfidy or ingratitude of others.

The next day, indulging his peculiar fondness for public state, he rode thro the city from the Tower to Westminster, in great pomp and ceremony. Buckingham rivalled his sovereign's taste for gorgeous show. Richly apparelled himself, he appeared upon a stately horse, whose sumptuous trappings of blue velvet were made to radiate dazzlingly with embroidered axles of burnished gold: and these were spread to the gazing multitude, by footmen, with such displaying management, "that all men much regarded them."¹²

He is
crowned
6th July.

His coronation was made as stately as wealth could provide, or pomp exhibit. Saluted by his prelates and chapel in Westminster hall, the procession of studied dignity passed thence to the abbey. The royal household, knights and peers, were followed by Northumberland, with the pointless sword of mercy; and by Stanley, with his constable's mace. Kent bore the naked weapon of justice on the king's right hand; and Lovel another on his left. The duke of Suffolk then appeared with the sceptre; and Lincoln with the ball and cross. The new-made earl of Surrey carried the sword of state, in a rich scabbard; near

¹¹ Grafton, p. 799.

¹² Ibid. p. 799—809. Hall, p. 375. Three dukes, nine earls, twenty-two lords, and seventy-eight knights (the last the lord mayor), formed part of the splendid procession. Grafton names them, p. 799, 800.

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whom his father, Norfolk, displayed the glittering and tempting crown. Under a canopy, borne by the barons of the cinque ports, between two bishops, one of them the auxiliary Stillington, Richard, the prime actor, and theme of this happiest day of his short life, exhibited himself in a surcoat and robe of purple, with his train borne by the duke of Buckingham, with his wand of lord high steward. The queen's sceptre, and dove-crowned rod, succeeded the king, in the hands of Huntingdon and Lisle; and, preceded by the earl of Wiltshire, with her crown, she came in gentle majesty, in robes like the king; also between two prelates, and under a like supported canopy. On her head was a rich coronet of jewels and pearls. The countess of Richmond bore her train; and a splendid retinue of duchesses, countesses, baronesses, and fair ladies, closed the magnificent scene.¹³ It is the natural inference, from the coronation roll, that Edward V. walked in this procession. It is certain from this, that robes were made for him to accompany it.¹⁴

They entered the abbey at its western door, went to their seat of state, heard the appointed anthems, descended to the high altar; and putting off their robes, were anointed in several parts. Assuming new garments of cloth of gold, they were crowned by the cardinal of Canterbury, assisted by other bishops.

¹³ Grafton, p. 800—803. Hall, p. 375.

¹⁴ This entry, which lord Orford first brought to the public notice, is, "To lord Edward, son of the late Edward the IV. for his apparel and array, that is to say, a short gowne, made of two yards and three quarters of crymsyn clothe of gold, lyned with 2 yards $\frac{3}{4}$ of blac velvet; a long gowne, made of vi yards $\frac{5}{8}$ of crymsyn cloth of gold, lyned with six yards of green damask; a shorte gowne, made of two yards $\frac{1}{4}$ of purpell velvet, lyned with two yards $\frac{3}{4}$ of green damask; a doublet, and a stomacher, made of two yards of blac satyn, &c.; besides two foot cloths, a bonet of purple velvet, nine horse harness, and ninesaddle housings of blue velvet, gilt spurs, with many other rich articles, and magnificent apparel for his henchmen or pages." Hist. Doubts, p. 66. Grafton had a narrative of the coronation before him when he wrote, p. 798. But he only particularizes the great men who had official honors, in the state pageantry. This may account for his not mentioning Edward in it, who, if there, would have walked only as one of the nobles.

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On each side of the king stood a duke ; while Surrey upheld the sword of state before him. At the queen's right and left, a bishop was standing, and a lady knelt. The service performed, they both communicated, and returned with a repetition of the preceding state, to a splendid banquet, where all the accustomed ceremonial and luxury of marshalled state, with the theatrical champion, passed the hours till night.¹⁵ That Buckingham, beginning to be dissatisfied with Richard, pretended to be ill, to avoid attending this coronation, and that the king declared, that if he could not walk, he would cause him to be carried, is mentioned by More¹⁵ ; but these tales are scarcely probable, unless we refer it to a personal pride, that would not stoop to be a public minister to another man's superior splendor. The duke's discontent is popularly alleged to have arisen from Richard's refusal to grant him the Hereford estate ; but both the refusal and the discontent seem to be disproved by the fact, that seven days after his coronation, Richard gave to Buckingham his letters patent, by which he willed and granted, that in the next parliament, the duke should be legally restored, from the preceding Easter, to all the manors, lordships and lands of the earl of Hereford, specified in the schedule.¹⁷ The crown could not make a fuller grant. It only wanted the parliamentary sanction. But More acknowledges, that those who were in the real secrets of that day denied these reports¹⁸ which we have noticed, in order to shew that they are unfounded.

Richard appears, from the time of his coronation, to have fixed his determined mind to enjoy his regal

¹⁶ Grafton, p. 800—803. Hall, p. 376.

¹⁶ More, p. 253.

¹⁷ The grant is in the Harl. MSS. 433. p. 107, 108. ; it styles Buckingham, his right trusty and entirely beloved cousin, and also heir of blood of Humphry Bohun, late earl of Hereford ; and mentions " the true, faithful, and laudable service which our said consin hath, in many sundry wise done to us, to our right singular will and pleasure." Ibid.

¹⁸ More, p. 254.

state as splendidly as he could display it; to maintain his throne with unshrinking resolution; to watch with alert and jealous vigilance all that criticised or opposed; to act with the most prompt energy against every hostility that emerged; to punish resistance with the most unsparing severity; and to anticipate his enemies with the most rapid measures, and with the most fearless and unfeeling decision; but wherever his own power was not endangered, nor due respect withheld, to behave with courtesy, liberality, condescension and friendship. His extreme love of power and state induced him to govern too eagerly by his own mind and views; and to dislike to be shackled by the control, or to be led by the advice of others. Some of these principles, by which he meant to have most firmly consolidated his throne, will be found to have greatly contributed to overthrow it. His intentions as to his deposed nephew, and the younger brother, were, so far as he disclosed them to Buckingham, to preserve their lives, and to maintain them in such an honorable state as would content the whole nation.¹⁹ That Edward's presence should have been a part of his coronation ceremony, is in unison with this declaration.

To exhibit his state to the eye of his early friends, in the northern counties, with ostentatious pageantry, as the Croyland doctor, who was then alive, and observing him, declares²⁰; and to enjoy it in their admiration and applause; and at the same time to overawe and tranquillize the disorderly and violent in those parts, as others intimate²¹; he resolved to make a progressive circuit through various counties

¹⁹ Grafton, p. 815. Hall, p. 387. The duke also told Morton, that Richard assured him, and the lords, that he intended to keep the crown only till Edward V. should be twenty-four years of age, and were able to govern the realm, like a mature and sufficient king. Ibid.

²⁰ Croyl. cont. p. 567. "*Quam diligentissime poterat ostentare.*" Ibid.

²¹ Hall, p. 376. Fabian also suggests, "to pacify that country, and to redresse certayne ryotes there lately dooen." p. 516.

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of England to the north of the metropolis. He rewarded the rude army that had marched from beyond the Humber to support him; and dismissed them to their homes.²² No incident could express greater reliance on the popularity of his conduct, or of his accession, than his thus parting with his military auxiliaries, and committing himself, with only his retinue of state, to the feelings and unawed intercourse of the population of the country.

He began his tour of state through Reading, which he reached on the 23d of July.²³ At Oxford, the bishop Wainfleet received him and his queen²⁴, with that ceremony and gratulation which this illustrious university is accustomed to display towards its sovereigns; and from thence he moved to Gloucester. Thus far Buckingham appears to have accompanied him; but, at this town, he parted from his friend, whom he had now made inferior only to himself in the kingdom. No visible diminution of their mutual attachment here occurred. They took leave of each other in "most loving and trusty manner;" and the duke went to Brecon, loaded with "great gifts and high behests!"²⁵

He passed on to Tewkesbury, the scene of his greatest martial exploit, when only nineteen, on the 4th of August²⁶; and thence, turning southward, he reached Warwick before the 8th of that month.

Having sent to the powers abroad, official annunciation of his accession, he received their answers in the first part of his summer progress. The answer of Louis XI. the French king, who was soon after seized with those fits that ended his Machiavellian life, was civil, short, and cold.

²² Hall, p. 376. He sent the son and heir of his brother Clarence, to Sheriff Hutton's castle in Yorkshire, to have no danger from him. Pol. Virg. p. 546.

²³ Here he signed a warrant in favor of lady Hastings. Harl. MSS. p. 109.

²⁴ Wood Antiq. Ox. vol. i. p. 233.

²⁵ More, p. 254.

²⁶ He then gave the abbot of Tewkesbury 310*l.* out of the rents of his brother Clarence's estate. Harl. MSS. p. 110.

“I have seen the letter you have written by your herald Blanc Sanglier, and thank you for the tidings you have communicated; and if I can do you any service, I will do it with a very good heart, for I wish much to have your friendship — adieu my dear cousin.”²⁷ Richard’s reply was as measured and laconic; as if he had felt that he had received only a slight compliment of verbal decorum. “My dear cousin, I have seen the letters you sent me by the herald Buckingham, by which I understand, that you wish much to have my friendship. I am very well contented with this in good form and manner.”²⁸

The most wary politicians could hardly have been more frugal of phrase and feeling, than these two royal correspondents, on the most interesting occasion of regal life—the grandest incident of individual history; but Louis may have considered Richard’s elevation, rather as a temporary assumption, than as a just and lasting accession.

The duke of Burgundy’s reception of his communication, was perhaps, from his political situation, more cordial²⁹; and the king’s reply displayed a desire to convert his superior courtesy into a friendly feeling.³⁰ The greatest balm to Richard’s heart, at this time, must have been the kind notice of his equals. What is seized by violence, is held with a

²⁷ The French letter is in Harl. MSS. p. 236. It is signed “Loys,” and dated 21 July.

²⁸ Harl. MSS. p. 237. Louis died 30 August 1483. Comines declares he never knew any prince less faulty in the main; vol. i. p. 45; and that he had been obeyed by every one, as if all Europe had been created for no other end but to be commanded by him. Yet he gave his physician 10,000 crowns a month, that he might be interested to preserve his life. p. 80. No man was more fearful of death; he ordered his servants never to mention the word in his presence. p. 41. The same author describes his restless ambition, faithlessness, jealousies, personal misery; his tyrannical cages of wood and iron for prisoners; and his fortifying himself in a castle, with watch towers, and bowmen to lie in the ditches, from the dread of his nobility, whom he was continually abasing. p. 83—93.

²⁹ Harl. MSS. *ibid.* It is dated Gand, July 30.

³⁰ Richard’s answer is dated August 20, at Nottingham castle; it begins, “Monsieur mon cousin, je me recommande a vous tous qui je puis. J’ai receut par mon huissier Blanc Sanglier,” your letter; and contains a familiar application to him, about buying some wines for him and his queen. Harl. MSS. p. 237.

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jealous sensibility, both to alarm and censure, that makes every soothing word or demeanor a sweet and welcome boon.

But the highest gratification which he could receive from the attention of foreign princes, he enjoyed at Warwick, on the 8th of August, from the ambassador of Isabella, the queen of Castile, who patronized Columbus; and who gave to Ferdinand of Arragon that additional sceptre, which enabled him to expel the Moors from Granada, and to make Spain one united Christian kingdom. We connect these circumstances with the recollection of her name, because the statement which she authorized her "Orator Granfidus de Sasiola," to make, shew how greatly the course of European and American history, and therefore of the whole world, might have been changed, if Edward IV. instead of marrying hastily the widow Grey, had accepted of the hand of the important, and not unwilling Isabella.

The king assembled the lords of his council, and sat in royal state at Warwick, to receive the acceptable envoy. The commissioned Spaniard in his public address, declared that his queen had been turned in her heart from England, in time past, for the unkindness which she had taken against Edward, for *his refusal of her*, and taking instead, to his wife, a widow of England. This cause had moved her against her nature, which had ever been to like and favor England, to take part with the French monarch; and to make leagues and confederations with him. But as the king was dead, who had shewed her this unkindness; and as the sovereign of France had broken four principal articles, that had been signed between him and Castile, she now wished to return to her natural disposition towards the English realm.³¹

³¹ Harl. MSS. p. 235.

Savola then delivered a written proposal, that if Richard would make war upon Louis XI. to recover the ancient possessions of the crown of England [in France, she would give to his armies and captains her maritime ports free and secure, and victuals and necessary arms, on just payment; and would, if need were, send knights, heroes and men, to co-operate.³² Isabella's own letter of credence to the king, was presented by her ambassador to him.³³ This recognition of his sovereignty and public solicitation of his exertions, in a popular war against France, was the most propitious and flattering circumstance that he could at this juncture receive. He referred the request to the consideration of his cabinet council.³⁴ He knighted the ambassador soon afterwards, at York; and wrote grateful letters to Ferdinand and Isabella, thanking them for their friendship and alliance.³⁵

³² Harl. MSS. p. 235.

³³ It is "Muy esclarecido rey; muy caro et muy amado primo: Nos la reyna de Castilla, de Leon, de Arragon, de Secilia, fic. vos embiamos mucho saludas como a quel que mucho amamos et preciamos et para quien quervuimos que Dois diese tanta vide salua et honra quanta vos mesmo desayb. Faceamos vos saber que nos enbiamos a vos al bacheller de Sasiola del nostro consillo et qual de nostre parte vos hablara algunas cosas; muy afectuosamente vos rogamos le dedere entere fee et crencia, muy esclarecido rey, nostro muy caro et muy amado primo. Dios nostro senor, todos tiempos vos aya en su protection et recomienda de la abeaæ de sancto Domingo de la calçada. "Yo la Reyna."

June 6. 1483.

"Al muy esclarecido rey de Ynglaterra, nostro muy caro et muy amada primo."

This translation follows in the MS.

"Right excellent king; our right dear and right entirely beloved: We, the queen of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Sicily, &c. send you many greetings as to him that we greatly love and praise, and him to whom we beseech God to grant as much life, health, and honor, as yourself desires. We let you know that we send unto you the bachelior of Sasiola of our counsel, which on our behalf shall show you certain things, praying you of affectionate mind unto him, to give faith and credence, right excellent king, our right dear and intirely beloved. May our Lord God always have you in his protection and recommendation,

"To the right excellent king of England, our right dear and right intirely beloved,"

Harl. MSS. Ibid. p. 236. Unless the Spanish government anticipated Richard's enthronement, or assimilated him to the king, in his protectorial capacity, this, from the date, must have been addressed to Edward V.; but it was delivered to Richard, as meant for him.

³⁴ Harl. MSS. p. 235. "We send it to you, to the intent we may have your good advertisement what is further to be done in this matter." This was the 9th August. Rymer has printed the ratification of the treaty, dated Aug. 31. Vol. xii. p. 197.

³⁵ Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. p. 200, 201. Comines.

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He proceeded on his tour, and was at Coventry on the 15th of August. He then signed a memorandum for 180*l.* owing for the goods furnished to the lady Anne, his queen consort.³⁶ At Leicester, on the 17th of August, he ordered 2,000 Welsh bills to be made for him, in all haste possible; and authorized one of the ushers of his chamber, to take in any place where it should be found most expedient to him, as many smiths as he should think necessary for the accomplishment of his intent³⁷; and two days afterwards he issued his summons, from the same town of Leicester, to several knights and gentlemen to attend at the castle of Pomfret, on the 27th of that month.³⁸ On the 22nd of August we find him at Nottingham³⁹, from which he answered Burgundy; and nine days afterwards, at York.⁴⁰

As the person of Richard was unquestionably short⁴¹, tho his face was handsome⁴²; and his figure

³⁶ Harl. MSS. p. 109.³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 110.³⁸ The copy in the Harl. MSS. was addressed to sir John Assheton, knight, and to 69 other persons. p. 111.³⁹ Harl. MSS. p. 112.⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 126.⁴² If Richard had not been short, the prelate who came ambassador to him from Scotland, would not, in his complimentary address delivered to him on his throne, have quoted these lines:

— “*nunquam tantum animum natura minori
Corpore, nec tantas, visa est, includere vires.
Major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus.*”

Bucke, p. 572. Nor would he have made such an allusion, if it had not been well known that Richard cared not about it. So Pol. Virgil represents Dr. Shaw, as calling on the people to remark, that he was “*pusillus*” like his father, and not “*statura magnus*,” as Edward IV. was known to be. p. 544. Rous, his contemporary, mentions, that he was, “*corpore parvus; parvæ staturæ.*” P. 216—218.

⁴² I think that the declaration of the old countess Desmond, who had danced with Richard, that he was the handsomest man in her room, except his brother (Walp. Hist. Doubts, p. 102.), sufficient evidence as to the beauty of his face; and it seems to me to be implied, by the Scotch orator’s saying to him, “he beholds *thy face* worthy of the highest empire and command.” Bucke, p. 572. Polydore Virgil described it to have been like his father’s, short and compact, without the fulness of his brother’s. p. 544. Rous also mentions him “as *curtam habens faciem.*” p. 216. More mentions his face to have been hard favored or warly, p. 154.; which Grafton understands to be warlike, p. 758.; as Hall also, p. 343.; tho he chuses to add from himself, the epithet of crabbed. As his body was publicly exposed after his fall in battle, for some time at Leicester, the distorted features of violent death, in a state of the highest exertion and passion, may have fixed an unfavorable impression of his countenance on the crowds that flocked to contemplate him.

was small and had been much weakened by illness⁴³, and his left arm seems to have been a shrunk or defective limb⁴⁴; it is rather singular that he should have been so fond of personal exhibitions in public state, where almost every surrounding courtier must have excelled him in that appearance and deportment which strike or fascinate the eye. But a vigorous mind never feels or thinks of its bodily imperfections. Conscious of its powers, using them with energy, and undervaluing all other distinctions, Richard cared as little for his dwarfish height, as Alexander the Great for his wry neck. Both loved fame, admiration, and audible applause, too much, to forego the gratification from any dread of personal criticism. The visible pomp of ceremonial majesty, centering in himself, which he could display; the animating acclamations from the surrounding myriads, which he could hear; and the venerating homage of the proud nobles, assiduous knights, and delighted citizens, that he could behold, were sources of enjoyment to Richard's taste and self-admiration, which overwhelmed all sense or belief of any depreciating inferiority, even to his late tall and dignified brother. Hence, he courted that kingly state which Edward slighted; and as he could not shine like him, at the dance or the banquet, he multiplied the occasions of public pageantry, to gain that admiration for his regal splendor, which nature had denied him from her elegant proportions.

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⁴³ That he was "viribus debilis," or weak in body, we have the sufficient authority of Rous, p. 218. I have lost my note of the authority from which I take the facts of Richard's previous illness; and can therefore only mention it from memory, without being able to specify the reference.

⁴⁴ If this had not been well known to be the fact, it is not likely it would have had so prominent a part in More's detail of the arrest of Hastings, p. 202. He declares, that "no man was there present but well knew that his arm was ever such since his birth." Ibid Rous mentions his having unequal shoulders; the right the highest. p. 216. This may have been true: the striking deformity would rest on the degree. For the hump back and crooked form, I think we have no adequate authority.

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At Nottingham the idea seems to have suddenly occurred to him, of having a day of splendid state at York, with the unusual ceremony of a second coronation. That the city which had so much befriended his family, and in which he had so frequently resided, might see him in all that exalting display of majesty, which adds awe to attachment, and feasts the vanity with a banquet to the senses as well as to the self-contemplating mind, was no unnatural wish in a man so fond of the dramatic parade of new greatness; and he prepared for the gratification with much elaborate and forethinking care. On the 23rd of August, his secretary wrote from Nottingham to the mayor of York, directing him to prepare to receive Richard and his queen: to dispose himself to do as well with the suitable pageants, as on so short a warning could be devised; and to have the streets hung, thro which the king would pass, with cloths of arms and tapestry.⁴⁵ Having sent this precursory excitation, he moved on to the northern metropolis; and correspondently to his wishes, the citizens received him with the pomp and triumph that he had called for and loved; and plays and pageants were for several days exhibited, in token of their joy, and for his amusement as well as for their own. He commended earnestly these loyal effusions; and to please both himself and them, appeared among them in his royal robes, with the sceptre in his hand, and the diadem on his head. He issued proclamations, that all proper persons should resort to York, on the day he named, to behold him, with his queen and son, in their high estate and degree; and to receive his thanks for their good will.⁴⁶ On the 31st of August, he dispatched a written mandate to the keeper of his wardrobe, in London, to deliver to the bearers the rich dresses

⁴⁵ Drake's Eborac. p. 116.⁴⁶ Grafton, p. 807.

in which he was desirous of exhibiting himself at his meditated ceremony; and he specifies these with an exactness and descriptive detail, as if they were as minutely registered in his manly memory, as in that of his queen's mistress of the robes. The abundance and variety of what he sends for, imply a solicitude for his personal exhibition, which we should rather look for from the fop that annoyed Hotspur, than from the stern and warlike Richard III.⁴⁷ But it was the foible of his heart; and like all the secret idols of our self-love, it kept its station within its interior temple; however bustling and contrasted might be the living scenery that surrounded it.

On the appointed day, the clergy led the state procession in copes richly vested; and at the most impressive part of the moving pomp, the king appeared

⁴⁷ "We will and charge you to deliver to the bringers hereof, *for us*, the parcels following:" He then enumerates,

One doublet of purple sattin, lined with galand cloth, and outlined with buske.
One ditto of tawney sattin, lined in likewise.

Two short gowns of crimson cloth of gold, that one with droppue, and that other with nett, lined with green velvet.

One cloke, with a cape of violet ingrained, the both lined with black velvet.

One stomacher of purple sattin.

One ditto of tawney.

One gown of green velvet, lined with tawney sattin.

One yard three quarters corse of silk, medled with gold.

As moche black corse of silk for *our spurs*.

One yard and an half and two nails of white cloth of gold for a crynebre for a barde.

Five yards of black velvet for lining of a gown of green sattin.

One plackard, made of part of the same.

Two nails of white cloth of gold, lined with buckram.

Three pair of spurs, short, all gilt.

Two pair of spurs, long, white, parcel gilt.

Two yards of black buckram for amendment of the lining of divers trappures.

One banner of sarsenet, of our Lady.

Ditto of the Trinity. — Ditto of St. George. — Ditto of St. Edward. — Ditto of St. Cuthbert.

One, of our own arms, all sarsenet.

Three coats of arms, beaten with fine gold, *for our own person*.

Five coats of arms, for heralds, lined with buckram.

Forty trumpet banners of sarsenet.

340 pensills of buckram.

350 pensills of tarteryn.

4 standards of sarsenet, with boars.

13 guynfins of fustian, with boars.

This has been printed from the Harl. MSS. No. 433. p. 126., in Kennett, vol. 1.

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with his crown and sceptre, in the fullest majesty which royal apparel could impart. A numerous train of nobility followed, preceding his queen, bearing also her diadem; and leading in her hand their little son, ten years old, with golden rod, and demy-crown. The effect was as great as the kingly contriver had anticipated or could desire. The flattered and delighted populace of the rude north, which had never witnessed such a spectacle since the days of the Anglo-Saxon octarchy, shouted their tumultuous rapture, and extolled him to the skies.⁴⁸

While he remained at York, he knighted the Spanish ambassador.⁴⁹ He appointed one on his part, to compliment Ferdinand and Isabella⁵⁰; renewed his brother's league with them; and besides his credentials, addressed to both⁵¹, he wrote a separate letter to her, of friendship and congratulation.⁵² In answer to an application, from James III. of Scotland, he expressed his wishes of remaining at peace with that country.⁵³ He created his son prince of Wales⁵⁴; and after having thus enjoyed his royal state and authority, he left York for Pomfret, soon after the middle of September.

From Pomfret castle he wrote, on the 22d of September, to the mayor and corporation of Southampton; assuring them, that he would not suffer his dearest

⁴⁸ Grafton, p. 807. Pol. Virgil, p. 547. Croyland also mentions, that he held the most sumptuous and pompous feasts and banquets, to allure the minds of so great a people. p. 567.

⁴⁹ On September 8. Rym. vol. xii. p. 200.

⁵⁰ This was Barnard de la Forssa, "whom his highness at this time sendeth to his derest cousyns, the king and queen of Spayne." Harl. MSS. p. 244.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid. p. 246. Richard's answer to queen Isabella, dated York, Sept. 9., was in Latin. It addresses her as Most serene princess; our dearest cotin; your sublimity; wishes her every increase of happy fortune; assures her, that her ambassador had very prudently discharged his trust; and expressed many things, which the king had heard with the greatest pleasure. He informs her of the renewal of the treaty of amity between the two nations; and that he has commissioned his noble counsellor, Barnard de la Forssa, to transact with her all further measures.

⁵³ The letters of the two kings are in the Harl. MSS. p. 247.

⁵⁴ Hist. Croyl. p. 567. Pol. Virg. p. 547.

son, the prince, to intermeddle within their franchises, in the cause complained of.⁵⁵ The prince was at that time, under the care of lord Richard Bernall; and travelled in his chariot.⁵⁶ He appears to have been, at that time, reading a most costly primmer, corded with black satin, and his psalter; and to have been carefully surrounded with his due proportion of state⁵⁷: and tho the improving boy was studying all his exercises and letters in England, his father made him lord lieutenant of Ireland.⁵⁸

Up to this period, Richard had done nothing contrary to the spirit of his age, or offensive to the moral feelings of the influencing classes. His measures, altho to us, who now balance all actions in the scales, not of worldly expediency, but of impartial rectitude, they appear to have been iniquitously violent; yet were considered by many, at that time, to have been

⁵⁵ Harl. MSS. p. 115.

⁵⁶ The warrant expresses besides, three waynes, "for th' expense of my lord prince's *chariot*; for their bating of the *chariot* at York," Harl. MSS. p. 118. So that the term is of some antiquity.

⁵⁷ The Harl. MSS. has preserved the warrant, (dated Sept. 25.) to allow 196*l.* 10*s.* for the expenses of the prince; and the particulars which it specifies, shews the minuteness of Richard's memory, and attention to all the points of dress, and of his family's concerns.

For green cloth for my lord prince.

For making of gowns of the same cloth.

For chusing of the king of West Witton; for rushes; for a cloth sack; for a horse bought.

For a feather to my lord prince.

Shoemaker, for stuff for my lord prince.

For the chusing of the king of Middelym.

For offerings for my lord prince, to our Lady, in several places.

Twenty-pence for my lord's drinking at King House.

For trussing cords; bridle bitt.

13*s.* 4*d.* for a prymer for my lord the prince.

7*s.* 10*d.* black sattin, for cording of it, and a psalter.

For my lord prince drinking.

31*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* for the expenses of my lord prince's household, and the lord Richard, from St. Clymnesse to Midsummer-day.

6*s.* 8*d.* to M. D. for running on foot by side of my lord prince.

For cost of the hounds.

For coming with the jewels from London.

23*s.* 4*d.* for expense of my lord prince household, from York to Pomfret.

For three waynes, from York to Pomfret.

For the expense of my lord prince's chariot, from York to Pomfret.

For their batyng of the chariot at York.

For black velvet and fustian.

Harl. MSS. p. 118.

⁵⁸ MSS. *ibid.* p. 24.

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politically wise, and most promotive on the whole of the public tranquillity. Hence, tho several may have lamented, few censured; most applauded, and all acquiesced. He might have reigned, like Henry IV. or Edward IV. alarmed by occasional and suppressible conspiracy, or partial insurrections; yet not endangered by any general disaffection. But Richard had not the constitutional intrepidity or carelessness of his brother. Brave, to the utmost edge of peril in the martial conflict, he was an intellectual coward; and preferred to prevent danger by crime, to conquering it by honorable combat, and unimpeachable valor. All his violences may be referred to this principle. Like the tiger, he would struggle unshrinkingly to death in the battle; but he would, if possible, crouch, crawl, and spring upon his victim when unprepared, and destroy him without the possibility of resistance. The difference may have proceeded from Edward's having made his ambition but his secondary gratification; while, in Richard, it was the first. Less personable than his brother, his vanity preferred power to female admiration. Richard was always afraid of his competitors; Edward defied them. Edward fought from the heart's impulse and pleasure; Richard from self-interest, pride, and necessity. Hence, Richard debased himself by wickedness, which Edward would have disdained. Alarm, jealousy, suspicion, and irritable vanity, debilitated the great qualities of the usurping king; while Edward was so fond of confidence, so self-relying, and so incapable of mistrust, that he never credited the possibility of his dangers till they occurred; and then leapt, at once, from the sybarite into the hero; and subdued them with an explosion of talent that seemed like inspiration; and yet which vanished as surprisingly, with the occasion that inflamed it. Hence, tho his beloved queen, and her preferred relations, labored to fill his mind

with doubts of Richard's conduct, they never could make him distrust or displace his brother. His own heart was, to him, a sufficient pledge for this prince's fidelity; and he employed him to the last in the highest stations of confidence, till he expired. We may add, that while Edward lived, Richard never violated the trust which his brother so generously placed in him.

If Richard had acted with this moral courage towards his dethroned nephew, and not attempted his life, his reign might have been long and glorious. But he forgot that the natural ties of blood between uncle and nephew are felt and venerated by the universal heart; and that no one is so poor or base as not to acknowledge, exhibit, and exact the obligations. He violated this sacred bond; and the war of human nature began in every breast against him.

From Pomfret, Richard proceeded gradually thro Gainsborough to Lincoln, which he reached on the 12th of October.⁵⁹ Not a cloud had occurred to disturb his political serenity, when he reached Pomfret; but after he left that castle, rumors of secret conspiracies began to reach his ear.

It is everlastingly true, that he who conquers by force, has overcome but half his foe. All the passions of hate, fear and revenge continue unabated; and are as restless as they are tormenting. Richard and his friends had beaten down the party of the queen, and the young king; but its leaders were still in sanctuaries and privileged places, where Richard could not assail them; and his coronation amnesty had not appeased their resentment. They wanted power and revenge, not pardon; and they continued their secret but active machinations against him.

Since the coronation, the princes had been with-

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⁵⁹ On 10th October, he signed at Gainsborough a warrant to pay the prior of Carlisle 5*l.* towards making a glass window there. Harl. MSS. p. 120.

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drawn from public sight; and it was presumed that this would have prevented the public sympathy or recollection about them. On the contrary, it increased what it was meant to suppress. The people, especially in the southern and western counties, became uneasy at their confinement, and anxious for their liberation. At first they talked on the point in secret confidence. Some became more open in their sensibilities. Mutual communications of a common feeling produced meetings, of which the retired and sheltered chiefs eagerly availed themselves. They advised, that the queen's daughters, at least, should be made safe, and be taken in disguise from Westminster to foreign parts, in order that the crown should, thro them, return to the true heritors, if any evil should be perpetrated on the princes.⁶⁰

Immediately on being apprized of these devices, Richard, with his usual promptness and decision, had the abbey and all the circumjacent places surrounded with military works, like a castle or a fortress; and appointed, as keepers, men of great sternness, under one John Nesffeld, who watched all the passages to the abbey, and would suffer no one to go out or to enter, without reference to him.⁶¹

But the disturbed feeling increased, not only in the metropolis, but in all the surrounding counties; and all the king's political enemies began to hope that some commotion, advantageous to their interests, would occur.⁶² In this disquieting state, Richard became astonished to hear, and the discontented delighted to learn, that the name of the duke of Buckingham was connecting itself with this insurrectionary disposition.

This new and unexpected state of things came like

⁶⁰ Croyl. p. 567.

⁶¹ Croyl. p. 568. The Harl. MSS. contains several grants to Nesffeld, pp. 27. 38. 75.

⁶² Ibid.

a summer's sudden thunder-storm on the king. He had been exulting in all the joyous self-congratulation of his secured and elevating greatness; when he found a tempest collecting around him, to hurl him from the proud summit on which he thought himself seated for a long life of honor and applause.

In the midst of this public perturbation, Richard deemed it for his interest to diffuse the report, that the princes were no more. How they had died, or when; by what disease, or from whose violence, no one knew, and no inquiry could ascertain. The certainty of their deaths was all that was circulated; and these lamentable tidings, in this mysterious form, were left to have their expected effect of acting as a sedative to the public sympathy.⁶³ That their deaths would terminate all commotions, by teaching discontent its hopelessness, and compel every mind to regard Richard's line as their own dynasty, was the self-flattering calculation of his policy. He was astonished to find that a burst of public indignation and violent sensibility immediately followed, which portended the most perilous hostility. In every town, street, and public place, crowds assembled, openly wept, and piteously sobbed.⁶⁴ As their first lamentations subsided, the inward grudge increased; and a general cry arose, that to destroy innocent babes, was an action which the whole world abhorred; and that their blood called for vengeance from the Almighty providence. The queen was inexpressibly afflicted by the tidings. When they first reached her, she swooned senseless to the ground, and there lay long in the apparent grasp of death. When feeling and

⁶³ Pol. Virgil ascribes the circulation of the report to the king himself, for this purpose. p. 547. Grafton also declares, "that he caused the rumor to be spread," p. 805.

⁶⁴ Graft. p. 806. I have sometimes fancied, that the popular ballad of the Children in the Wood, may have been written at this time, on Richard and his nephews, before it was quite safe to stigmatise him more openly.

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memory at length returned, she called upon her children by various tender names, as if they could hear her invocations, and become again present to her sight. She bitterly accused herself for surrendering up her little York; and kneeling down, she implored heaven to avenge the treacherous perfidy of the destroyer, and her own irreparable loss.⁶⁵ Whatever benefit Richard expected from the publication of his nephews' deaths, he utterly failed to acquire.

When the king found himself thus disappointed in the result, had he left it in his own power to retrieve the mischievous effects, by contradicting his own report, and producing his nephews to public view?—or had he, by an irrevocable crime, lost this advantage, and committed himself to those penal consequences, by which all guilt, sooner or later, finds itself to be pursued?—This is the nice question, which has divided the opinions of many able men; and the appearance, in the next reign, of a person who pretended to be one of these princes, alleging that they had escaped from their uncle's intended cruelty, had caused some to doubt of that uncle's guilt. But it is certain that Richard, during his short subsequent reign, never avowed that they were alive, or shewed them to any one after the rumor of their fate; nor diffused any question of its truth, even when most pressed by Richmond's enmity. Richard acted uniformly afterwards, as if they were dead; and, upon an impartial consideration of all the facts that can be traced, connected with the sad transaction, there seems no just reason for disbelieving their catastrophe.

From the atrociousness of the transaction, it was necessarily so secretly planned and executed, that the precise incidents could not be publicly known; and the natural consequence of this ignorance was, that

⁶⁵ Graft. p. 806.

many would never credit so revolting a fact; and that few could agree upon its reported circumstances.⁶⁶

The only writers we have, that were contemporary with the deed, were Fabian, Rous, and the author of the chronicle of Croyland. The first briefly mentions, that "the common fame went" that king Richard had within the Tower "put unto secret death the two sons of his brother."⁶⁷ Rous remarks, "it was afterwards known to very few, by what death they suffered martyrdom." The last author declares, "It was commonly reported, that the said sons of Edward were dead; but by what kind of *violent* death, it was not known."⁶⁸ Polydore Virgil, nearly a contemporary, intimates the same uncertainty of the mode of their destruction.⁶⁹

The only detail we possess of the fate of these two princes, is transmitted to us by sir Thomas More, as he had heard it by such men and means, as it were hard but it should be true.⁷⁰ He declares, that he learnt the particulars which he narrates, from those who knew much, and had little cause to lie; and that sir James Tyrrell, who undertook the foul deed, and Dighton, one of the murderers, who perpetrated it, confessed the facts as he has stated them.⁷¹

According to these authorities, Richard, as he

⁶⁶ More remarks, "Some yet remain in doubt, whether they were, in Richard's days, destroyed or no." p. 245.

⁶⁷ p. 516. Fabian was a merchant, and had been sheriff of London, and died in 1512. "He consequently lived on the spot, at this very interesting period." Walpole, *Hist. Doubts*, p. 16. Rous, p. 215.

⁶⁸ *Cont. Croyl.* p. 569. The author of the continuation of the chronicle of Croyland, appears sometimes in a situation of personally knowing the transactions of the times; for we are told, in a marginal note, that he was a doctor of the canon law, and one of the king's counsellors sent to Calais. Walp. *ibid.* p. 16. The words of this doctor, in the text, do not imply, so much an uncertainty as to the violence of Edward's death, as to the kind of violence resorted to. Walpole, by misquoting the passage, has lessened its effect on himself, for he omitted to cite, and therefore to observe, the word "*violent*." p. 70. Bucke quotes the passage, with the same mistake. *Life of Richard III.* p. 551.

⁶⁹ "Quo genere mortis miselli pueri affecti fuerint, non plane liquet." But he declares decidedly, that Richard "*regios pueros necavit*." p. 547. So Rous calls them "*occisorum*."

⁷⁰ More, p. 246.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 251.

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rode to Gloucester, devised the deed; and sent one John Grene to sir Robert Brackenbury, the constable of the Tower, desiring him to make away with them. Brackenbury refused; and Grene returned to the king at Warwick, with this answer. Richard received it with displeasure; and exclaimed, in the hearing of a page, "Whom shall a man trust, when those that I have brought up myself; those whom I thought would most surely serve me, even these fail me, and at my command will do nothing for me!" The page remarked to him, that a man lay upon a pallet, in the outer chamber, who, to do him pleasure, would think nothing too hard. This was sir James Tyrrell, a brave man, but who saw with envy that sir Richard Ratcliff and Catesby were soaring above him in his master's favor. The king, knowing Tyrrell's ambition, was struck with the recommendation; and going out to sir James, who was reposing with his brother Thomas, said merrily, "What, sirs, are you a-bed so soon?" Then calling sir James into his chamber, he proposed his purpose. Tyrrell assented, and was dispatched next day with a letter to Brackenbury, to deliver to him the keys of the Tower, *for one night*. Receiving these, the unprincipled knight fixed the next evening for their destruction.

Edward, on being informed of his uncle's coronation, had exclaimed, "Ah! would my uncle but let me have my life; tho I should lose my kingdom:" but soon afterwards, finding that he and his brother were shut up close, with only one rude servant to attend them, he apprehended what would be his fate. He never heeded his dress again; and they gave themselves up to lamentation and despair. Tyrrell resolved to kill them in their beds; and on the night after his arrival, introduced Miles Forest, a noted ruffian, and John Dighton his groom, "a big, broad,

square, strong knave." The persons near the princes' room were removed. The two murderers entered their chambers unperceived, at midnight. The princes were sleeping in their beds; the men wrapped them suddenly up, and entangled them in the clothes; and throwing the feather bed and pillows upon their mouths, pressed these down till the poor children were smothered and expired. When the wretches saw that they were dead, they laid their bodies out on the bed, and called in Tyrrell to see them, who ordered them to be buried at the stair-foot, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones. Tyrrell then rode to the king, to inform him of the completion of the atrocious deed. Report added, that Richard disliking the place of their burial, Brackenbury's chaplain was said to have removed them to another place; but the murderers knew nothing of this removal.⁷² Hence, this last circumstance was an unauthorized addition of a later age, which the future discovery of the bodies in a place like that described by Tyrrell, proves to have been fabulous.

The fair caution of disinterested inquiry justifies the question, Whether we have as much confirmation of this account from other authentic circumstances, as we can reasonably expect, of a deed so disgraceful? The authentic facts that have also come to light, corroborating this account, are these:—The bodies were dug for in Henry the Seventh's time, after the confession of the murderers, and were not found.⁷³

⁷² More, p. 246—250. Richard, by this time, must have reached Nottingham. He left Warwick, where Grene brought him Brackenbury's refusal, after the 13th of August. He was at Leicester on the 17th, 18th, and 19th; and at Nottingham before the 22d. These dates and places deserve attention, from their coincidence of time, between the murder of the princes and his own destruction. Both occurred in the month of August. He must have been at Leicester, near to the spot where he himself was slain, on the very day, two years afterwards, on which his agents killed them; and he probably received and triumphed in the news, on the 22d, which was destined to be the day in which he lost both his own crown and life.

⁷³ Bucke's Life Richard III. p. 552. But their remains could occupy only a small space; and unless the exact spot were hit upon, the whole area of the Tower might have been excavated in vain, without that failure being any disproof of the alleged

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This naturally created doubts at that time; but the remains of two such bodies were accidentally discovered in the Tower, at the foot of a staircase, in the reign of Charles II.⁷⁴; and thus one of the main facts of the narration is fully ascertained. But there are also documents existing, which prove, that each of the persons concerned in the dire transaction then existed, and received from Richard special rewards. John Grene, the first messenger to Brackenbury, was one of the yeoman of the king's chamber, and was made receiver of the lordship of the Isle of Wight, and of the castle and lordship of Porchester.⁷⁵ John Dighton, one of the assassins, had from the king the bailiffship of Aiton, in the county of Stafford, with the accustomed wages, for his life. Miles Forest⁷⁶, whom More calls a noted ruffian, was made keeper of the wardrobe, at Richard's mother's house, Barnard Castle; and dying before the Michaelmas of the year following the murder, an annuity of five marcs was settled upon his widow, and her son Edward, to be paid out of the rents of that place.⁷⁷ Sir James Tyrrell is described,

act. Henry VII. either did not dig for them, or if he did, missed the place; and hence circulated the rumor of the chaplain's removing them. It is remarkable, that More introduces the account of this removal, with "they say," and "I have heard," p. 250., as if it had been no part of the murderer's confession.

⁷⁴ This discovery is thus stated: "In the time of Chichester, master of the ordnance, great heaps of records of bills and answers, lying in the Six clerks office, were removed thence, to be deposited in the White Tower. As they were making a new pair of stairs into the chapel there, the labourers in digging at the foot of the old stairs, came to the bones of consumed corpses, covered with a heap of stones. The proportion of the bones were answerable to the ages of these two royal youths. Charles II. was so well satisfied that these bones were theirs, that he had them honorably interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel, among their ancestors, with an inscription, which thus mentions the discovery, "*Ossa desideratorum diu et multum quæsitæ post annos 191 scalarum in ruderibus (scalæ istæ ad sacellum Turris Albæ nuper ducebant) alte defossa indiclis certissimis sunt reperta, 17 die Julii, A. D. 1674.*" Annot. to Kennet, Hist. vol. i. p. 551. From this discovery it would seem, that they were found in a place similar to that in which they were mentioned to have been first buried; and that the chaplain's removal of them, was an unfounded supposition.

⁷⁵ Kennet, Hist. vol. i. p. 552. There is also a general pardon to John Grene, in the Harl. MSS. p. 28.

⁷⁶ Harl. MSS. No. 433. p. 55.

⁷⁷ I found in the Harl. MSS. No. 443., an order to pay her 5 marcs for the wages due to her late husband, for this situation, p. 187.; and a grant of this annuity, p. 78.

in one of the king's grants to him, as the king's trusty knight, for his body⁷⁸, and his counsellor.⁷⁹ He was made steward of the duchy of Cornwall, and an assessor of the land there; and steward of many lordships in South Wales and in its marches; supervisor of the castle of Guynes, and constable of the castle of Dundagel, and governor of Glamorganshire; and had several other gifts of wards and marriages.⁸⁰ To sir Robert Brackenbury, the grants of manors and benefits are so numerous, as to imply more than usual reason for the royal liberality⁸¹; and one which appoints to him an annuity of forty pounds a year, from the 1st of August 1483⁸², is very remarkable, as that suits the time of the message sent him by Grene. His answer was brought back to the king, at Warwick, which city Richard reached between the 4th and 9th of August. Brackenbury would not commit the murder, but he acquiesced in letting Tyrrell be master of the Tower for the night that was wanted for the perpetration of the crime; knowing the purpose of this intervention. He was, therefore, a complete accessory; and his rewards imply, that he was so considered and remunerated. They bribed also his

A Henry Forest was also appointed balliff of Kymberworth, and keeper of the park, with the accustomed wages; and also an annuity of 13*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* from the preceding Michaelmas. *Ibid.* MSS. More says, this Miles Forest rotted peaceably away. p. 251. The grant to his widow, proves that he lived only a few months afterwards.

⁷⁸ Harl. MSS. p. 122.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 202.

⁸⁰ See Harl. MSS. pp. 26. 54. 58. 67. 75. 93. 104. 164. 200. 205.—He was also employed on a mission over sea, into Flanders, p. 200.; and Thomas Tyrell had an annuity of forty pounds, p. 25.

⁸¹ Besides his appointment of constable of the Tower, he had a grant of 100*l.* a year, for life, and was made master of the mint. Several manors of lord Rivers, others of the Cheney's; and various lands in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, were given to him. He was also made the receiver-general of the king's lands in these counties; the surveyor of many places in Essex and Kent, for life, with the accustomed wages; steward of all the forests in Essex; and of some lordships, and constable of the castle of Tunbridge, besides pecuniary grants. See Harl. MSS. pp. 23. 56. 67. 75. 87. 91. 103. He also had "the keeping of the Lyons in the Tower, for life, with the wages of twelve pence a day for himself, and sixpence a day for the meat of every lion and leopard." *Ibid.* p. 56.

⁸² The answer returned by Brackenbury, implies, not any moral reluctance, but a legal fear of consequences: "that he would never put them to death, *to die therefore.*" More, Harl. MSS. No. 433, pp. 67. 247.

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silence; and he never quitted the chief murderer's service.

To these facts it may be added, that the murder of the princes was believed in the foreign courts, whose ambassadors were in England at the time; for Comines, who was so intimate with Louis XI. and the duke of Burgundy, states it unhesitatingly in his *Memoires* as a truth⁸³; tho a report of their escape and survival was also circulated⁸⁴; which the lapse of time which had occurred when the historian who has transmitted it to us penned it, sufficiently refutes. If the young king had escaped to some unknown part of the world, he must have re-appeared, or his residence and death have been heard of by the time that Polydore Virgil wrote in the reign of Henry VIII. Such a rumour resembles that of the British belief, that their Arthur was not dead, and would revisit his expecting countrymen.

Sir Thomas More's intimation, that some doubted of this murder even in his time; and lord Bacon's remark, that at Henry the Seventh's accession, there were not wanting secret rumors and whisperings, which afterwards gathered strength, and turned to great troubles, that the two princes, or one of them, were not indeed murdered, but secretly conveyed away, and were then living⁸⁵; were no more than such rumors or hopes as the friends of the house of York would circulate, in their anxiety to divest Richard's memory, as one of their party, from so great a stain, and to keep alive a discontent against Henry VII. The inevitable variety of surmises which could not but attend a transaction that was necessarily kept, from its very atrocity, in the greatest silence and obscurity, will also sufficiently account for their scepticism of

⁸³ "Il avoit fait mourir les deux fils du roi Edouard, son frère." L. p. 6.

⁸⁴ So Polydore Virgil: "In vulgus fama valuit filios Edwardi regis aliquo terrarum partem migrasse atque ita superstites esse." L. 2. c. 6.

⁸⁵ Bacon Hist. K. vol i. p. 579.

many. Almost all murders, from their privacy, are defective in direct evidence. Enmity to Henry afterwards, and the hope of their Edward the Fourth's line not being extinct, would as certainly feed and spread these rumors, however romantic, as long as that generation lasted, to whom it was material to realize them. That the story of their destruction should be also told in various ways, as More confesses, and Bucke intimates that it was⁸⁶, is coincident with the uniform experience of mankind on all secret crimes and private occurrences. But More, whose abilities and integrity all confess, has left us this impressive declaration, that notwithstanding these doubts and variations, he selected the truest account from the best authorities.⁸⁷

It is unlikely that, of an action so generally reprobated, so dangerous to the safety of all the perpetrators from popular indignation, and so indelibly infamous to their character, more certainty could be known, in Richard's life, than Fabian, Rous, and Croyland have expressed.⁸⁸ Tho he circulated their death, he denied their assassination. His power was ready to crush every known accuser as a treasonable slanderer.⁸⁹ His liberalities hushed to silence all who

⁸⁶ Bucke mentions two of the rumors that were circulated. One was, that the youths were embarked in a ship at the Tower wharf, and conveyed to the sea, to be there thrown into the deep; the other, that they were not drowned, but set somewhere safe ashore. p. 550.

⁸⁷ More, p. 547.

⁸⁸ This accounts for the expressions of the monk of Croyland, on which Walpole lays so much stress. pp 72, 73. The words, "if any thing had happened to the boys in the Tower," and that, "during the coronation at York, they remained in the Tower," only indicate the author's uncertainty of their fate. No one could know the exact time of their deaths; and all would be unwilling for some time to believe it.

⁸⁹ He had one Collingbourne executed as a traitor, for writing this distich, alluding to the chief counsellors, Catesby, Ratcliffe, and Lovel, and to his own arms of the boar:

"The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,
Rule all England under the hog."

Graft. p. 828.

But this man also maintained a treasonable correspondence with Richmond. See next chapter, note 43.

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could have revealed the dangerous truth. The non-appearance of the princes to the usual attendants at the Tower, was all that could safely get abroad, on any real authority. Hence, the belief of their destruction increasing every day from their continued invisibility, and strengthened by the new whispers circulated from Buckingham, and his new partisans, without any deciding certainty of the fact, or knowledge of the precise mode, would be all that could pervade the public mind, until the actual perpetrators chose to dislodge their self-degrading secret.⁹⁰

No date is, nor perhaps could be, given to the beginning or gradual progress of those secret murmurs, and consequential plottings, which arose from the public sympathy for the protracted confinement of the princes. The compassionating emotions of many would arise as soon as Richard took the throne, in the last week of June. The queen's friends would undoubtedly, from that time, become more zealous; as they had, from that action, a juster ground to depreciate him. The compassionating emotions, and the plans which these excited, probably increased as the month of July advanced; and by the beginning of August, enough of them may have reached Richard's too watchful ear, to have agitated or determined his alarmed ambition, to endeavor to end the growing danger, by destroying its innocent cause. This view sufficiently suits the reported chronology of the dark transaction; and as the worst of men cannot shed blood without compunction⁹¹, it seems more natural to

⁹⁰ To Walpole's summary of objections against the supposed murder, p. 125—127., may be opposed the reasons of Mr. Hume, adopted by Mr. Gibbon, for accrediting it. See Hume's History, and Gibbon's remarks on lord Orford's book, in his Miscellaneous Works, vol. iii. p. 341—349. Mr. Laing's observations have been considered by Mr. Lingard. The new facts adduced in this History, may be allowed to place Richard's other actions in a light more favorable to his character; but on the murder of his nephews, his memory must remain with all its former stains. It can neither be vindicated nor denied.

⁹¹ I lately read of a hardened and long practised depredator, who had gone up stairs to collect the booty, while his companions secured the family, so shocked on

ascribe the murder of the princes rather to Richard's accustomed policy, of anticipating perils by the most daring violence, than to any depraved cruelty of a villainous temper. Our nature may become sadly defiled, but it has great aspirings, and generous sympathies; nor will Richard be thought to have been without them, when the whole of his actions are impartially considered.

The sudden idea, conceived while he was at Nottingham, of a second coronation at York, may have had some connection with his nephew's death, of which, at or just before this time, he became apprized. This event made him the next male heir to the crown; and the strange sophistry, which at times beguiles the strongest reason, may have led him to imagine that a subsequent coronation would have some mysterious efficacy of converting usurpation into a more conscientious right. The ceremonial religion of that day abounded with these self-misleading illusions. Even the voice of law has not hesitated to say, that the succession to the crown removes all preceding criminality. Richard may have learnt this maxim from Catesby; and to benefit himself by its legal and religious balm, as well as to gratify his love of pomp, he may have resorted to his re-consecration in York cathedral.

But if public sympathy only had arisen to disquiet him, tho he would have been mortified by the departure of that popular estimation, which no one loses with indifference, and of which he was so peculiarly fond: yet he would not have been permanently endangered by a sensibility, that usually, if left to itself, subsides, ere long, into tranquil aversion, or conversational censure. But he was astonished to find that it was

coming down, to see the master of the house, who had resisted, expiring on the floor, that he ran immediately out of it, abandoning the booty, and never joined the same associates again. I cannot but think, that Richard decided reluctantly on the deed, thinking to secure his own safety by it.

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headed by an active leader; that Buckingham was this promoting chieftain; and that the intimation of the deaths of his nephews, instead of precluding all further disloyalty, had only led the dissatisfied mind to look elsewhere for a new sovereign, and to have already selected the young earl of Richmond for this high station; a competitor, whom Richard, at that time, could only undervalue and despise.

This revolution in Buckingham was one of the most extraordinary circumstances of this unprincipled and anti-natural period; in which all the moral bonds between man and man, friend or relation, king and subject, seemed to have been as fleeting and as fragile as the winter's icicle. It appears to have even astonished Richard himself, for he calls him, in his own postscript to the letter he wrote, as soon as he knew of it, on the 12th of October, "the most untrue creature living—that had the most cause to be true⁹²;" and considering, that those who had stood in the duke's way, with claims for power and emolument, Hastings, Rivers, and others, had perished; and that no other nobleman had aided Richard so much, and so efficaciously; and, therefore, that he possessed so completely the vantage ground, for the royal favor, and its consequential advantages; it is surprising, that Buckingham should have preferred rebellion to aggrandizement; and treason, with all its perils, to elegant, honored, and gratified security.

We have no transmitted explanation of his motives but the rather-gossiping narrative of sir Thomas More, derived apparently from cardinal Morton, with its continuation by other chroniclers; and from this, and from the impartial exertion of unbiassed historical criticism, we must endeavor to account for a phenomenon so peculiar.

⁹² See the letter cited in the following note, p. 229.

That the duke, directly after the demise of Edward IV. sent to Richard, at York, a private offer of his attachment and services⁹³; and from that time, had steadily counselled; and without either moral hesitation, or legal timidity, had co-operated with the protector up to his coronation, every authority concurs to prove. The cause of their subsequent difference, sir Thomas More confesses to have been variously reported⁹⁴; but it is manifest that the duke himself began the hostility.

That it arose, as some declared, from the king's rejection of his solicitation for the lands of the earl of Hereford⁹⁵, is refuted by the royal grant already noticed.⁹⁶ But More says, that he accused the king to Morton of *delaying* this concession.⁹⁷ This may be true. The official instrument, which was not granted till a week after the coronation, may have been yielded with a reluctance, as offensive to an haughty spirit as a denial; and the terms of this document, which left it, in fact, to a distant parliament to confirm or annul, gave no unquestionable certainty, that the coveted possessions would be ultimately enjoyed. Richard manifestly, by this mode of granting them, preserved the power of defeating his own favor, by the voice of parliament, if circumstances should arise to lessen the duke's cordiality, or to alter his own policy. He may have intentionally placed it in this position, as a cautionary tie upon Buckingham's stability. The duke may have felt this; and have also considered such a provisional favor as little better than that personal refusal, which he chose to complain of to Morton.⁹⁸

⁹³ More, p. 252.⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 253.⁹⁵ *Ibid.*⁹⁶ See before, p. 437.⁹⁷ More, p. 253.⁹⁸ More, p. 253. Yet Richard had given him so much wealth, as to enable him to boast, that he had as many liveries of Stafford Knotts as the great earl of Warwick had of ragged staves. Rous, Hist.

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But Buckingham also stated other grievances. He declared, that he had been refused the high constableness of England, which many of his predecessors had enjoyed.⁹⁹ This office Richard chose to give to lord Stanley, who walked in it at the coronation.¹⁰⁰ This may have roused the duke's jealousy, with the fear of an advancing rival; as well as mortified his proud rapacity. He complained also, that he had thought the king to be as tractable, and without cruelty, as he now found him to be the contrary.¹⁰¹ The death of the princes, without his agreeing or condescending, was another complaint¹⁰², probably because it announced, that his services for further violences were not essential; and that others could be found as auxiliary as himself. It is highly probable, that Richard soon began to act the independent king; and to show, that he meant to have no lordly governor, to the disappointment of Buckingham's presuming and expected dictatorship. To these avowed motives, we may also add, that both were too fond of personal state and popular admiration, to be capable of acting cordially together on the high public stage of courtly life. The king's splendor necessarily outshone the duke's; and from Richard's peculiar taste, was ostentatiously displayed. Buckingham could not but feel this, in every step of the progress from London to Gloucester. The ducal fop was transcended by the royal coxcomb; and could only see his master's superiority with a malign envy, which would recollect, that that master was indebted to him for the splendor and exaltation, which sank

⁹⁹ Grafton, p. 816. He was, however, made, after Richard's accession, lord chamberlain, Harl. MSS. No. 433. p. 22., the long retained dignity of Hastings.

¹⁰⁰ Graft. p. 800. Yet there is a grant of this office to Buckingham, in the Harl. MSS. 433. p. 22; but it has been obliterated. Dugdale makes the 15th July the date of this appointment. Bar. vol. i. p. 169. It may have been, at last, extorted by importunity; but it was conferred on Stanley again; for there is a grant of it to him in the same MS. p. 29.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 815.

¹⁰² Ibid. p. 816.

him to be but its page and dwarf, and ministering contributor.¹⁰³

Richard enjoyed his own pomp with too much self-complacency to think of the duke's feelings on this subject, unless to be secretly gratified with his own superiority. But the facts, that altho Buckingham was his lord chamberlain, he did not invite the duke to attend him farther; nor to be the companion of his state, when he received the Spanish ambassador at Warwick; nor at his York festivities and coronation; discover to us that he also felt himself to be incumbered or inconvenienced, in some respect or other, by the duke. Whether he found this nobleman making himself too prominent, or assuming too much authority; or too craving in his demands, or too fretful, from some ill-concealed dissatisfaction, it is certain that he parted from him at Gloucester; tho with every exterior mark of honor and great liberalities; and pursued his royal journey with his other courtiers, but without that associate who thought himself entitled to be every where the most distinguished favorite and indispensable friend.

That the duke's wounded vanity was the main cause of his rebellion seems to have been the opinion of the best informed among his contemporaries; for More mentions it at last as their declared sentiment: "Very truth it is that the duke was an high-minded man, and ill could bear the glory of another. So that I have heard of some, who said they saw it, that at such time as the crown was first set on the protector's head, the duke's eye could not abide the sight, but he wried his head another way."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Buckingham's description to Morton, of his own feelings to Richard, during their journey to Gloucester is, "I bore closely, and suffered patiently: and covertly remembered; outwardly dissimuling what I inwardly thought. And so with a *painted countenance* I passed the last summer in his company; not without many fair promises, but without any good deeds." Grafton, p. 816.

¹⁰⁴ More, p. 254. At the Westminster coronation, Buckingham held the royal train, but Stanley carried the mace of the lord high constable. Graft. p. 800, 801.

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The pride of his family, already noticed¹⁰⁵, increases the probability of this representation. And when human nature once gives way to the instigations of ambitious vanity and rapacious selfishness, no limits can be assigned to its perverted deviations. A spirit then takes the governance of the conduct, which has nothing in unison with either reason or rectitude.

The progress of Buckingham's mind, from discontent and envy, to aversion, hatred, conspiracy, and rebellion, has been delineated by himself, in his conference with bishop Morton, while in his custody at Brecon.¹⁰⁶

Altho the most hostile feelings had begun to rankle in his bosom¹⁰⁷, he left Richard at Gloucester, with apparent cheerfulness, and without exciting any suspicion of his displeasure; another indication that the king was surrounded with hypocrisy, which he was either too confiding to suspect, or too dull, with all his own imputed dissimulation, to penetrate.¹⁰⁸

In his way to Brecon, the duke began to consider how he could deprive Richard of his royal seat and

The duke's may have been the most friendly position in the ceremony, but was not the most displaying. He had to expand his sovereign's splendid robe, and not to manage gracefully his own. They who remember, at the coronation of George IV., the effect of lord Castlereagh's appearance as the procession moved to the abbey; from his walking alone in an interval of its state: from his distinguishing movement of his superb hat and feathers, and the dignified ease and elaborate carefulness with which he so frequently paused, and looked around him on the admiring multitude, will feel what a superior advantage for such a personal exhibition, the duke would have had as constable, to what he was obliged to submit to, in his quiet and confining duty of train-bearer. The whole scene must have been a continuing mortification to his swelling vanity.

¹⁰⁵ See before, p. 354.

¹⁰⁶ As the bishop left his own account of this reign (see further, note 118.), and his dexterous management of Buckingham's mind, could not fail to be a conspicuous part of it, this conversation may be deemed peculiarly authentic.

¹⁰⁷ Buckingham's words are, "How my heart inwardly grudged! insomuch that I so abhorred the sight, and much more the company of him, that I could no longer abide in his court, except I should be openly revenged, and so I fayned a cause to depart." Graft. p. 816. He chose to connect these feelings with the death of the princes; but they were not only then alive, but no measures were taken for their destruction, till after the duke's departure.

¹⁰⁸ So the duke said, "with a merry countenance, and a spiteful heart, I took my leave humbly of him (at Gloucester), he thinking nothing less than that I was displeased, and so returned to Brecon." Grafton, *ib.*

princely dignity¹⁰⁹; and his first conception shews us that every absurdity of arrogance and egotism is credible of the haughty and irritable nobility of the fifteenth century. Blood or ancestry was, in their estimation, the summit of human merit; the patent of right to every honor and advantage, and the justification of every action to attain them. Buckingham's first idea was to claim the crown himself!¹¹⁰ The facility and frequency with which the English throne had been usurped since the accession of Richard II. had destroyed all that divinity which our Shakspeare thought always hedged a king; and England's hereditary monarchy had of late become as unstable as an elective one. The crown was attacked, on every fancied provocation, with as little remorse as a yeoman's freehold, an abbot's meadow, or a merchant's purse. In the increasing murmurs of the people, Buckingham says, "I saw my chance as perfectly as I saw my own image in a glass; and that there was no person could or should have won the ring or got the goal before me; and on this point I rested in imagination secretly with myself two days at Tewkesbury."¹¹¹

His next deliberation was how he should acquire it. To attempt to wrest it by force, as a conqueror, from Richard, would, he thought, set the nobility against him. But he remembered, that he had a claim of right to it; and he thought, this branch of his politic device would bring forth fair flowers.¹¹²

It happened, that the duke had three distant, but imperfect, links with the English crown. He was descended by a maternal ancestor, from the duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward III., who had

¹⁰⁹ Grafton, p. 816.

¹¹⁰ "First, I phantasied, that if I list to take upon me the crown and imperial sceptre of the realm, now was the time propice and convenient." Ib.

¹¹¹ Ib.

¹¹² Ib.

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suffered under Richard II. But this was preceded by the Lancastrian line, with which the same lady connected him through whom he claimed the Hereford lands¹¹³; and became allied in blood to Henry IV. Yet the lineal right on which his heated fancy preferred to rest, was, that his mother was the heiress of the house of Somerset, which, by Gaunt's third wife, asserted itself to be the next in succession to the crown.¹¹⁴

The delusions of vanity are at all times ludicrous mockeries. He says, "I thought sure, that I was next heir to Henry VI. This title pleased well such as I made privy of my council; but much more it encouraged my foolish desire and intent; insomuch that, clearly I judged, and in my own mind determinately resolved, that I was the undoubted heir of the house of Lancaster: and upon this concluded to make my first foundation, and erect my new building."¹¹⁵

What overturned this fantastic day dream? A casual meeting the next day, between Worcester and Bridgnorth, with the real heiress of the house of Somerset, from an elder branch to his own, in his cousin Margaret, the countess of Richmond, whom in his hasty vision of greatness he had entirely forgotten. Her sudden appearance to his eye-sight brought him to the recollection, that her son, the earl of Richmond, preceded him in the line that connected him with the crown. Her conversation soon convinced him of this; and hearing him talk of de-

¹¹³ His great grandfather, Edmund, had married Anne, the daughter of the duke of Gloucester, and thro her mother, one of the coheirs of the earl of Hereford. Dugd. Bar. vol. 1. p. 163. Richard's aversion to grant him the Hereford lands, was, from its apparently sanctioning a claim of affinity to Henry IV. and thro that to the crown. Pol. Virg. p. 549. Henry V.'s mother was the sister of Buckingham's female ancestor. Harl. MSS. 433. p. 108.

¹¹⁴ See before, p. 156.

¹¹⁵ Graft. p. 817. The project of being king, descended into his son; for he was accustomed to say, that he would so manage the matter, that if Henry VIII. died without issue, he would attain the crown. Herb. Hen. VIII. p. 109.

posing Richard, her maternal feeling induced her to urge him, if he moved at all, to make her Henry the sovereign instead; and to strengthen his title by allying him to one of Edward's daughters.¹¹⁶ His own disappointment was too recent to listen favorably to this proposal. He passed over her suggestion, gave her fair words, and so departed. But in his lodging, he revolved what she had said; and satisfied at last, that his project as to himself was hopeless, he determined to seat her son on Richard's throne.¹¹⁷ To such a casual meeting as this was Henry VII. indebted for the first avenue that led him to the English sceptre.

Reaching Brecon, with this new idea full in his resenting mind, a communication of sympathy and thought soon took place between him and his prisoner, the bishop of Ely. The prelate, a man of no common sagacity, soon glided into his confidence; applauded his adoption of Richmond for their king, and his marriage with Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV.; and beginning to frame the means of accomplishing both designs¹¹⁸, asked him who should be first applied to in such a perilous undertaking. The mother of Henry, was Buckingham's answer. "If you begin there," replied the sagacious bishop, "I have an old friend in her service, one Reginald Bray, in whose probity and judgment you may confide."¹¹⁹ Bray was sent for to Brecon, and employed

¹¹⁶ Graft. p. 818.¹¹⁷ *Ib.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 809—819. More's own narration ends abruptly with the beginning of this conversation; but Grafton, Hall, and Hollinshed continue it, with circumstances that could have come only from the bishop. His work, on Richard III was in More's possession. The marginal note in Kennett's collection, vol. i. p. 546, says of it, "This book was lately in the hands of Mr. Roper, of Eltham, as sir Edward Hoby, who saw it, told me." It is not now to be found; but the old chroniclers appear to have transmitted to us its substance, and by so doing have contributed to its disappearance.

¹¹⁹ Grafton, p. 819. Bray had been steward to the duke's uncle, sir Henry Stafford, Margaret's second husband, and as such is mentioned in her will; and was continued in the same office, by his widow, after her third marriage with lord Stanley. *Carte Hist.* vol. ii. p. 812.

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to persuade his mistress to arrange the projected marriage, with the queen and her daughter. Morton having so ably started his game, escaped against the duke's wishes to Ely, that no change of purpose might compromise his safety, and thence passed into Flanders. The countess sent her physician, Dr. Lewis, to the queen at Westminster, who was admitted to her without suspicion, thro the military fortifications, and by the Argus-eyed commander, from his professional and respected character. The queen promised that all her friends should support Henry, if he would solemnly pledge himself to wed her daughter. Bray enlisted some distinguished persons in the same cause; and Urswick, a priest, with Mr. Conway, were dispatched to Richmond, with the interesting communications. The queen's friends, apprised of her wishes, promised a zealous support.¹²⁰ Other persons went to Richmond, with invitations to land: and the 18th of October was fixed as the day for his landing, for Buckingham's raising the standard of revolt against Richard; and for a general insurrection of all their friends, in the several counties of England, which were disposed to favor them.

Buckingham embarked in his new enterprise with a zeal and an activity, which, by coinciding with the excited sympathies for the young children, produced the most formidable effects. All those who had begun to stir, perceiving that, if they could not find a new captain for their party that would be generally acceptable, they would all be ruined¹²¹, heard with pleasure of the selection and acquiescence of Richmond, whose name had also occurred to many. Each made corresponding preparations. Some put strong garrisons, with these feelings, in convenient fortresses. Some kept armed men privately, ready to move as

¹²⁰ Graft. p. 820—822. Pol. Virg. p. 549—551.

¹²¹ Croyl. p. 568.

soon as the earl should land. Others applied themselves to solicit the populace, and to urge them to insurrection; and some, by secret letters and disguised messengers, invited all whom they knew to have any grudge against the king, to unite with their designs.¹²²

Richard was too vigilant, and too suspicious of all, not to obtain speedy information, that great designs were in agitation, flowing from Buckingham, or connected with his name. Unable to understand a relation so strange, he wrote a kind invitation to the duke to visit him. An indisposition was the excusing answer. A peremptory summons roused Buckingham to reply, that he would not come to his mortal enemy, whom he neither loved nor favored.¹²³ This language needed no comment; but was soon explained, by the information which now streamed upon the king, of the avowed preparations for revolt which were every where making.

In consistency with his own determined character, he wrote on the 12th of October, to London, for his great seal, that he might have the full official means of enforcing, with energy and rapidity, whatever measures he should deem advisable. And in this letter, he tells his chancellor, that he intended briefly to advance against his rebel and traitor, the duke of Buckingham; and that all about himself were well, and truly determined to act against this unfaithful enemy.¹²⁴

¹²² Graft. p. 822.

¹²³ Ibid. p. 823. Pol. Virg. p. 551. Hall, p. 393.

¹²⁴ This letter was addressed to his chancellor, the bishop of Lincoln, ordering his great seal to be sent to him. Underneath this, the king wrote, with his own hand, "We wolde most gladly ye came yourself, yf that ye may: and yf ye may not, we pray you not to fayle, but to accomplyshe, in al dyllygence, our sayde commaunde-mente, to sende our seale incontinent upon the syght hereof, as we truste you, with such as ye truste, and the officers parteyning to attende with hyt; praying you to ascerteyn us of your news ther. Here, loved be God, is al well, and trewly determynd; and for to resiste the malyse of hym that had best cawse to be true, the duc of Buckingham, the most untrew creature lyvyng, whom, with God's grace,

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He received the great seal on the 16th of October, at the Angel Inn, at Grantham, and kept it in his own custody: using it as he thought proper, until he re-delivered it to his chancellor at Westminster.¹²⁵

But whatever antipathy the queen's friends might have against Richard, they could not all persuade themselves to join a man who had aided so cordially in all his violences but the last, as Buckingham had publicly done. Hence, though her son the marquis Dorset escaped out of sanctuary, and took arms¹²⁶; the son of sir Thomas Vaughan, that had been executed at Pomfret, assembled his relations and friends, and watched in Brecknockshire for the interests of Richard. Humphrey Stafford, a kinsman of the duke, also partly broke down the bridges, and cut up the roads, by which Buckingham could march into England; and had the other passes guarded by steady soldiers.¹²⁷ These were the effects of Richard's urgent commands. He never slept supine in any dangerous crisis. It was his temper, even to a fault, to act with immediate energy, and by the most forcible measures. He had all the marches of Wales, around the duke, so watched by trusty forces, that as soon as Buckingham should move from his castle, armed men should be ready to rush upon his possessions; and, from the hope of sharing in their spoil, to obstruct his passage at every point. Hence, the Vaughans, on whom the duke looked from Brecon, in the interior of Wales, sprang out to patrol all the circumjacent country; and coinciding with the other forces, by the destruction of the bridges, and taking possession of the difficult passes, drove him to dangerous fords, and to difficult and untried ways.

we shall not be long til that we wyll be in that parties, and subdue his malys. We assure you, there never was falser traitor purvayde for, as this berrer, Gloucestre, shall show you."—Kennet, Hist. vol. i. p. 532., note.

¹²⁵ On 26 November. Rymer, vol. xii. p. 203.

¹²⁶ Graft. p. 823. Hall, p. 393.

¹²⁷ Croyl. p. 568.

Richard also sent men of war into the channel, to watch vigilantly the harbours on both its coasts; and to prevent any from leaving England, or landing in it.¹²⁸

It was on the 24th of September that Buckingham had sent, from Brecon, his messengers to Richmond and Pembroke, in Bretagne, urging them to land in England, with the forces they could collect¹²⁹, and to make the 18th of October the time of the invasion; on which day the duke promised to cause simultaneous insurrections in various counties. It is remarkable, that each of these two confederates exactly performed the allotted part. On the 18th of October, on which Richmond was to have sailed with his armament from Bretagne, Buckingham marched in open revolt from Brecon to Weobly. By his excitation the marquis of Dorset rose in arms, at Exeter, and other friends at Newbury, Maidstone, and Salisbury; seconded by concurring insurrections, on the 20th at Rochester, on the 22d at Gravesend, and on the 25th at Guildford.¹³⁰ So that as far as decision, activity, and daring, could avail, there was no deficiency of these, in the duke and his associates. Richard, who on the 23d of October had reached Leicester, issued thence a proclamation against them.¹³¹ But the failure of this seemingly well-concerted and vigorously commenced attempt, was so rapid, that on the next day a vice-constable of England was appointed to judge the rebels, without appeal, and whensoever he thought fit; but with the remarkable addition, to do it without noise or figure of judgment.¹³² Nothing could more strongly mark Richard's determined character and insensibility to human bloodshed, and yet dread of the popular eye, than this requisition: im-

¹²⁸ Croyl. p. 568. Graft. p. 825.¹²⁹ Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 245.¹³⁰ Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 245.¹³¹ Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. p. 204.¹³² Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. p. 205. "Sine strepitu et figura iudicii."

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mediate execution, without delay, mercy, supplication, hesitation, or appeal; but as secret as arbitrary: in order that nothing might escape, that could excite public criticism, or touch the public sensibility.

The confederacy broke to pieces quickly by the elements of nature contending against Buckingham. The duke, driven to by-roads and unguarded points, marched with his half-unwilling tenants thro the forest of Dean, towards Gloucester; meaning there to pass the Severn, and join the English insurrectionists. But a continual rain of ten days had so swollen the river, that it was then overflowing the country, and neither he could pass to his confederated friends, nor they advance to join him. Compelled thus to be stationary, his Welsh followers, wearied and disappointed, gradually deserted him. Neither prayers nor threats could keep them firm or faithful. He was soon left with only his own household; and he fled in despair to the house of one Ralph Banaster, at Shrewsbury, on whose fidelity he thought he could rely; and where he meant to wait till the progress of his confederates gave a prospect of success; or till he could obtain an opportunity of escaping to Richmond, in Bretagne.¹³³ By the unusual supply of provisions, superior to his host's ordinary fare, a concealed guest was suspected.¹³⁴ The proclamation, promising a large pecuniary reward, pursued him¹³⁵; and either tempted by this, or intimidated by his own danger in sheltering a rebel, Banaster betrayed him to the sheriff of Shropshire. He was taken in a little grove near the house, dressed in a mean black cloak, and carried to Shrewsbury, where he was examined, and confessed all his plans; as if he had

¹³³ Graft. p. 824. Pol. Virg. p. 552. Hall, p. 394.¹³⁴ Croyl. p. 568.¹³⁵ The king offered 1000*l.* or 100*l.* a year, on the caption of Buckingham; 1000 marcs for marquis Dorset; the same for the bishop; and 500 on the arrest of the others he named. Rymer, vol. xii. p. 204.

expected some favour for thus betraying those who had allied themselves to his honor. He was conveyed thence to Salisbury, which the king had reached with a competent army.¹³⁶ The duke earnestly prayed for a personal interview with the king; and it has been thought an instance of his implacable nature, that Richard would not give the friend who had so greatly served him, this last consolation. It was a mark of the king's judgment, or at this moment, of his good fortune, that he refused to see him; for it afterwards became known, that Buckingham requested the conference only that he might spring upon him and stab him with a knife, which he had secretly prepared for that purpose.¹³⁷ No circumstance is more expressive of the duke's real character, than the deliberate meditation of this vindictive treachery. He was beheaded on the 2nd November, on a new scaffold in the market-place of Salisbury.¹³⁸ His treacherous dependant was rewarded¹³⁹; and his splendid possessions, dignities, and emoluments, which induced many, from the hope of sharing, to hear of his rebellion with pleasure¹⁴⁰, were seized by Richard's order, and some of them immediately distributed to the king's supporters.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ Graft. p. 825. Croyl. p. 568. Hall, p. 394. Richard, on the 21st of October, was at Melton Mowbray; on the 23d, at Leicester; on the 24th, at Coventry, and on the 2d of November, at Salisbury. Harl. MSS. pp. 120, 121. 131. Bucke, p. 529.

¹³⁷ Grafton puts this as a possibility, p. 826. But the duke's son declared, that his father had made earnest suit to come into the presence of Richard; and, if he had obtained his request, having a knife secretly about him, he would have thrust it into the body of king Richard, as he made semblance to kneel down before him. Herb. Hen. VIII. p. 110. The indictment against the son, which mentions this, charges him with having threatened to play the same part with Henry VIII. if he had been committed to the Tower. Such was the spirit of this family, and of the old nobility. The son perished by the axe, like his father.

¹³⁸ Graft. p. 826. Croyl. p. 568.

¹³⁹ The manor and lordship of Ealding, in Kent, "late belonging to our great rebel and traitor, the duke of Buckingham," were, on the 13th of December, given "to our well-beloved servant, Rauf Banastre, squire, for taking and bringing of our said rebel into our hands." Harl. MSS. p. 133.

¹⁴⁰ Croyl. p. 568.

¹⁴¹ The castle of Kymbolton was, on the same day Buckingham fell, given to lord

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The earl of Richmond had performed his part with promptitude and intrepidity. He sailed on the 12th of October, with 5000 Breton soldiers, in fifteen vessels; but a storm immediately afterwards scattered the fleet. He was driven alone to the Dorset coast, near Poole. Troops appearing there, he resolved not to land until his fleet came up; but sent out, while waiting for it, a boat, to inquire if the men at arms, whom he saw, were friends or enemies. The deceitful answer was, that they were stationed by Buckingham to receive him. Their manner exciting suspicion, Henry weighed anchor¹⁴², and passed on to Plymouth.

Richard perceiving that the main strength of the insurrections was in the western counties, marched his forces to Exeter. Intimidated by his approach, the bishop of Exeter, marquis Dorset, and other nobles, who had begun a revolt, hastened to disperse. They who could find ships, sailed to Bretagne; others took refuge in sanctuaries; but one sir Thomas St. Leger, whom Richard's sister, the duchess of Exeter, had chosen to marry, was taken. All entreaties, all offers of money, to save him, were in vain. Richard resolved to impress terror by such an example, was inexorable; and he suffered.¹⁴³ Some of those who rose in rebellion at Guildford were also executed; and several of his household.¹⁴⁴ The pusillanimous confessions of Buckingham implicated many; and made Richard feel it to be necessary to deter future disaffection, by present severity. Altho in these punishments he did but what all governments enforce against

Stanley, Harl. MSS. p. 120.; and sir James Tyrrell, and Morgan Kidwelly the king's attorney, were sent down, to enter all the duke's castles in Wales and in the marches, and to seize all his goods. Ib. p. 121. Similar commissions were issued for other counties. Ib. p. 121—131.

¹⁴² Graft. p. 826. Pol. Virg. p. 553. Hall, p. 395—397.

¹⁴³ Croyl. p. 569. The king was at Exeter on the 12th of November. Harl. MSS. p. 122.

¹⁴⁴ Graft. p. 828. Pol. Virg. p. 554.

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deadly rebellion, yet they have occasioned him to be called cruel and tyrannous; and the dislike which they excited, lessened his future safety. It is difficult for an endangered government to be mild, tho, perhaps, always politic. Mercy certainly attaches the heart, while fear alienates it: and Richard lived to find that nature tends to get rid of what she dreads.

While Richard paused at Exeter, Richmond, who still lingered in the channel, anchored in the bay of Plymouth, to explore the state and movement of his friends. He there heard of Buckingham's failure and death.¹⁴⁵ Sailing away, before he could be intercepted, he reached Vannes unarmed, where he met Dorset, and others, and several noblemen who rejoiced in his safety. They discussed their future measures; and on the ensuing Christmas-day, went, with great solemnity, to the chief church of the city, and pledged to each other their unshaken fidelity. Richmond took an oath to marry Elizabeth, immediately after he should acquire the English crown. They all did homage to him as their legal sovereign; and the prince applied to the duke of Bretagne, to enable him to land in England with a larger force; promising to repay him the expenditure. He received such favourable assurances, that he began to repair his vessels, and to provide the necessaries for an immediate descent.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Croyl. p. 570.¹⁴⁶ Graft. p. 827. Pol. Virg. p. 554.

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RICHARD's *Embassies to Bretagne*. — RICHMOND's *Escape*. — RICHARD's *mental Agitations, and Repentance*. — *Preparations to repel Invasion*. — *The Queen's Daughters at his Court*. — *His Son's Death*. — RICHMOND's *Operations*. — *Death of Queen ANNE*.

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THE eye of Richard was fixed on Bretagne, soon after his accession. His brother had been uneasy at the active and continually hostile Pembroke remaining there, with his nephew Richmond; and a restraint, as gently imposed as was consistent with security, watched and coerced them during Edward's life; who, before he died, had dispatched bishop Stillington to allure them into his power, or to procure them to be given up to him.¹

Richmond was not at first an object of much jealousy to Richard. The queen's relations were those whom he thought dangerous; and on the 13th of July, seven days after his coronation, he sent Dr. Hutton to Bretagne², to ascertain whether the duke countenanced sir Edward Woodville and his followers; and if any enterprise on England was intended.³ But the plans of Buckingham to make Richmond king, and the actual sailing of the earl from Bretagne to invade him, directed his mind entirely to that country; and with his usual eagerness to forestall whatever danger threatened, he dispatched ambassadors to its duke, empowered to offer the most lavish bribes to obtain possession of the person of his new competitor.⁴

¹ Grafton, p. 737.

² Rym. Fœd. p. 197.

³ See his instructions, in Harl. MSS. No. 433., p. 241.

⁴ Graft. p. 831. Pol. Virg. vol. ii. p. 555.

The Breton sovereign was too much weakened by a malady that affected his mental faculties, to be applied to on this occasion. But the mission was communicated to his treasurer and chief minister, Peter Landois; and this man, being at variance with the nobility of the province, and wanting both money and support, thought Richard's friendship of importance to his interest; and was preparing to fulfil his wishes, when, by some treachery in the king's cabinet, the negotiations were communicated to Morton in Flanders, "by his secret and sure friends." Urswick, the priest, who had managed the former treaty between the countess Margaret, her son, and Buckingham, was hurried off to apprise Richmond of his danger; and to urge him to withdraw immediately into a French province. With that correctness, and sedate celerity of judgment, which was one of Richmond's endowments, he directed the priest to depart instantly, to intreat permission of the French king to reside in his dominions; and mentioning to no one his intentions, sent his noble friends to pay a visit of inquiry after the duke's health, with a private hint to Pembroke to turn off from the road, to a town beyond the borders of Bretagne. Then mounting his horse, with five servants, as if to make a morning visit to an old friend in an adjoining village, he rode carelessly out of Vannes, mistrusted by no one. At five miles distance, he declined suddenly into a solitary wood that was near, put on the simple coat of a poor servant, whom he made the leader of his company; and followed as an humble page, riding as fast as it was prudent, and stopping no where but to bait their horses.⁵

He was not missed till the fourth day after his departure; when Landois, sending a band of soldiers,

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Richmond's
danger.

⁵ Graft. p. 831. Pol. Virg. vol. ii. p. 555.

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under a pretext of honoring him, but for the purpose of securing and of delivering him to Richard, discovered that he was gone. Couriers were dispatched to every port, and horsemen sent by every road; and such was the rapidity of their pursuit, and the exactness of their scent, that they arrived at the frontier within an hour after Richmond had passed it. Having been obliged to take unknown ways for secrecy, and having turned often into contrary directions, to mislead his expected pursuers, he had only preceded them by that short interval. They durst not commit violence within the territory of France; and the earl got to Angiers, where Pembroke met, and exchanged the mutual congratulation.⁶

Richard's
mental
agitations;

The reflecting mind may ask, was Richard happy on one of the noblest of the thrones of Europe? The wondrous moral arrangements of our social world, and the corresponding organization of our material frame, forbade this expected result.⁷ He was not villain enough to be so. He came from a gentler stock; and had a nobler mind, and had acquired a more cultivated sensibility. He had yielded to the alarm, the tempting policy, and the seducing sophistry of a vain-glorious and endangered hour, and he destroyed his innocent nephews; but their fate lessened none of the perils which environed him, and his reason began to regret its precipitation. He could not but remember what he had done. He felt its condemnation in his own secret heart. He read it in the countenances of many. He suspected it amid the compliments of all. He heard it with unsparing severity, from the re-

⁶ Pol. Virg. p. 555. Hall, p. 402—404.

⁷ I remember two trials for murder, in which one culprit, who had killed his master in Clifford's Inn, declared, that while he was taking the body out, to throw it down the common sewer, all the buildings seemed to burst into flames as he passed them; and another, who had destroyed his mother, never looked on a clock, at the hour he had done the crime, but he thought her face was in it, glaring upon him. There is a greater connexion between murder and remorse, than any other crime has exhibited.

proaches of his adversaries. Hence, we may fully credit the probable account of sir Thomas More: — The rest of his brief life he “spent in much pain and trouble outward; in much fear and anguish within. For I have heard by credible report, from such as were secret with his chamberers, that after this abominable deed done, he never had quiet in his mind; he never thought himself sure. Where he went abroad, his eyes whirled about; his body was privily fenced; his hand was ever on his dagger; his countenance and manner, like one always ready to strike again. He took ill rest at nights, and lay long waking and musing. Sore wearied with care and watch, he rather slumbered than slept. Troubled with fearful dreams, sometimes he suddenly started up, leaped out of his bed, and ran about the chamber. So was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled, with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable deed.”⁸

These perturbations seem to have agitated his mind while he was at Exeter. On his arrival in that city, the corporation presented him with a purse of 200 nobles. He received it graciously. Going out to survey the place, when he came to the castle, on hearing its name some melancholy feelings, mingled with superstitious fancies, came over him. The castle was called Rougemont; and as it was pronounced, it brought to his recollection an idle prediction which had reached him, that he would be near his end when-

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⁸ More, p 251. Richard is an instance of the existence and agency of that interior monitor, of which Juvenal so justly says

“Cur tamen hos tu

Evasisse putes, quos diri conscia facti

Mens habet attonitos, et surdo verbere cædit,

Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?”

Sat. xiii. v. 192—195.

“But why must those be thought to 'scape, who feel

Those rods of scorpions and those whips of steel,

Which conscience shakes, when she with rage controls,

And spreads amazing terror thro' their souls.”—*DRYDEN.*

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ever he come to Richmond. He allowed himself to be so shaken by the verbal similarity, as to exclaim, "I see my days will not be long."⁹ His spirits must have been greatly depressed, to have been thus agitated by a simple sound. But from the visible indisposition of the gentry of Devon, he perceived that he had turned the hearts of the respectable classes against him. This may have dismayed him at this juncture; and it became his fortune to learn, that pomp and power, without attachment, are but shifting dreams of parade and alarm. Few miseries exceed those of an unpopular throne.

Having dispersed his enemies, he dismissed with great rewards his northern friends; and gradually disbanding his army, returned to London in December¹⁰, and was received with cheering acclamations.

his repen-
tance.

At this period, he was externally surrounded with all that constitutes human glory. The wondering populace thought him fully blessed.¹¹ Comines remarks, that he was reigning in greater splendor and authority than any king of England for the last hundred years¹²; and he celebrated the Christmas festivity with profuse magnificence. Yet still the unseen worm of care tormented him. His busy spies brought him censorious remarks from those whom he dared not punish, and his spirit sank into sorrow and solicitude. He found his name becoming used as a taunt of disgrace by many.¹³ The unfavorable incidents

⁹ In those days, when astrology was so much in vogue, predictions of individual destiny abounded. Edward IV. was frequently troubled by the ominous prophecies of one Hogan. Fenn, vol. ii. p. 138. and vol. v. In an official record, a man is styled "a nigromancer," as his *profession*. "Thomas Vandyke, late of Cambridge, *nigromancer*" Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 273.

¹⁰ Croyl. p. 570. He was at Winchester on the 26th of November (Harl. MSS. p. 127.); and reached London by the 1st of December, on which day he signed there a grant to the earl of Northumberland (who betrayed him) of the great estate of lord Powneys, who had fled to Richmond. *Ib.* p. 124.

¹¹ *Vulgi admiratione beatus dicebatur.* Pol. Virg. p. 548.

¹² Comin. vol. i. p. 514.

¹³ On the 11th of April, 1484, he wrote to the magistrates of York, complaining of "the number of lies and contumelious speeches which were then spread abroad against him." Drake's Ebor. p. 119.

of nature or life, were imputed to him as the maledictions of heaven upon his reign; and he foresaw that his memory would be branded with infamy, for an action which he could neither obliterate nor recall. He repented of his criminal policy, and resolved to appease his internal anguish, and to restore his blemished character, by changing all that was wrong in his conduct, and by leading the life of a good man and of a deserving king. He strove to be just, mild, popular, and generous, especially in his charities to the needy; and he endeavored to reconcile himself to God and man. He began many useful public works. He founded at York a college for one hundred priests, which was then deemed one of the highest acts of human piety; and he listened with attention to the wise councils of his friends. But the historian who records this change, expresses his belief, that fear, not probity, thus improved him; and intimates, that it neither lessened, nor averted the calamities that were doomed to fall upon him.¹⁴

The violent seizure of the crown, and the destruction of Rivers, Hastings, and Buckingham, had not removed the difficulties by which Richard, from the first, had been surrounded. The leaders were gone, but the parties and the party-interests remained. His elevation combined them against him, but did not annihilate them. Hence, he still found himself on a tempestuous sea, which violence irritated, but could not calm. Yet, whatever policy could devise, he was active to execute. A fleet was ordered out under sir Thomas Wentworth, to watch the movement from Bretagne¹⁵; and in January, a parliament assembled, which passed an act recapitulating his

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Prepara-
tions
against
invasion.
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¹⁴ We owe this account to Polydore Virgil, p. 548. The warrant for establishing the priests, is in the Harl. MSS. No. 433. p. 72.

¹⁵ See the commissions of the 18th and 20th of December 1483, in Harl. MS. p. 195. The cinque ports were also authorized to man out small ships to meet the Breton fleets. Ib. MS.

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title and the former petition, and settling the crown upon himself, and his issue¹⁶; and a subsidy was granted for safe keeping of the sea. In the same month he issued commissions to all parts of the country, that all persons between sixteen and sixty should take an oath of allegiance to him.¹⁷ He had gunpowder and ammunition prepared.¹⁸ He purchased Spanish ships

¹⁶ Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 240. The bishop of Lincoln, as chancellor, opened this parliament with a speech, which, by its abstract on the rolls, appears to me to be the same which is preserved in the MSS. in the British Museum, Vitell. E 10. p. 71.; and in another copy, with some variations, in p. 139. It was spoken before Richard. "The head is our sovereign lord the king, *here present*." Its great object is, to exhort the peers to unity and peace. "Lords and noblemen! ye that have great substance to lose or save; in whose sure and concord demeaning rests the weal of all the commons: open your eyes! send out your faithful ears, and hear true and unfeigned reports." After reminding them of the many noble persons who had perished from bad counsel, he adds, "The most proper means to keep the great estates of the public body in their wealth and prosperity, is, for every one to hearken to others; so that, neither for supplantation, dissimulation, nor envy, the due proportion and harmony of this body be disturbed. By concord, as Sallust saith, small things grow to great: by discord, full great things fall to ruin and desolation: the cause why lords and noblemen ought to be more persuaded to accord, and each amicably to hearken.

"Wherefore it is not to doubt, but that the rule and governale of the realm appeareth then in most temperance and moderation, when the king's commissioners be obeyed at large, in every part of the land; so that his highness, and his noble council, be not letted where the king listeth best to be, to intend the politic establishing of the realm.

"Give, then, your attendance, ye people that stand far off, to the lords and noblemen which be in authority. They come from the well-head.

"I speak not to you, that now represent the whole, but to them that ye come from, whom, for their great and confused number and multitude, nature cannot well suffice to assemble in a place apt to the making of a law."

He reminds them of the fable of the belly and its members; and asks, "What is the belly, but the great public body of England? If, then, ye be single, and not turned to doubleness, all the body shall be fair and bright. And if the contrary; if, then ye be wicked, the body shall be dark." Another passage shows the anxiety of Richard, and his desire of intimidating others by Buckingham's fall. "This womb of busy thought, care, and pensiveness, is waxed full great in the days that we be in, not only by the sudden departing of our old new-reconciled enemies from such treaties, oaths, and promises, as they made to this land; but also by marvellous abusions within, of such as ought to have remained the king's true and faithful subjects. It is too heavy to think and see what care and dangers by some one person, lately a right and great member of this body, many other noble members of the same, have been brought to. The example of his fall, and righteous punishment, should not be forgotten. Whoso taketh upon him, being a member under the head, with that to which his office and fidelity appertaineth not; setting the people into rebellion or commotion against the prince, be never so great or noble in his estate, he is, as it were, a rotten member of the body." MSS. Vit. E 10. p. 141.

¹⁷ Harl. MSS. pp. 141, 142. See the oath from one of the peers. *Ib.* p. 3.

¹⁸ There is an order "to take all manner of stuff that shall be necessary, to enable John Bramburgh, *a stranger*, to make for us, certain great stuff of gunpowder," dated Jan. 28., in Harl. MSS. p. 145. This order settles a question on which there

to add to his navy in the Channel¹⁹; and extended its activity to resist French and Scots, as well as Bretons.²⁰ He bought and collected new artillery²¹; and

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has been hitherto some mistake. Mr. Lodge, in his remarks in a letter which he printed in his *Illustrations*, observing, that sir Richard Baker had asserted, that gunpowder was not manufactured here before Elizabeth; and that Dr. Watson had shown, from a passage in Hollingsworth, that it was made in England before 1552; adds, that it may be considered, from the letter he has published, that it was prepared here in 1509. His conjecture, so far, was right. But the order of Richard, quoted in the beginning of this note, proves, that this important invention of modern war was made in England in 1483, tho a foreigner was the manufacturer of it here for king Richard III.

But I have no doubt that it was made in England as early as the reign of Edward III., in which it was first used; for in the account of the expenditure of the ordnance office in the Tower at that period, in Harleian MSS. 5166., we have these articles;—

| | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|----|---|-----|
| " The gonestone maker, 6d. a day | - | - | - | - | £9 | 2 | 6 |
| Saltpetre maker | - | - | - | - | 9 | 2 | 6 |
| Gonnefounders two, fee to each 4d. a day, and room | | | | | | | |
| of gentlemen | - | - | - | - | 18 | 5 | 0." |

Bree's cursory Sketch, p. 138.

This document shews, that we had here a maker of the shot for guns, which were then cut from stone, and founders of guns, and a saltpetre maker. This last person's occupation implies, that powder was made, because saltpetre is one of its chief ingredients. This supposition is confirmed by the patent of Richard II., the successor of Edward III., for in this, which bears date in the first year of his reign, the king orders Thomas Norwich, under the supervisal of Thomas Restwold, of London, "to buy and provide two great and two less ingenia vocata cannon; 600 stones for the same engines, and for other engines; 300 lbs. of saltpetre; 100 lbs. of sulphur of wine, and one doleum of carbonum de salugh;" this last must be charcoal of willow, which we even now find to be the best kind of charcoal for gunpowder. We find an order issued for buying and providing, not actual gunpowder ready made, which foreign merchants might have imported, but the three materials from which gunpowder is now fabricated, saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal; with the additional fact, that the sulphur used was that which is here called sulphur of wine (sulfuris vini).—But yet here I pause on transcribing the word vini, which Bree, p. 139., has printed from Rymer, vol. vii. p. 187.; for I think it likely that the original word was vivi, and not vini, and therefore that it was common sulphur or brimstone (sulfuris vivi), and not sulphur of wine (sulfuris vini).

The patent 17 Edw. III., dated July 5. 1334, mentions 200 stones for the king's engines, sculptured in the quarry of Folkstone, to be brought from Sandwich to the Tower of London. Rymer, vol. vii. p. 77. This places cannon in England as early as 1334. The indenture for fortifying Jersey Castle, dated 13 Edw. III., granting 30 tonneaux de pomadre with 50 quintals of iron and 2 of steel; and the Parliament Roll of 14 Edw. III., mentioning 32 tonneaux de pomadre (Bree, pp. 136, 137.), shew that cannon and powder were used in England in 1330 and 1331, for the defence of castles; as I cannot hesitate to concur with Mr. Bree in believing that pomadre is the term there used for gunpowder.

¹⁹ Harl. MSS. p. 146.

²⁰ Ib. p. 151.

²¹ There is a warrant to pay 24*l.* for buying 20 new guns, and 2 serpentines; and an order to the constable of the Tower, to deliver out 8 serpentynes upon carts; 28 hacbusses, with their frames; 1 barrel of touch-powder; 2 barrels of serpentyne powder; 200 bows; 400 sheafs of arrows; 10 gross of bow-strings; and 200 bills. Harl. MSS. pp. 163. and 157. Another order commanded the delivery of 2 serpentynes; 2 guns to lie on walls; 12 hacbusses; 10 cross-bows of steel; 60 long bows; 100 sheafs of arrows, and 2 barrels of gunpowder. Ib. p. 178.

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vigorous directions were afterwards given to press soldiers, mariners, artificers, laborers, horses, waggons, and other things necessary for the king's use.²² The earl of Richmond was attainted²³, and also his mother the countess; tho with some delicacies towards her husband lord Stanley.²⁴ The author of a contemporary pasquinade was executed.²⁵ An unfavorably predicting astronomer was sent to the Tower²⁶; and such numerous proscriptions were made of other opposing men of rank and fortune who would not submit to his government, that the monastic chronicler, the most impartial of those who mention him, compares them to the severities of the Roman triumvirate.²⁷ He distributed the rich forfeitures, which resulted from these attainders and condemnations, among his northern adherents, on whom he placed, perhaps too manifestly, his greatest reliance; and he planted these supporters in every part of his dominions, to the continual annoyance and discontent of the people among whom

²² Harl. MSS. pp. 168. 178. 183. 195. The first commission, an early specimen of pressing, is to "take mariners in the king's name, for the furnishing the ships, called the Andrew; the Michael; the Bastion; and the Tyre; to do service of war upon the sea, in the north part."

²³ Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. pp. 244—246. Hall, p. 397.

²⁴ She was disabled from inheriting any lands or tenements; and all her castles, manors, and lands were declared forfeited to the crown; but a life-interest in them was given to lord Stanley, with the reversion to the king. *Ib.* pp. 250, 251.; and see Hall, p. 398.

²⁵ This was Collingbourne, who is stated to have committed other treasons, had held some office in Wiltshire, important enough for a lord to hold after him. See Harl. MSS. No. 433. p. 2.

²⁶ This was Louis Kaerlion, on the 16th March 1484. In his table of the eclipses of the sun and moon he thus records the fact; "Having lost the tables of those which I had made, by the pillage of king Richard. I, being imprisoned in the Tower of London, prepared other tables of eclipses, &c. which differ in a few things from those composed by me in 1482." Tanner, *Bib. Mon.* p. 449.

²⁷ Croyland, p. 570. The king was not in the metropolis from the 6th of March 1484, to August 9th. On March 11th he was at Cambridge; from the 20th of March to the 25th of April, at Nottingham; on May the 1st, at York; on the 6th, at Middleham; on the 15th, at Durham; on the 22d, at Scarborough; on the 27th, at York; from the 30th to the 13th of June, at Pomfret; from the 14th to the 25th of June, at York; from the 30th to the 11th of July, at Scarborough; on the 20th and 21st, again at York; on the 23d, at Pomfret; on the 30th, at Nottingham; and on August the 9th and 10th, at Westminster; but the rest of the summer and autumn he passed at Nottingham, with a short excursion to Tutbury; and on November the 12th, returned to Westminster. Harl. MSS. pp. 165. 195.

they resided. The presence, insults, and tyranny of these intruded masters, too sensible of their own importance not to presume on impunity, increased the public desire for the return of their former and now exiled lords.²⁸ Thus the measures, which the king adopted for his security, turned, from the averted feelings which they created, to his bane. Augmented dissatisfaction increased his jealousy and sternness; and every punishment he inflicted, however merited by actual treason, raised the clamor of tyranny against him. It was thought, that he became extreme to mark what was done amiss. He may have been so, without intending it. Power in the hands of the irritable and the unquiet, is apt to be cruel, especially when goaded by danger; and Richard is loudly charged with being so. But the candid will observe, that it was towards those who revolted against him, that he is accused of displaying this temper. They chose to make it a battle of life or death with him; and he fought it as such. No benefits or overtures could allay their resentments: and as they were implacable, so he was unforgiving.²⁹

The project of uniting Richmond with one of the queen's daughters, he attempted by an altered behaviour to her to defeat. Whether he pitied her for the incurable wound he had inflicted, or obeyed merely the dictates of an interested policy; he endeavored

The
queen's
daughters
at his
court.

²⁸ Croyl. p. 570.

²⁹ Thus he attainted sir George Brown, sir Thomas Lewkner, sir John Gildford, and sir John Fogg; 13 esquires; 4 gentlemen, and other persons; but it was because they assembled a great multitude, arrayed in war, against him. So he attainted sir William Berkeley, sir Roger Tocot, Lord Sentmort, sir Richard Woodville, two other knights, 100 esquires, and others; but they had assembled in arms against him, at Newbury, in Berks. He also attainted sir John Cheney, and 3 other knights, several esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen; but they had made a military insurrection at Salisbury; as sir Robert Willoughby, sir Thomas Arundel, 6 esquires, and several gentlemen, with marquis Dorset, and sir Thomas St. Leger, had done at Exeter. As all these were declared traitors, their lands and goods were confiscated; and an act was passed, enabling him to grant their lands to others. Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. pp. 246. 249. All these voluntarily dared the deadly chance, and aimed at his life and crown.

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to win her confidence, by his favors and kindnesses. He sent various friends to her, to conciliate her confidence. They performed their difficult task with zeal; and they persuaded her to forget all her wrongs, and to entrust her five daughters to the care of him and his queen, to form a part of his court, and to be educated under his care. The dowager queen has been violently censured for this acquiescence. It was certainly breaking her engagements with Richmond's friends; but at this moment his cause seemed hopeless; and she may have thought, that she had only to choose between immuring five young ladies, the eldest but seventeen, for life in a sanctuary; or permitting them to receive that princely education which her maternal affection desired. As no friend has explained her motives, she has found no advocate: but has been held up as an instance of female versatility and weakness. Her conduct may be so considered; but it is also possible, that the entreaties, as well as the benefit of her own children, may have persuaded her to a reconciliation with the king. Whoever has to decide and act, amid contradicting feelings and duties, must seem to some to act objectionably, whichever course may be adopted.

Richard, before the peers of the realm and the city magistrates, bound himself by a solemn oath, to protect, maintain, advance, and marry them³⁰; and they

³⁰ The Harleian MS. has preserved this oath: "I, Richard, king of England, &c. in the presence of you, my lords spiritual and temporal, and you, mayor and aldermen of my city of London, promise and swear (verbo regio) upon these holy Evangelists of God, by me personally touched, that if the daughters of dame Elizabeth Gray, late calling herself queen of England; to wit, Elizabeth, Cecill, Anne, Katteryn, and Brugget, will come unto me out of the sanctuary of Westminster, and be mynded, ruled, and demeaned after me, then I shall see that they shall be in surety of their lives; and also not suffer any manner of hurt, by any manner of person or persons to them or any of them, in their bodies or persons, to be done by way of ravishing or defiling contrary to their wills; nor them, nor any of them, imprison within the Tower of London, or other prison.

"But that I shall put them in honest place of good name and fame, and them honestly and courteously shall see to be found and entreated: and to have all things requisite and necessary for their exhibition and finding, as my kinswomen.

"And that I shall do marry such of them as now ben marriable to gentlemen

had no reason to be dissatisfied with exchanging a cloister for a palace. The king and queen conveyed them to their court, with studied honors; and by familiar and affectionate entertainments, strove to make them forget all former evil.³¹ The most criminal intentions in Richard have been ascribed to this measure; and yet the kindest uncle could not have acted otherwise. There was, indeed, an unworthy jealousy of power, in not calling them princesses in his oath, and in the idea of marrying them as private gentlewomen merely; but a regard for national tranquillity, and still more, for the safety of his son's future succession, probably dictated this conduct, which may have been most favorable to their happiness, and to the country's welfare. Richard prevailed on their royal mother to solicit her son Dorset to concur in the family conciliation.

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While Richard was thus exerting himself to suppress and disappoint internal conspiracy, and to prevent invasion, he was destined to receive the first great retributive blow from the unseen direction of events, in the loss of his only son. After adding the princesses to his household, he assembled the principal persons of his kingdom, in February 1484, and caused them to swear adherence and fidelity to his son Edward prince of Wales.³² Within two months after he had thus secured, as he supposed, the succession to his own line, this prince was attacked with a rapid illness at Middleham castle, which soon ended in his death. Richard and his queen received the tidings at Nottingham, and were both nearly distracted with the intelligence.³³ His unsparing ambi-

His son's
death.

born, and everiche of them give in marriage, lands and tenements to the yearly value of 200 marcs for the term of their lives." MS. p. 308.

³¹ Grafton, p. 836. Hall, p. 407.

³² Croyl. p. 570.

³³ "Pene insanire," Croyl. p. 571. The prince died 9th April 1484. By the grants in the Harl. MS. the king appears to have been at Nottingham, from 20th

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Rich-
mond's
operations.

tion was thus frustrated in its fondest hope. His parental feelings were pure and kind, and his sufferings were proportionately acute.

But the growing dangers of his situation roused him from his grief. He discovered that Morton and the exiled nobility were not only in alliance with Richmond, but were in active correspondence with the chief persons in England. He spread every where his inquiring spies, both at home and abroad. He adopted an invention of Edward IV. of stationing horsemen on the roads, at every twenty miles, who should transmit to each other the letters that were to be forwarded; by which plan all news travelled 200 miles in two days.³⁴ His navy was alert: successful against the Scots; but suffering some losses from the French.³⁵

On arriving at Angiers, the earl of Richmond found the French king's permission to reside in France; and went in person to Charles, at Langes on the Loire, to explain the reason of his sudden escape, and to solicit his aid against Richard. Charles VIII. received him kindly, and took him to Montargis, with his friends, and afterwards to Paris, which then became the resort of all those who chose to embark in his meditated enterprise. His flight from Vannes had stopped all his preparations from Bretagne. The duke, recovering his recollection, disapproved of what his minister had done; and assisted the gentlemen who had been left behind,

March to 25th April in this year. On 1st May he went to York, and on the 6th to Middleham, where his child had expired. Harl. MS. pp. 166—173.

³⁴ Croyl. p. 571.

³⁵ Ibid. He bought ships from Spain in January, to make war on Bretagne; and in February ordered fleets to be victualled against France, Bretagne, and Scotland. Harl. MS. pp. 146—151. In March he issued fresh warrants to impress mariners (ib. p. 168.), which, in June, were sent to all mayors, &c. (pp. 180.) The French took some of his ships off Scarborough, with two "ferocissimis capitaneis" (ib.), one of them the person who had commanded the fortifications at Westminster Abbey, John Nessfield.

with money, to join their prince.³⁶ But he gave no further countenance to Henry; and concluded a truce with Richard's envoys³⁷, which was afterwards prolonged³⁸, and converted into such a friendly alliance, that Richard sent 1000 archers to assist him against France.³⁹ Charles VIII. flattered Richmond with promises of succors, but delayed providing them. Yet his countenance gave new courage to the exiled revolvers, and induced others to join their party. Among these were sir James Blunt, the governor of Hammes, and sir John Fortescue, one of the officers of Calais. Blunt released his prisoner, the earl of Oxford, who immediately went to Richmond. No circumstance more pleased or benefited Henry, than the presence of this nobleman. He was the highest rank that had yet openly allied with him. His reputation was great and unsullied. His abilities and experience in war, were important to the wise direction of his intended expedition. Above all, he found him to be one in whom, above all others, he might securely place his most secret trust.⁴⁰ Thus supported, the day of his good fortune began to dawn with a serene brightness, that gradually made the ardor of his hope the just confidence of reason.

Richard, finding his intercepting plans defeated by his rival's flight into France, endeavored to make the present solicitations to Charles, the evidence of an anti-national spirit. He published a proclamation against Richmond and his adherents, charging his grandfather, Owen Tudor, with illegitimacy; and accusing him of having covenanted with the king of

³⁶ Graft. p. 834. Pol. Virg. p. 556. Hall, p. 405.

³⁷ Rym. vol. xli. p. 226. The first truce was from July 1. 1484 to April 24. 1485.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 255. The Harl. MS. has a license for Thomas Hoton, to go with twelve persons to Bretagne, on the king's message, dated October 23. 1484, p. 192.

³⁹ The commission to John Gray, to command there, was dated June 28. 1484. Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. pp. 226, 227. On March 7. following, the truce was prolonged to Michaelmas 1492. Ib. p. 261.

⁴⁰ Graft. p. 834. Hall, p. 405.

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France, to abandon all claims of England to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Gascony, Guienne, Calais, Guynes, and the Marches; and arraigning him for giving away already archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other clerical dignities, and also dukedoms, earldoms, and baronies.⁴¹ Richmond, with great spirit, retorted by an energetic letter to all his friends and allies; in which he announced his intention of dethroning the king, whom he calls a homicide, and unnatural tyrant.⁴² Increasing resentment was now extinguishing all the former parties that had shaken the country, and dividing it into two new ones, the opposers and the supporters of the king; and Richmond becoming identified with the former, the future struggles assumed a personal character; and the only question that was fought for at last, was, whether Richard or Henry should be seated on the English throne. Every month additional numbers of the nobility and gentry shewed their desire to place a new dynasty upon it.

To secure his northern frontier from the incursions of Scotland, that he might have his forces undivided to act against Richmond, the king opened a negotiation with the Scottish monarch; and proposed a marriage between that king's son and his own niece. James was in need of friends, as well as himself, and

⁴¹ Fenn has printed this proclamation, vol. ii. pp. 321, 322. It is dated June 23. 1484.

⁴² It was this.—"H. R.—Right trusty, worshipful and honorable good friends, and our allies;

"I greet ye well. Being given to understand your good devoirs, and intent to advance me to the furtherance of my rightful claim due, and lineal inheritance of the crown, and for the just depriving of that homicide and unnatural tyrant, which now unjustly bears dominion over you, I give you to understand, that no christian heart can be more full of joy and gladness than the heart of me, your poor exiled friend; who will, upon the instance of your sune advertyzing what power you will make ready, and what captains and leaders you get to conduct, be prepared to pass over the sea, with such force as my friends here are preparing for me; and if I have such good speed and success as I wish, according to your desire, I shall ever be most forward to remember, and wholly to requite this great and most loving kindness in my just quarrel. "H. R."

"I pray you to give credence to the messenger of what he shall impart to you." Harl. MS. No. 787.

This has been printed by Mr. J. Nicholls, in his additions to Hutton's Bosworth Field, p. 190.

sent his ambassadors to Nottingham. The prelate of the north made the flattering speech to Richard already noticed⁴³; and a treaty of friendship and alliance having ensured safety to the border provinces⁴⁴, the king returned to the metropolis in November⁴⁵, which, excepting a short time in August, he had not visited since the preceding winter.⁴⁶ In the next month, he sent his mandate to the mayor of Windsor, complaining, that his rebels and traitors were confederated with his ancient enemies of France; and were sending over writings with false inventions, tidings, and rumors, to provoke discord and division between him and his lords; and commanding him to inquire after the utterers of such papers; to commit them to sure ward, and to proceed to their sharp punishment as an example to deter others.⁴⁷ Some days afterwards, he ordered the commissioners he had sent into the counties near the metropolis, to call before them, in all haste, the knights, squires, and gentlemen; to understand from them what number of men, defensibly arrayed, they could bring together, on half a day's notice, in case of any sudden arrival of his enemies.⁴⁸ Thus no precaution, which enlightened prudence could suggest, was omitted by this active-minded king.

He kept his Christmas at Westminster, with his accustomed display of state; and appeared on the Epiphany with the crown on his head at a royal banquet; but it was remarked, that the princess Elizabeth was dressed in splendid robes of the same form

⁴³ Bucke has inserted it in his History, Kennet, vol. i. p. 572. The Scotch commission to treat on the marriage, is dated August 30., at Edinburgh. Rym. vol. xii. p. 232.

⁴⁴ Graft. p. 830. See the articles agreed on, in Hall, pp. 398—400.

⁴⁵ Croyl. p. 571.

⁴⁶ See before, note 27.

⁴⁷ It is dated Dec. 6. 1484. Harl. MSS. No. 787. p. 2.; and Nicholls' Hutton, p. 191.

⁴⁸ Harl. MSS. No. 433. p. 198. This letter was dated December 18., and sent to Surrey, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, &c.

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and color with his queen's ; and inferences began to be made that he meditated his consort's death or divorce.⁴⁹ What he had done created the worst opinions of what he meant to do. Selfish ambition, without either moral or religious principle, being believed to be the guide of his conduct, no crime seemed unlikely, no imputation unjust.

In the midst of his splendid entertainment, tidings were suddenly brought to him, that Richmond would certainly invade him in the following summer. His natural intrepidity and love of decision, occasioned him to receive the news with delight⁵⁰, that the deciding battle might speedily occur: so little can we penetrate the mysterious future.

Death of
queen
Anne.

As his last winter passed on, his queen Anne became unwell. He is admitted to have been at this time acting the part of a good and well-disposed king⁵¹: and to have been afraid lest her sudden death should lessen the creditable opinion that was forming of him. Yet he is charged with proceeding to kill her, by abstaining from her society ; by complaining to his nobles, and especially to archbishop Rotheram, of her sterility ; and by spreading a rumor, meant to reach her ears, that she was actually dead.⁵² This mode of killing her is not very probable ; and is refuted by the inconsistent addition, that when she went sorrowingly to him, to ask why she was to die, he answered her with fair words, and dissembling blandishments ; kissed her, and comforted her, and bid her be of good cheer.⁵³ This soothing kindness was the true behaviour of an affectionate husband ; and was the reverse of that which he would have exhibited, if he had meant to injure her by his asserted

⁴⁹ Croyl. p. 571.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Or, as the hostile chroniclers express it, he had begun "to counterfeit the ymage of a good and well-disposed person." Graft. p. 336. Hall, p. 407.

⁵² Hall, p. 407.

⁵³ Ibid. "Osculando," adds Pol. Virg. p. 557.

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alienation. The two parts of the story do not coincide; and therefore, when these writers offer us the consequential alternative, that "either from grief, or poison, she died in a few days⁵⁴," we may be allowed to decline the proposed dilemma altogether; and to suppose that nature or providence had withdrawn her, like her son, into the grave, and with no friendly hand to Richard; for as her death ensured the public belief, that it was either another penal judgment, or another murder, no event could be more calamitous to him than to lose her, with the certainty of such destroying imputations.

There is a correctness in all the accounts of the Croyland doctor, when they can be compared with the records, and other manuscript authorities⁵⁵, that induces us to take his representation as the unprejudiced truth. He remarks, that "the similarity of the dresses of queen Anne and Elizabeth, in the Christmas festivities, created great surprise; and that it was said by many, that the king, either expecting the queen's death, or meditating a divorce, for which he thought he had sufficient reasons, was applying his mind to a marriage with the princess." He adds, that it did not seem to Richard, that his kingdom would be confirmed to him, or the hope of his competitor taken away, by any other measure.⁵⁶

He proceeds, "A few days after this, the queen began to be exceedingly ill. Her sickness was thought

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⁵⁴ Hall, p. 407.

⁵⁵ He ends his valuable History by saying, that he finished it on April 30. 1486, p. 578. He did not continue it further, because that would concern the actions of living persons, and would expose the historian either to hatred, if he described their vices, or to the crime of flattery, if he blazoned their virtues. Ibid. p. 577. I understand him to say, that he wrote his little work in ten days. p. 578.

⁵⁶ Croyl. p. 572. The instances of Henry VIII., Napoleon, and other sovereigns, divorcing their wives, because they wished an heir to their thrones, prove, that Richard might have had that desire, altho improper, without being a flagitious character. That there was some informality about his marriage, which made a divorce attainable, is probable, because the act of parliament that settled her inheritance, in 1474, contemplated a divorce as a possible occurrence. See before, p. 92.

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to increase more rapidly, because he entirely abstained from her connubial society; and thus, as he was advised by the physicians, he judged he ought to do.⁵⁷ Why should I add more? About the middle of the following March, on the day of the great eclipse of the sun, which then occurred, queen Anne died; and was buried at Westminster, with no less honor than became a queen.”⁵⁸

Here is no charge of poison or cruelty; nor can an illness, beginning a few days after Twelfth-day, and lasting till the middle of March, above two months, be fairly attributable to poison, unless no one becomes ill in winter without it. His secession from her is not ascribed to wicked design, but to medical advice. His projecting an union with another lady, before her death, was an act neither decorous nor consistent with true affection, nor morally vindicable from the consequences to which it may lead. But such an action has been done, and a subsequent marriage completed, shortly after the wife's death, in violation of the feelings, which society rightly chooses to exact and to make sacred, by many persons of great general respectability, without their being deemed murderers or tyrants. But Richard has not been allowed to do any thing in common with the rest of mankind, without the ascription of some horrible motive. His mind has been supposed to have been in an universal and continual moral leprosy.

But another person has been implicated in this event, to her disadvantage. Bucke declares, that there was an autograph letter from the princess Elizabeth to the duke of Norfolk, in the cabinet of Thomas earl of Arundel and Surrey, in which she tells his grace, that he was the man in whom she affied, in re-

⁵⁷ So I construe the doctor's awkward Latin sentence. “Itaque a medicis sibi consultum, ut faceret, judicavit.” p. 572. If my construction be right, his avoidance of her society was in obedience to the injunction of her medical attendants.

⁵⁸ Croyl. p. 572. It is elsewhere stated, that she died March 11. 1485.

spect of that love her father had ever bore him. After congratulating, as Bucke terms it, his many courtesies, she desires him, in continuation of them, to be a mediator for her to the king, in behalf of the marriage propounded between them. She adds, that he, the king, was her only joy and maker in this world, and that she was his in heart and thought; and she insinuates, that the better part of February was past, and that she feared the queen would never die.⁵⁹

As it would be absurd to reason against a genuine autograph, it need only be added, that to apply to the duke of Norfolk, to be a mediator with the king, to urge her marriage to him, looks as if it had been proposed by others, not by himself, and that he was pausing and doubting about it. To exculpate the princess is impossible, unless the letter be a forgery; but it will be equitable to her to remember, that she was but nineteen years old.⁶⁰ If it be genuine, the impatient forwardness of the lady made Richard in greater danger of being seduced than the seducer.

The supposition of such a marriage becoming public, a general murmur arose against it, which the king's most faithful counsellors thought it unwise to brave. Ratcliffe and Catesby firmly resisted the project; and told Richard, that if he did not unhesitatingly contradict it, even his northern friends would rebel against him. No one could endure an incestuous marriage between an uncle and his niece. Twelve doctors in theology also gave their opinion, that the Pope could not legalize it by any dispensation. The world would not give his ministers the credit of disin-

⁵⁹ Bucke says, "All these be her own words, written with her own hand, and this is the sum of her letter, which remains, under her own hand, in the magnificent cabinet of Thomas earl of Arundel and Surrey." p. 568. But he has given the substance, not a copy, of the letter; and this omission, in such an important document, is a matter of great mistrust.

⁶⁰ She was born the 11th of February 1464. Graft. p. 668.

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terested probity on this occasion. Their reasoning and feelings were just ; but it was believed that their real motive was, a fear that Elizabeth might gain the king's affection, and govern his mind, and then revenge the death of her own uncle, lord Rivers, on those who had recommended it. Richard listened to their counsels ; and a little before Easter, in the great hall of St. John's Priory, Clerkenwell, before the mayor and corporation of London, in a clear and loud voice, solemnly disavowed the imputed intention.⁶¹

The death of the queen greatly diminished Richard's interest in the hearts of the country ; and as the will obeys the feeling, the loss of moral influence is the loss of actual power. The abandonment and denial of his intended marriage with Elizabeth, did not avert the disgust at its believed conception. It was assumed that he had meant it ; and that fear of the consequences alone prevented him from adding a moral sin to his great suspected crime. Hence, when he began the fatal year of 1485, he had diminished his own safety, by the very measures which human calculation had supposed would most firmly consolidate it. Such will be the issue of all policy that is not founded on moral rectitude. Richard too easily confounded the present gaining of a point, with its permanent advantage ; and did not see, that the success we exult in is often the very step which leads to our discomfiture.

Yet, altho there was much that menaced, still no tangible danger was near. A military force moved every where promptly at his command, which pro-

⁶¹ Croyl. p. 572. He adds, that " many thought he obeyed the wishes of his advisers rather than his own." Richard shews the consequences of once getting a bad character. Few would afterwards give him credit for any right action. This hostile propensity of mankind has driven many to utter wickedness and ruin. Though every one feels his own spots to be removable, no one will believe another's to be so.

mised to make Richmond's invasion an absurdity. No enemy was any where in force. All rebellion was overawed, the discontented driven away, and silent obedience pervaded the island. Individual noblemen and gentlemen frequently passed over to Henry⁶²; but their absence from England lessened the chances of internal revolt; and the speedy recovery of Hammes, which its governor, on releasing Oxford, had surrendered to Richmond's friends, elated the king's mind, as an omen of his final triumph.⁶³ This exultation was completed, when he heard that Charles VIII. meant to give his threatening invaders but a slender assistance. He procured certain intelligence that they meant to attempt a landing; but could not learn that any part was fixed on. To guard every point, he went himself, about Whitsuntide, into the northern counties⁶⁴; and more completely to baffle their projects, and to keep the minds of the country from any uncertainty as to the succession, he had the earl of Lincoln, his most beloved sister's son, declared to be his heir apparent.⁶⁵

It was no loss to society that Buckingham failed and fell. He was not the man to regenerate the nobility of England, or to plant moral principles on its throne. Yet, altho he perished, neither lamented nor unmeritingly, it was he that wove the plans and made the cords, which pulled down Richard from his state. His death left them broken and scattered; but in his few weeks of activity he had so ably organized his confederations, created so much mutual

⁶² Fab. p. 518. Hall, p. 407. One of these, who joined Richmond, was Fox, a priest of great understanding and learning, whom the prince immediately attached to his secret councils, and made him afterwards bishop of Winchester. Graft. p. 835.

⁶³ Hall, p. 408.

⁶⁴ Croyl. p. 573. From the Harl. MSS. No. 433., it appears, that excepting three short residences at Windsor, he continued in London and Westminster from the beginning of the year 1485 to the middle of May. On June the 1st he was at Coventry; on the 6th, at Kenilworth; and, on the 22d, at Nottingham. Pp. 200—219.

⁶⁵ Holinshed, p. 747.

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confidence, and established such an unity of heart and hand, that as soon as a superior character, and a more principled mind, appeared, to re-assume their direction, all their spirit revived, and their combinations were renewed; and Richmond, with the aid of his mother, Morton, and Stanley, was enabled at last to execute what Buckingham, with such a master-intellect, had sketched.

Yielding to his mother's representations of Richard's altered conduct towards her family, the marquis of Dorset endeavored to escape from his co-exiles at Paris, and to join her family in the English court. He left the French capital secretly at night, and travelled with great expedition towards Flanders; but his departure became known to Richmond, who obtained the French king's authority to arrest him. He was overtaken at Compeigne, and carried back to Paris.⁶⁶

The information that Richard intended to marry Elizabeth, made Henry despair of uniting himself with the line of York; and he turned his thoughts to an alliance with one of the powerful Welsh families.⁶⁷ But this desertion of Dorset having alarmed him for the stability of his other friends, he decided on attempting his enterprise without delay; and, therefore, obtaining a small force, and borrowing some money from the French king, for which he left Dorset and sir John Bouchier as hostages, he went to Rouen, collected his friends, and prepared with celerity a little fleet at Harfleur, to sail as soon as it was ready.⁶⁸

One of Richard's wisest actions had been, to have a statute passed, declaring illegal the forced loans called Benevolences⁶⁹, which his brother had, with such great unpopularity, exacted. But his expensive

⁶⁶ Graft. p. 840. Hall, p. 409.
⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Graft. p. 840.
⁶⁹ Stat. of Realm, vol. ii. p. 478.

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state, his lavish liberalities to his friends, his repeated preparations against his enemies, and his wary guarding and fortifying every accessible point of landing, and every place of danger in the interior, had so exhausted the royal treasury and its ordinary supplies, that the king allowed himself to have recourse to the very measure which he had pleased the country by condemning and abrogating. He revived what he had annulled, and compelled his wealthy subjects to give him the sums for which he arbitrarily taxed them, under the same fictitious name of a Benevolence. This measure struck a fatal blow at what remained of his popularity. The hope and experienced benefit of a good government might have yet preserved him; but when his subjects found their property attacked by his despotic will, a spirit of indifference in some, of resentment in others, arose against him, which paralyzed their exertions in his favor, when the last great crisis came upon him.⁷⁰

The rumors, that Henry's preparations for his invasion were advancing to maturity, increasing every day, Richard tried, in vain, by all his secret agents, to ascertain in what part he meant to land.⁷¹ Baffled by Richmond's secrecy, or his inability to select the safest place, he stationed lord Lovel at Southampton, to watch, with his fleet, all the coasts of the southern counties; and with orders to assemble all the forces in his neighborhood, and to attack his enemies as soon as they had disembarked. He was so sure that the attempt would be in these parts of England, that a large portion of his resources was expended there⁷²

⁷⁰ The Harl. MSS. No. 433. pp. 275. 278. contains the letters sent by the king, exacting these benevolences, and mentioning the sum which each person, secular or religious, was required to give. On the great unpopularity of these exactions, see the strong language of Croyland, pp. 571, 572. Fabian says, the least sum that he borrowed of any one in London was 40*l*. Yet he adds, that to these he delivered good and sufficient pledges. His want of money appears, from the warrants in the Harl. MSS. for the pledging and sale of his plate.

⁷¹ Croyl. p. 572.

⁷² *Ibid.* p. 573.

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in providing the means of effectual and instantaneous resistance. Having thus, as he believed, averted danger from its most probable and accessible points of entrance, he went west to Kenilworth castle, in the beginning of June; and towards the latter end of the month, stationed himself at Nottingham⁷³; a safe and central point, from which he could himself move to any part of the kingdom that should demand his immediate presence. He passed his July in a state of royal enjoyment, without any prospect or dread of the tempest which, as yet imperceptible from its distance, was on the wing to overwhelm him.

It was one of his severest calamities, and the immediate cause of his destruction, that some of those in whom he most confided and employed, and whom he had most bounteously enriched, treacherously engaged, even while in his service, in the conspiracy against him. One of these was Morgan Kidwelly, his attorney-general.⁷⁴ This perfidious law officer, of his confidential council, sent Richmond secret word, that sir Rice ap Thomas, who watched for Richard, with a commanding influence and high character, in Wales, and whose zealous hostility would have frustrated all invasion there, would apply to his assistance the great preparations he was ostensibly making against him; and that sir John Savage, who controlled Cheshire for the king, was equally favorable. He added, that Bray had collected money enough to supply his troops in their movements; and he recommended him to take his course directly into Wales.⁷⁵

⁷³ Harl. MSS. No. 433. pp. 218, 219. From Nottingham, on the 22d of June, he issued letters to the commissioners of array, in every county, to muster his subjects in arms. Ibid. p. 220.

⁷⁴ His appointment of attorney-general to Richard, is in the Harl. MSS. No. 433. p. 79.; and there are several grants to him in it, as the stewardship of all the lordships in the duchies of Lancaster and Dorset. Ibid. p. 49.; several manors, p. 63., &c.

⁷⁵ Graft. p. 841. Pol. Virg. p. 559. Hall, p. 410. Richard had given Bray a general pardon. Harl. MSS. p. 34.

To this intelligence Henry owed his success, and Richard his downfall. He had been before so undecided himself where to land, that his own uncertainty, in addition to his judicious secrecy, had baffled Richard's inquisitorial penetration. This advice determined the earl to sail immediately to Wales; and, by thus avoiding every part which Richard had sufficiently and sedulously guarded with his most faithful forces, and by entering the island at the quarter where he was least expected, he was enabled to turn all the king's preparations in the rear; and to be in the heart of England, before Richard could gain certainty that he had even reached it. There must have been traitors in Richard's cabinet, for his rival to have been thus directed to take the fittest measures for success, with such exact precision and unchecked results.⁷⁶

Richmond sailed from Harfleur with a petty force of 2000 men, in a few vessels; and in seven days, reaching Milford Haven on the 1st of August, he disembarked at Dalle, and marched the next dawn to Haverfordwest, where, as the grandson of a descendant of Brutus, Beli, Arthur, and Cadwallader, and as coming to place a dynasty of ancient British ancestry on the throne of England, which had been so long held from it by Saxon and Norman intruders, he was cheerily received.⁷⁷ His landing and march were so secret and rapid, that the inhabitants, till they saw him, did not know that he had arrived.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ The taking the great seal from the bishop of Lincoln, on the 1st of August 1485, looks like a suspicion or discovery of some infidelity in him. Rym. vol. xii. pp. 271, 272. The billet afterwards thrown on the duke of Norfolk's tent,

“ Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold,

For Dickon thy master is *bought and sold,*”

explicitly indicated the treason, and warned him to avoid its inevitable consequences. Graft. p. 850. Savage, Hungerford, and Bouchier, were in the near and confidential stations of knights of his body.

⁷⁷ Croyl. p. 573. Pol. Virg. p. 560. Graft. p. 841.

⁷⁸ Graft. *ibid.* He received assurances of service from Pembroke; yet Richard had confirmed their privileges, and added new grants. Harl. MSS. p. 100. Sir

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At first, he was disappointed to hear, that both Rice ap Thomas and Savage meant to attack him. He marched immediately northward to Cardigan. Fresh tidings occurred there to dismay him, that sir Walter Herbert, on whose friendship he had calculated, was collecting a force at Carmarthen to arrest his progress. These accounts alarmed his little army; but retreat was impossible; desperate courage was their only safety; and each man assayed his armor, and sharpened his weapons, to sell their lives dearly. In this state of apprehension, Richmond sent out horsemen to explore; and while they were collecting intelligence, the arrival of two Welsh gentlemen of eminence, tho' with small numbers, recovered his spirit from the dismay of unsuccored destitution. His men returned with information, that Rice and Herbert were in harness before him, ready to encounter him, and stop his passage.⁷⁹

But it was on the Stanleys, and his English friends, that he mainly relied; and to reach them before Richard's eagle eye, and certain rapidity of movement, the hour his path was known, could intercept him, was his only chance and hope. To effect this, and yet to conceal his line of march, he proceeded, without resting, over the mountain passes, and by the least frequented tracts, and thro' the most unpeopled districts, direct into Shropshire, attacking without hesitation, and surprising with ease, all the defended posts that were in his way; sending off also trusty messengers, as he moved, to his mother, lord Stanley, and sir Gilbert Talbot, uncle of earl Shrewsbury, to apprize them of his coming; and intimating

William Stanley had been appointed constable, and captain of Carnarvon. Harl. MSS. p. 445.

⁷⁹ Graft. pp. 841, 842. Pol. Virg. p. 560. Harl. p. 411. Mr. Pennant mentions a Welsh tradition, that while Henry was at Tremostyn, in Flintshire, about dinner time, a party attached to Richard arrived, with intent to apprehend him; but with the assistance of the family, he leaped out of a back window, and escaped thro' a hole, which is still called The King's Hole. Penn. Tour.

the time when he should pass the Severn at Shrewsbury, with the intention of advancing immediately to London.⁸⁰ As he approached this town, he was gratified to see the dreaded Rice ap Thomas marching peacefully to join him. He had determined this hesitating Welshman to desert Richard, by promising, two days before, to make him the chief governor of Wales.⁸¹ Thus assured that he should lose nothing by his change of sides, the prudent sir Rice, whom his Welsh encomiasts transform into an ancient hero, with that easy painting of verbal bombast, which caricatures while it labors to extol⁸², betrayed the trust committed to him by his king; and in violation of his sworn allegiance, and of his own written promise⁸³, "heading a goodly company," marched with his enemy to dethrone him. But gentlemanly perjury was the fashion of the day, in all that concerned loyalty, from the king himself to the poorest fighter that could boast a coat of arms. Richard, however, was outdone, in protestations at least, by his nobility.

Richmond's messengers returned to him from his

⁸⁰ Graft. p. 842. Pol. Virg. p. 560. Hall, p. 411.

⁸¹ Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.

⁸² The author of his *Life*, written in the early part of James I, is so carried away by his Welsh enthusiasm, that, not content with making a man, scarcely known out of Wales, "more than a Hannibal," and both a Marcellus and Fabius, and also a shield of Britain, he exclaims, "Oh! had we, in our late expeditions, flayed this great Rice, and clapped his skins upon our drum-head, we had, no question, made an absolute conquest of the French, or rattled them away, or shown ourselves invincible." *Camb. Register*, 1795. p. 52.

⁸³ His biographer mentions, that Richard "sent commissioners to Carmarthen, to Rice, to take of him an oath of fidelitie. *The oath, Rice ap Thomas stood not upon.*" *Life*, p. 86. In his letter to the king, after declaring that he will "faithfullie observe" his oath, which he says he had taken, he adds, "I deem it not unseasonable to add this voluntary protestation, that whoever, ill-affected to the state, shall dare to land in those parts of Wales where I have employments, against your majestie, must resolve with himself to make his entrance and irruption *over my bellie.*" p. 86. He even adds, "This is my religion, that no vowe can lay a stronger obligation upon me, in anie manner of performance, *than my conscience.* My conscience binds me to love and serve my king and country; my vowe can doe noe more. Sir! I am resolutelie bent to spin out my days in well-doing: and sure, sir! could I find myself culpable of one single cogitation repugnant to the allegiance I owe to your majestie, I should think, already, I have lived over long." *Ibid* p. 86. What can we say of such men? His friend confesses, that he "threw the first stone, and opened the gate to Richard's destruction." p. 81.

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friends, as he reached Shrewsbury, with the comforting assurances, that they were ready and faithful. He advanced to Newport; and pitching his camp on a little hill adjoining, he resolved to rest there from his fatigues that night; which was made more pleasant to him, by Talbot joining him with the whole power of the young earl of Shrewsbury, amounting to 2000 men. Thus reinforced, the next day he proceeded resolutely to Stafford; and there paused, to determine on his future movements.⁸⁴

That Richard was reposing in a false security, and was taken quite by surprise, by Richmond's secrecy and celerity of march, which seems never to have been excelled, is manifest, by several circumstances. It was not till the beginning of August that his best friend, the duke of Norfolk, was called on for his military forces⁸⁵; and so late as the 16th of August, his steady adherents at York sent their serjeant of mace to ask him, if they should send up any aids from that city; and his orders did not reach it till the 19th of August, but three days before the deciding battle; when the gentleman of the mace was directed to march as captain, with 400 men in harness, with all haste possible to reach him.⁸⁶ Richard despised his competitor too much. A youth, who had never marshalled a field, nor seen a battle, was, as a warrior, contemptible in his eyes; and so he is mentioned to have expressed himself concerning him, on the day of conflict.⁸⁷ Hence, when at length he heard of

⁸⁴ Graft. p. 842. Pol. Virg. p. 560. Hall, p. 411.

⁸⁵ The duke writes to a friend, a little before August 15th, "The king's enemies be on land. The king would have set forth, as upon Monday, (14th August,) but only for our Lady's-day, (Assumption, 15th August); but, for certain, he goeth forward as upon Tuesday. Meet me at Bury; for I purpose to lie at Bury on Tuesday night. Bring with you such company of tall men as ye may goodly make, at my cost, besides that ye have promised the king." Fenn, vol. ii. p. 334.

⁸⁶ See the minutes of the city council, in Drake's Eboracum, p. 120.

⁸⁷ According to Grafton, Richard called him "a man of small courage, and of less experience in martial art, and feats of war: who never saw army, nor was exercised in martial affairs; by reason whereof he neither can nor is able, of his own wit or experience, to guide or rule an hoste." Graft. p. 847. So Hall, p. 415.

Richmond's arrival in England, the fewness of his numbers made the king think preparations unnecessary. He knew that his armed officers were sufficient to destroy them.⁸⁸ He professed an exceeding joy, that the day had now come, when he should have an easy triumph, and the comfort of a future peaceful reign⁸⁹; and such would have been the issue, if the battle had rested merely between Richmond and himself, or if his country or his army had proved faithful. But, tho he sent out letters of menace in every county of the kingdom, full of his own fierce ardor for the decision; and commanding every one, whose rank and estates made it obligatory on him to follow his sovereign to war, to join him without delay, on the pain of death and confiscation, after his victory should be gained⁹⁰; tho he sent to the duke of Norfolk; to his son, the earl of Surrey; to the earl of Northumberland, and other noblemen, to muster their tenants and retainers, and come speedily to him; and summoned sir Robert Brackenbury from the Tower, with his military force; and to bring with him the knights whom he suspected⁹¹;—and altho, by these means, he assembled a greater army than England had usually seen about the person of its king⁹², yet it was but a splendid military parade, without either zealous hands or sympathizing hearts. It obeyed awhile from terror, but was prepared to betray. It moved at his command, while the largest portion of its battalions meditated his discomfiture.

Lord Stanley had continued to deceive Richard, with such well-acted hypocrisy, that in the preceding January the king had deputed him, with his son lord

⁸⁸ "Disdaining to hear speak of so poor a company, he determined, at first, to take little or no regard to this so small a sparkle." Graft. p. 843. So Fabian remarks, that, as he feared Richmond little, he made at first but small provision against him. p. 519.

⁸⁹ Croyl. p. 573.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Graft. p. 843. Hall, p. 412.

⁹² Croyl. p. 573.

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Strange, and his brother sir William, to lead all the forces of Cheshire against his invaders, if they should arrive.⁹³ Tho deep in Richmond's enterprise, he retained the confidential honor of lord steward of the king's household⁹⁴, at the hour of the invasion; and thus had the means of communicating the most important information of all Richard's designs, means, friends, and movements, to his rival; and of forming intrigues the most pernicious to his master. A little before Richmond's landing, his prudence led him to desire the king's permission to visit his house and family, from which he had been long absent. Leave was granted, on his sending his eldest son, lord Strange, to attend the court at Nottingham in his stead. Sir William Stanley was, at that time, the chamberlain of North Wales. Thus Wales, and its bordering counties, were officially obeying the men who, tho appointed over them by the king, were determined to betray him. When Richard heard of Richmond's landing, with a reasonable mistrust of the influence of the earl's mother, the wife of Stanley, he sent for this lord to come to him. Stanley answered, that he was ill of the sweating sickness, then prevailing; but at the same time, his son, lord Strange, endeavored privately to escape from the court. Being taken and questioned, he, like Buckingham, confessed all the plots, as far as he knew them; and astonished the king, with the intelligence, that his father and uncle, and sir John Savage, were in league with the invaders. He implored mercy, on the ground, that when his father knew of his detection and danger, he would abandon Richmond, and serve faithfully under the king.⁹⁵ The young nobleman overrated his own importance. His father left him to all the peril of his pusillanimity: and only

⁹³ Harl MSS. No. 433. p. 201. It is dated January 12.

⁹⁴ Croyl p. 573.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

took the precaution not to join Richmond publicly, till the actual moment of beginning the impending conflict.

The disastrous consequence to Richard, of his being thus taken by surprise, was, that his most faithful adherents were in other parts guarding the districts which he thought most in danger; and that he was compelled to assemble, with indiscriminating haste, a promiscuous mass of force, whose readiness of attendance masqued their indifferency or their projected treason, and whose numbers elated his vanity and infatuated his confidence. He knew his own military talents, and he saw, that the exertions of such an army under his guidance, must be invincible; and altho sir Walter Hungerford, and sir Thomas Bourchier, the knights that accompanied Brackenbury, had, on finding themselves doubted or discovered, left their associates at Stoney Stratford, and gone to Richmond⁹⁶; yet hoping, that all who had remained were attached to him, he did not attempt to read further the secrets of the bosoms of his mailed host, but marched them from Nottingham to Leicester in the most ostentatious pomp. On Sunday, the 20th of August, with his jewelled crown on his head, seated on a great white steed, surrounded by a chosen guard; his army marshalled to advance in a marching column of infantry, five and five in a rank, while his cavalry, like expanded wings, ranged and coasted over the country as they moved; he entered Leicester in magnificent state, after sunset, followed by an immense multitude of people.⁹⁷

It was his last day of enjoying, in the sight of his people, the gorgeous state he loved. On Monday, the 21st, he passed from Leicester to the abbey of

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⁹⁶ Both these two knights, whom Richard had greatly benefited, and others, left him. Graft. p. 843. Hall, p. 412. Pol. Virg. p. 561.

⁹⁷ Croyl. pp. 573, 574. Graft. p. 844.

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Mirivall, about eight miles off, and there encamped on Anbeame hill⁹⁸; hoping to suppress his antagonist on the morrow. During this night, sir John Savage, who commanded the Chester men, sir Brian Sanforde, and sir Simon Digby, with several others, with a select body of forces, left the royal army, and joined that of Richmond, at Atherstone: an important acquisition, from their military experience, as well as their name.⁹⁹

At Stafford, Richmond had been met by sir William Stanley, and after a long consultation with him, moved to Litchfield, and encamped outside of the town during the night. In the morning he entered it, and was received with acclamations. Lord Stanley had reached the same place, with nearly 5000 men, but hearing of Richmond's approach, repaired to Atherstone. He made this movement to deceive Richard, and to save his son.¹⁰⁰ From Litchfield, Richmond advanced steadily towards Tamworth. In the march he lingered in the rear, with a few horsemen; musing, with some uneasiness, at Lord Stanley's apparent hesitation, as if he doubted what might yet be his last determination.¹⁰¹ His meditations were so intense (for as all among whom he came were strange to him, he had nothing but their verbal assurance to rely on for their fidelity), that his army had marched out of his sight and hearing, before he perceived that he was unintentionally left alone. The evening be-

⁹⁸ Croyl. p. 574. Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 276. Holinshed mentions the name of the hill, p. 755. He calls it Anne Beame; but this is not a lady's name. "An beame" is Saxon for "one tree;" it was, therefore, One-tree hill.

⁹⁹ Graft. p. 844. Pol. Virg. p. 562. Hall, p. 413.

¹⁰⁰ Graft. pp. 842, 843. Pol. Virg. p. 561. Hall, p. 412.

¹⁰¹ Hall remarks, that Richmond "was not a little afraid, because he was in no-wise assured of lord Stanley, who, for fear of his son, as yet inclined to neither." p. 413. So Pol. Virg. p. 562. Stanley seems to have kept both parties in an uncertainty as to his ultimate decision; for the account of the battle in the Harl. MSS. p. 542., which seems a Stanley statement, in an half poetical form, mentions, that a messenger came to sir William, with the impression, that lord Stanley would fight for Richard, within three hours. "That would I not," quod the knight, "for all the world in Cristentie." Nicholl has printed this, p. 213.

gan to obscure the horizon; he lost the road, and wandered about, without knowing where he was. He reached a small village, in jeopardy of falling in with Richard's light horsemen, that were scouring the country for intelligence. He dared not ask a question, but rested there secretly and silently till day break.¹⁰²

When the light returned, he discovered the traces of his army, and, by joining them, relieved that uneasiness which had been excited by his unaccountable absence. Then departing for Atherstone, he obtained a secret interview with lord Stanley and his brother, in a little close near, and settled their plans for the next day's battle.¹⁰³

The agitations of anxious mind, or the secret agencies of diseased nature, shook the frame of Richard, during the repose he sought in the night before the battle. Figures of black shapes, like demons, arose in his dreams, and moved around him, and would not suffer him to rest. He awoke before daylight, exhausted, terrified, and unmanned. He was ashamed of his perturbations; and fearing lest his attendants should misconstrue the nervous affections of a weak body for unworthy fear, he confessed the disturbing dreams. His chaplain was absent. His morning refreshment, to recruit his strength for the day's task, was not ready. His trembling form, his attenuated, pale, and discolored face, were too perceptible to himself, not to be accounted for to others; and he preferred a disclosure, that must have been reluctant, of his dismaying dream, to the suspicion of unmanly cowardice.¹⁰⁴ He added, that the event of that day

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¹⁰² Graft. p. 844. Pol. Virg. p. 562. Hall, p. 413.

¹⁰³ Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ I consider the Croyland account, p. 574., to be the most authentic, as it is the earliest, of this scene; and have therefore adopted it. Pol. Virg. p. 562., Grafton, p. 845., and Hall, p. 414., are very similar. Drayton and Shakspeare, with the gratuitous inventions of poets, have turned the black shapes into the ghosts of those

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would be fatal to England, whatever party conquered. If he were victorious, he avowed a determination to take a deadly revenge on all who supported his adversary; and if Richmond triumphed, he believed he would be as sanguinary.¹⁰⁵ Finding Stanley still kept aloof, he ordered his son's head to be taken off. But his people anticipated so much uncertainty as to the event of the battle, that they did not choose to commit themselves to the consequences of such a violence. They delayed its execution till the armies began to move; and then, reminding the king that the battle was beginning, and that he could execute his vengeance the moment he had secured the victory, the young nobleman was saved.¹⁰⁶

The king's frame and spirits were too much agitated by his nervous emotions, to have that alacrity of mind and cheerfulness of countenance, which he had always displayed on the morning of a battle.¹⁰⁷ But he exerted his military skill, and ranged his troops for the conflict, so as to ensure a speedy victory. His plan was to intimidate and outfront his enemy; and, therefore, he extended his vanguard to an unusual length. In the centre he placed his archers, like a strong fortified bulwark, under Norfolk and his son.¹⁰⁸ He supported this by a select body,

whose deaths were popularly ascribed to the king. Pol. Virgil refers these spectral appearances, not to his sleep, but to his conscience, which, he adds, if at no other time, will, at least at the eve of death, represent to us our misdeeds, and give us intimations of their future punishment. The king's agitation of mind may have disturbed his bodily functions; but we need not go further than these, to account for his harrowing dream.

¹⁰⁵ Croyland, p. 574. What was believed and circulated of Richard's vindictive intentions, we may see in the Harl. MSS. No. 542. "He swore, that from the town of Lancastrre to Shrowsberye, knight ne squire, he wold leave none alyve: and he wold deal theyr lands to his knyghts, from the Holyhead to St. David's land." "Where are castles and towers high, I shall make parks and plain fields. They shall all repent, that ever he rose against his king" Nicholl's Hutt. p. 208. With such exaggerations was this king's memory pursued. B. Andreas ascribes to him similar sentiments. MS. Domit. A. 18.

¹⁰⁶ Croy. p. 574. Graft. p. 852.

¹⁰⁷ Pol. Virg. p. 562. Graft. p. 845.

¹⁰⁸ Pol. Virg. p. 562. Graft. pp. 845, 846. Hall, p. 414. The "instar munitissimi valli" of Polydore: and the like, "a strong fortified trench or bulwark" of Graf-

in a dense square, commanded by himself, with his diadem on his head, with wings of cavalry on each side of his battle.¹⁰⁹

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Richmond had pitched his army very near his enemy's camp, and rested tranquilly that night. In the earliest part of the morning, his men having armed themselves at his command, he sent to lord Stanley, who had posted himself between both armies, to come, and draw up his soldiers in the most effective array. The lord desired him to follow his own judgment in their disposition, as he could not be with him till the most convenient time of co-operation. This refusal again alarmed Richmond, who was now approaching the great crisis of his peculiar adventure, and who foresaw his certain ruin, if Stanley either disappointed him, or should too long hesitate. But he had two able advisers with him, in lord Oxford and sir John Savage. With their aid, he formed his force into three divisions; making his front as extended as he could safely spread it; and, therefore, from the small number of his own forces, slender and weak. The centre, consisting of his archers, he committed to Oxford; the right wing to sir Gilbert Talbot; the left to sir John Savage, who had so recently abandoned Richard to join him.¹¹⁰ His own army was but 5000 men; but lord Stanley on one

ton, into which Richard is stated to have formed what may be called his artillery, are what the following passage, in the Harl. MSS. No. 542., alludes to: "Richard had seven score sargents, that were chained and locked in a row; and as many bombardars, and thousands of morispikes, harquebushes," &c. MSS. Ibid. Nicholl's Hutt. p. 215

¹⁰⁹ Graft. p. 846. Hall, p. 414. "He himself the second bringing on, which was a perfect square," says Drayton, who lived near the place of battle, and describes it with care.

¹¹⁰ Graft. p. 846. Pol. Virg. p. 563. Sir John Savage was one of the mourners at the funeral of Edward IV., as were sir John Cheney, and sir Walter Hungerford, who were now with Richmond. Harl. MSS. No. 6111. Richard had trusted Savage so fully, as to make him one of the commissioners to take the oath of allegiance from the people of Kent. He had made him knight of his body, and rewarded him with grants. Harl. MSS. No. 433. pp. 28. 102. 131. 141. He had put a similar confidence in Bouchier. Ibid. p. 142. He had also rewarded Hungerford, and made him an esquire of his body and keeper of parks in Wells. Harl. MSS. pp. 16. 27.

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side of him had as many more; and sir William, on the other, commanded 3000.¹¹¹ It was obvious that the movements of the two Stanleys would decide the fate of the conflict. Richard's army doubled all these.¹¹² But Northumberland, who governed almost a third of his force, was prepared to display a neutralizing spirit, that, in the shock of battle, would, from its disheartening effects, be worse than hostility.¹¹³

Richard, calling his chieftains together, addressed them in a short and energetic speech. He expressed his regret for the one criminal action by which he had sullied his name, and destroyed his comfort. He painted to them the inexperience of Richmond, and the weakness of his army. "Wherefore, advance your standards; let each man give but one sure stroke, and the battle is our own. As for myself, I assure you, that I will this day either triumph by victory, or suffer death for immortal fame."¹¹⁴ His address was received with apparent applause; but his different leaders had settled in their minds the various parts they should act. Some were steady, resolute, and animated; others determined to stand still and look on; and some to side only with the conquerors.¹¹⁵ With an army thus broken in opinion, and unattached in feeling, what skill or valor could avail?

Richmond rode from rank to rank thro his army, giving comfortable words to all; and then ascending a small hill near, "armed in all pieces but his helmet,"

¹¹¹ Graft. p. 846. Hall, p. 414. Pol. Virg. p. 563.

¹¹² Ibid. The Harl. MSS. No. 542., which, though it seems a versified account, cut down into a prose narrative, yet preserves some valuable particulars, says, "kyng Richard in a marris dyd stand nombred to XX thousand and three under his banner." MSS. *ibid.* Nicholl Hutton's Bosworth Field, p. 216.

¹¹³ Graft. p. 851.

¹¹⁴ Though it is not likely that we have the words of the two speeches of Richard and Henry, in Grafton and Hall, yet they have most probably given us the topics.

¹¹⁵ Graft. p. 847.

he prepared to address the whole line. He was not tall, but his countenance was animated; his yellow hair, like burnished gold, flowed gracefully about his quick, grey, and shining eyes¹¹⁶; and his loud voice, echoing round them in a bold tone and with easy eloquence, conveyed to them his declaration of his trust in heaven for victory; his indignant exposition of Richard's unnatural cruelty; his intimation, to prevent alarm, that it was not numbers which gave success; his pledge to them, that in such a quarrel, rather than fail, they should find him a dead corpse on the cold ground, than a prisoner on a carpet in a lady's chamber; and his appeal to heaven for the triumph as they came to avenge murder. He ended thus: "Get this day the victory, and be conquerors—lose this day's battle, and be slaves. In the name of the Supreme, then, and of St. George, let every man courageously advance forth his standard."¹¹⁷

The soldiers now on both sides buckled their helms and shook their bills, while the archers bent their bows and frused the feathers of their arrows. A great impassable marsh divided the two armies. Richmond's made the first movement, and rapidly placed themselves with their right on this marsh, which not only protected that part, but caused them to have the sun at their backs, while it shone full dazzling in the face of their opponents.¹¹⁸ This judicious manœuvre began the battle, with a secured flank and an encouraging advantage.

The most faithful part of Richard's army was the division which the duke of Norfolk commanded. It was essential to break this, before the victory could be hoped for: and Oxford resolved to attempt this achievement.¹¹⁹ To attack it with effect, the earl

¹¹⁶ Graft. p. 847. Hall, p. 416.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Graft. p. 849. Hall, p. 418. The marsh had been drained in Holinshed's time. p. 758.

¹¹⁹ Croyl. p. 574.

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suddenly condensed his front. Their antagonists mistrusting some fraud, paused awhile their destructive exertions. But Oxford having combined all his men into one connected band, made a furious attack on Richard's centre; while lord Stanley, throwing off all disguise, charged from the right flank.¹²⁰ Richard omitted no exertions to counteract the effect of this alarming movement. But the largest part of his army did not choose to fight at all; and Northumberland also betraying him, drew off his men to a little distance from the battle, and remained a tranquil spectator of the now desperate and unequal conflict.¹²¹

There is a tradition, that at one period of the struggle Richard turned out of it to refresh himself, by drinking at a well.¹²² It was probably at this time that his stanch friends, seeing the treachery that was entangling him, brought him a swift and light horse, and advised him to quit the field, and

¹²⁰ Graft. pp. 849, 850. Hall, p. 418. Pol. Virg. p. 563. Cannon appear to have been used; "the archers let their arrows fly; they shot off goonns." Harl. MSS. p. 542. Nicholl, p. 216.

Thus Drayton,

- - - - - "So thro' the misty smoke,
By shot and ordnance made, a thundering noise was heard."

¹²¹ Graft. p. 851.; Hall, p. 419.; Holins. p. 789., mention, that Northumberland stood still, with a great company, and intermitted not in the battle.

Drayton says,

- - - - - "He doth but vainly look
For succors from the great Northumberland this while,
That from the battle scarce three quarters of a mile
Stood with his power of horse; nor once was seen to stir."

The inactivity of other parts of his army is mentioned by Grafton. "The greatest number which, compelled by fear of the king, and not of their mere voluntary motion, came to the field, gave never a stroke." p. 850.

¹²² Dr. S. Parr, whose classical erudition, few, if any, of his contemporaries equalled, interested himself with exploring this spring. In his letter on it, dated the 13th of September 1813, he says, "Six or seven years ago, 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 in danger of being destroyed by the cattle. I therefore bestirred myself to have it preserved." He composed the following inscription for it. "Aquâ, ex hoc puteo haustâ, sitim sedavit Ricardus tertius rex Angliæ cum Henrico comite de Richmondia acerrime atque infensissime prælians, et vitâ pariter ac sceptro ante noctem curiturus, 2 kal. Sept. A.D. 1485." Nich. Hutt. Bosw. add. x. xi.

save himself by flight.¹²³ He resolutely refused. He replaced his beloved crown conspicuously on his head, bent his mind to the mortal result, and exclaimed, with a heroism of soul that few men can command, "Not one foot will I fly: I will this day either end all my battles, or here finish my life. I will die king of England."¹²⁴

He closed his helmet, and rushed again among the yet contending forces; but his impetuosity was soon tempted into a fatal precipitation. He had sustained the conflict with a bravery rarely exemplified under such circumstances, and kept victory at bay for two hours, when he saw the earl of Richmond before him not far off, with a small number of men at arms. Too eager to terminate the contest by a personal encounter, he spurred his horse and rode out of the side of his battalion into the lines of his adversary, to reach his then near competitor. He fixed his spear firmly in its rest; and tho not strong in body, yet so furious and so vigorous was his assault, that he drove his lance thro sir William Brandon's arm-pit, who was upholding and waving the earl's standard, and who fell dead at his feet. Richmond approached to meet him; but sir John Cheyney advancing first, the king, with a second shock unhorsed the gallant knight at the first charge, tho a man of large size and powerful strength.¹²⁵ With his sword he then labored to cut a passage towards his rival, thro the

¹²³ Graft. p. 851. Pol. Virg. p. 564. This advice has been ascribed to Catesby.

¹²⁴ Ibid. Harl. MSS. No. 542. Nic. Hutt. p. 217. An interesting incident is mentioned of sir John Byron and sir Gervase Clifton, friends and neighbors in Nottinghamshire. Byron joined Henry; Clifton fought with Richard. They had agreed, that whichever party triumphed, the supporter of that should intercede with the victor for his friend's estate, for the benefit of his family. In the midst of the battle, Byron saw Clifton fall, in the opposite ranks. He ran to him, sustained him on his shield, and entreated him to surrender. Clifton faintly exclaimed, "All is over; remember your promise: use all your interest that my lands be not taken from my children;" and expired. Byron performed this promise, and the estate was preserved to the Clifton family. Hutton's Bos. Field, pp. 117. 119. There are grants to Clifton, in the Harl. MSS. No. 433., at pp. 81. 96.

¹²⁵ Pol. Virg. p. 563. Graft. pp. 849, 850. Hall, pp. 418, 419. Drayton.

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friends that crowded between; and he had again more than balanced the yet doubtful struggle, when sir William Stanley, seeing the dangerous crisis, and Richard's impending victory, and also the advantage which the king's daring courage had given him, suddenly surrounded Richard, with his hitherto neutral force of 3,000 men.¹²⁶ This measure precluded all hope of either life or victory to the king. He cried out repeatedly, that he was betrayed; and yet, tho his fate was inevitable, he never shrunk from daring it; but exclaiming, as his sword flashed on the armor of his opponents, "Treason! treason! treason!"¹²⁷ as if to show that by treachery alone he was conquered; he continued to hew down those he reached, till, exhausted by wounds and fatigue, he fell manfully fighting in the middle of surrounding hosts, who admired, while they suffered by his valor; fearless of all consequences, except disgrace as a soldier, and therefore anxious at that time only not to survive defeat. Like his father at Wakefield, he would not even retreat to fight a more advantageous battle. If Northumberland had charged with the forces he kept aloof, when sir William Stanley surrounded the king, he would have preserved his life, and prevented his defeat. We can hardly conceive how a nobleman who had acted with him in destroying Rivers, and who, after Richard's other actions, had taken or kept so many honors and bounties from him, could stand, with cool faithlessness, and see his sovereign exert the most heroic valor against such ungenerous odds, and be almost, if not quite, in the hearing of his

¹²⁶ Pol. Virgil says, that Henry's soldiers "victoriam jam pene desperabant, (p. 563.) when sir William made the charge that rescued Henry, and destroyed Richard. So Grafton intimates, "being almost in despair of victory." p. 850. So Holinsh. p. 759. Henry's own remark afterwards, on this important service of sir William's, was, that "tho he came time enough to save his life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it." Lord Bacon's Hen. VII. p. 611.

¹²⁷ We derive this striking circumstance from Rous, a contemporary. p. 218.

death-cries of treason—and yet not move one step, or send one man to his assistance. To let the king he had sworn to defend be thus beaten down and slain in his immediate presence, treacherously withholding relief,—was one of the most stubborn efforts of human insensibility that history has recorded.

No talents could save Richard, amid associates like these. With such a nobility, he was environed in a fatal labyrinth from which death only could release him.¹²⁸ His crown had been hewed from his head, and was found full of dents in the field, by Bray, who delivered it to lord Stanley.¹²⁹ The battle had ceased when Richard expired. Richmond, apprized of the decisive victory, kneeled down and breathed his earnest thanks to heaven for the triumph. Then ascending a hill, he publicly thanked all his soldiers for their bravery; and ordered the wounded to be taken care of, and the dead to be buried. The field rang with universal acclamations; and sir William Stanley, seeing the general feeling, placed the crown on Henry's head; and saluted him king, on the field of battle.¹³⁰ Henry then moved his army into Leicester that night; and resting two days to refresh his friends, and receive their congratulations, prepared for his march to the metropolis. The dead body of Richard was selected from the rest; and with an inhumanity, that disgraced the conquerors, but which corresponded

¹²⁸ This battle is usually called, The Battle of Bosworth Field; but the scene of action is called the Field of Redmore, in the York Register, which mentions the report of its issue, brought to the corporation "by John Spon, sent unto the field of Redmore, to bring tidings from the same to the city." Drake's Ebor. p. 121. So I observe Drayton thus styles it:

"O Redmore! then, it seemed, thy name was not in vain,
When, with a thousand's blood, the earth was colored red."

Redmore means, literally, red marsh, and was, perhaps, the name of the marsh on which Richmond lodged his right flank. But Henry VII. in his proclamation, three days after the battle, addressed to the same corporation, says, "Richard was slain at a place called *Sandeford*, within the shire of Leicester." Drake's Ebor. p. 122.

¹²⁹ Harl MSS. No. 542. Nicholl, p. 217.

¹³⁰ See Gent. Mag. 1789, vol. lix. p. 424.

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with the unpitying feelings of the age, was stripped and thrown naked, and besmeared with blood and dirt, on the back of a horse, in the most contumelious manner; and after being exposed a while to the vulgar gaze, was buried without honor, in the Gray Friars' church, Leicester.¹³¹ About 1000 of his followers fell; and among these were the duke of Norfolk¹³², lord Ferrers, and sir Robert Brackenbury.¹³³ Their deaths proved their steady fidelity; sir William Catesby escaped, only to be soon taken, and to be beheaded shortly afterwards.¹³⁴

Thus fell Richard, the victim of treachery unparalleled¹³⁵; for there seems to have been no national movement in favor of Richmond. It was a perf-

¹³¹ Graft. pp. 851, 852. Pol. Virg. p. 594. Hall, p. 419. He was so carried, that his head was crushed against a stone on the bridge. Speed, p. 737.

¹³² Of this nobleman, our old chronicler says truly, "He regarded more his oath, his honor, and his promise made to king Richard, like a gentleman; and, as a faithful subject to his prince, he absented not himself from his master: but, as he faithfully lived under him, so he manfully died with him." Holling, p. 759.

¹³³ It is said of Brackenbury, that, meeting Hungerford in the battle, who had quitted him on the march, he called him a deserting traitor. The latter replied, that he would not answer him by words; and aimed a blow at his head, that would have felled him, if Brackenbury had not caught it on his shield, which shivered with the force of the blow. Hungerford, with chivalric spirit, delivered his own target to his esquire, exclaiming, that he would take no advantage; they should fight on equal terms. They renewed the conflict, till Brackenbury's helmet was made useless, and he was sorely wounded. Bourchier, who had left him with Hungerford, cried out, "Spare his life, brave Hungerford! he has been our friend, and may be so again." But it was too late: he died upon the spot. Hutt. Bosw. Field, pp. 115—117.

¹³⁴ On the 25th of August, three days after the battle, and on the day that he was beheaded, Catesby made his will. Of Henry, he says, "He is called a full gracious prince; and *I never offended him*, by my good and free will; for God I take to my judge, *I have ever loved him*." He adds, looking forward to his approaching execution, "Pray you in every place, see clearness in my soul; and pray fast, and I shall for you; and Jesu have mercy on my soule, Amen. My lords Stanley, Strange, and all that blood! help! and pray for my soule, for ye have not for my body, as I trusted in you. Lett my lord Lovel come to grace; then that ye show him that he pray for me. And uncle John! remember my soule, as ye have done my body, and better." Dugd. Warw. p. 789. There are some expressions in this extract, of attachment to Henry, which make it doubtful if even Catesby was, at last, faithful to Richard.

¹³⁵ The report, given the next day, to the corporation of York, is thus entered in their register. "On 23d August, it was showed by divers persons, especially by John Spon, sent unto the field of Redmore for tidings, that king Richard, thro the *great treason* of the duke of Norfolk, and many others, *that turned against him*, was, with many other lords, nobility of the north parts, piteously slain and murdered, to the great heaviness of this city." Drake's Ebor. p. 121. The name of Norfolk has got inserted instead of Northumberland and the Stanleys.

dious combination of five noblemen, which destroyed Richard. Exclusively of the force of the two Stanleys, Henry came to the battle with only 5000; of these he had brought 2000 with him, and 2000 were the earl of Shrewsbury's under Talbot; so that, excepting these, all the rest who had joined him from his landing at Milford, to Bosworth field, including the mighty Rice ap Thomas, amounted but to 1000 men. Hence, it was four English noblemen; the two Stanleys, Shrewsbury, and Northumberland; and the conscientious sir Rice, who dethroned Richard, by betraying and deserting him. The nation had no share in the conflict, notwithstanding all that is said of the king's unpopularity. It was an ambush of a few perfidious and disaffected noblemen, against the crown, which succeeded by their hypocrisy; and Richard perished by one of those factions in his aristocracy, from which, by taking the crown, it seemed likely that he had rescued himself. He had suppressed violently what he thought dangerous, and he was overwhelmed by the explosion of a new mine, which he had not suspected to be forming beneath him, because it was prepared and fired by those whom gratitude, honor, and conscience ought to have made faithful and attached. Whatever had been his conduct towards his nephew, he had done nothing to them, to deserve that they should have destroyed him. But it was the religious ordination of the moral Governor of human life, that a crown which had been usurped by crime and treachery should be torn from the usurper by criminality and perfidy.

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BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

Review of the Character, Laws, Causes of Unpopularity, Kindnesses, Tastes, Amusements, and Foreign Trade of RICHARD III.

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THE confession of our old chroniclers, who so little favored Richard, that if he had continued to be lord protector only, and to have suffered his nephew to have lived and reigned, "the realm would have prospered; and he would have been as much praised and beloved, as he is now abhorred and despised;"¹ and the declaration of lord Bacon, who has adopted every prejudice against him, that he was yet a king "jealous for the honor of the English nation,"² are expressive panegyrics, which imply that he must have had some merits, inconsistent with that general abuse, by which our elder historians, and their modern copyists, have uniformly defamed him. Even the philosopher of Verulam, instead of calmly stating to us his laudable qualities and actions, has contented himself with declaring, that "his cruelties and parricides, in the opinion of all men, weighed down his virtues;"³ thus admitting the existence of what he will not particularize; and he is even so unkind to his memory, as to give the king no credit for the reality of what he felt that he possessed; for he

¹ Grafton, p. 853.

² Ibid.

³ Bacon's Hist. Henry VII. p. 2.

adds, that wise men thought these virtues not to be "ingenerate," but "forced and affected."⁴ So that whatever worth Richard possessed or displayed, he is the only king of England, of whom we are to believe that nothing which seemed good in him could be genuine; but that he must have been altogether and unceasingly that "malicious, envious, and deep dissembling" demon, which More and Polydore Virgil⁵ have, rather passionately, depicted. Even the little habit of "biting continually his under lip when in deep thought,"⁶ is considered by the latter, to be the mark of a ferocious nature, a human wild beast; as if some of the most harmless and best-principled of men have not had the same habit, or customs as terrific, of knitting, unconsciously, the brow into stern frowns; or of cutting or biting their nails, till the blood has issued, while absorbed in profound and interesting contemplation. Bacon himself lived to know and prove, that a great and noble mind may be led to commit some obnoxious deeds, without lessening the merit and utility of many virtues, and of a beneficial life. And Richard may justly complain, if his voice could be heard from his bespattered tomb, that his good actions were written in water; but that his bad ones have been engraved on monumental brass. The first have been so studiously covered with oblivion, that we can only imperfectly trace them now, by catching some gleams of a light that has been repressed; or by inferences and conjectures, from the few materials which time has spared. The latter have been blazoned with a vituperation, which does more honor to the feeling than to the judgment of our historical censors.

It is the moral feelings of mankind which he outraged by one flagitious catastrophe, that have

⁴ Bacon's Hist. Henry VII. p. 2.

⁵ More, p. 154. Pol. Virg. p. 565.

⁶ Pol. Virg. p. 565.

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consigned Richard to their indiscriminating detestation. He loved, he courted, the applause of his people. He exerted himself to deserve it; and his intelligence, penetration, activity, temperance, patronage of the rising arts, encouragement of commerce, moral demeanor, attention to religion, and desire to reform the abuses of law and power, that were afflicting the country, were calculated to have produced great celebrity to himself, and lasting advantages to the nation. But, by basing his throne on principles which shook every man's safety and comfort, no merit and no benefit could compensate for the moral evil which would have followed throout society, if he had enjoyed a peaceful and triumphant reign. He had linked his name and reign with every parent's dread of the chances of evil, from elder kinsmen to fatherless children, which his successful example had created. We expect selfishness, competition, and danger from strangers; but the heart takes refuge in the bosom of natural kinship, as a consecrated home of unquestionable honor and security, if not of affection. We rely on nature as our pledge, that here we shall not be deceived nor disappointed, whatever fraud or violence may be agitating society beyond the circle of our affinity. But till mankind were taught, by Richard's downfall, that such unnatural crimes ended in a discomfiture so signal and unexpected as to seem to be judicial, selfishness was losing its curb, and the ties of nature their most commanding security. When he fell a just victim to the safety of the orphan, the ward, the kinsman, and the minor, human confidence regained its assurance, and society its sweetest feeling, and most important comfort; but yet his fate, however useful, has been peculiar.

Several kings have reigned, even in England, under circumstances that also called for the moral

indignation of the country, who were neither deserted nor deposed like Richard III. Henry I. took the throne against the right of an elder brother, whom he blinded and imprisoned till he died, if he did not produce his death.⁷ John seized his nephew's throne, and caused him to be murdered.⁸ Edward III. came to his crown on the deposition of his father, who was soon after put to death.⁹ Richard II. and Henry IV. were the sons of two brothers, yet Henry deprived his cousin of his sceptre; and permitted, if he did not authorize his assassination.¹⁰ All these kings reigned, till a natural death without violence introduced new accessions.

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Why, then, we may ask, was Richard so peculiarly obnoxious? Did the difference arise, from his age being an era of distinguished virtue? If we look among the great and well-born at that time, we see rapacity, violence, perjury, rebellion, treachery, and unbridled revenge and licentiousness, always before us. Besides his public conduct, as king, which his enemies have extolled, his liberality to his friends was bounded only by his means of giving failing, at last, from the abundance of his favors. This fact does not rest merely on the general phrases in the chronicler¹¹; but in the register of his grants, that still remain, we see numerous pardons; annuities to all classes, and of all sums from 2000*l.* down to twenty shillings, to earls and lords, to yeomen, priests, and anchoresses¹²; perpetual gifts of manors,

Ingratitude to Richard.

⁷ See Vol. I. of this History.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 366.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 577.

¹⁰ Vol. II. p. 165.

¹¹ More, after calling him "malicious and envious," adds, that he was "free of dispense, and, above his power, liberal." p. 154. I am not aware that the malicious and envious are unusually liberal, or freely spending their wealth. The latter qualities are inconsistent with the preceding epithets.

¹² See the valuable Harl. MS. No. 433., which contains extracts, or copies, of a great quantity of these grants of annuities. I began to select them, but I found them too numerous to be inserted here. Among these are anchoresses; one in Pomfret, p. 28.; and one at Westminster, p. 41. Their annuities were, forty shillings, and six marcs. To lord Surrey, I observe two annuities, of 1000*l.* and 1100*l.*

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lands, honors, offices, and pecuniary presents; exemptions from taxes and fines; and several remissions from forfeitures, and revocations of outlawries.¹³ The amount of these donations, in a two year's reign, appears to have no parallel; and yet conspiracies multiplied against him during his life, and execration ever since. Those who had partaken of his generosities; the Stanleys¹⁴, Northumberland¹⁵, Kidwelly, the Savages, both father and son¹⁶; the Talbots, Hungerford, Bouchier, and many others, not only abandoned, but took the field against him; and became the persons who, by their combination only, deprived him both of dominion and life. Their hostility shews that he had not the heart of conciliating personal attachment among his nobility: he was feared, not loved. Most of those who overwhelmed him, were in offices of his household, nearly attached to his person; and yet, like Darius, he was "deserted at his utmost need, by those his former bounty fed;" he did not fall, but was thrown by them, from his high estate. It is obvious that he was unpopular with the great, who, tho their prototype, the renowned earl of Warwick, was no more, could still, like him, make and unmake kings in England.

¹³ See the same MS. It contains from 2000 to nearly 2500 official documents (for all of them are not noticed in the printed catalogue), most of which are the king's beneficial grants.

¹⁴ Lord Stanley was made constable of England. Harl. MS. No. 433. p. 28. An annuity of 100*l.* was granted to him, p. 31.; many castles, lordships, and manors, p. 70.; and farms, p. 82. Castle and lordship of Kimbolton, p. 120. Sir William Stanley was knight of the body, and chamberlain of the county of Chester. *Ibid.* p. 115. Several annuities were given to him, pp. 32—40.; the constablership of Carnarvon, p. 45.; several castles, towns, and lordships, p. 88.; the lordship of Thornbury, p. 122.

¹⁵ To Northumberland, besides the Great Powney estate, Richard also granted the lordship of Holderness; Harl. MS. No. 433. p. 31.; and many manors, lordships, lands and offices, in various counties, *ibid.* p. 43.; and to the Percys, his kinsmen, several lordships and annuities. *Ibid.* pp. 43. 58.

¹⁶ Grants occur, in the MS. quoted above, to Savage the younger, as well as to his father; as, an annuity of 40 marcs, p. 31.; the ward and marriage of an heir, p. 102., &c. The desertion of sir John Savage, the day before the battle, must have been very detrimental to Richard, as Richmond was advised to give him the command of one of his wings, in the battle.

It is probable, that our great aversion to him has arisen from our throwing back all the elder crimes into barbarous times, where, believing all to be dark and savage, we look for no moral sympathies, and by whose bad examples we are not injured. But Richard belonged to an age that was emerging into a light and civilized life. Moral criticism was gaining a welcomed existence, and began to look discriminatingly around. Men have been since, no longer estimated for wealth or title, but according to conduct and principle; and hence, Richard, notwithstanding his success and greatness, has been considered but as the murderer of his orphaned nephews; and this fact has cast into oblivion all the rest of his conduct, however laudable.

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But we may now safely censure the criminal, without injustice to the man or to the king. Let us then review, dispassionately, the whole of his mixed character. Our Shakspeare has fixed a gloomy celebrity, as durable as his own genius, upon him. It will be, therefore, no unworthy task, if we endeavor to contemplate him, in the fair proportions of authentic history.

That Richard, during his life, endeavored to make the "amende honorable" to society, by repenting of his great crime, and by showing the world that he did so, instead of proudly and stubbornly denying or vindicating it, in defiance of human censure, has been already intimated¹⁷; and so notorious was his indication of these feelings, that he is represented as having told his army on the morning of his disastrous battle, "Altho in the adoption or obtaining of the garland, I was seduced and provoked by sinister counsel to commit a detestable act; yet, I trust I have, by strait penance and salt tears, purged the offence. This abominable crime, I re-

Richard's
repent-
ance.

¹⁷ See before, p. 272.

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quire you, of friendship, as clearly to forget, as I daily do remember to lament the same." ¹⁸

But tho this obvious remorse may have pleased and satisfied many, it could not, by the public at large, be deemed true or sufficient, while he continued to profit by his crime. He never threw down the crown and sceptre and royal robes, as evidence of his interior compunction, or as an atonement to society for his bad example. He resolved to live king and to die king; and he kept his diadem as continually upon his head, as if it had been his palladium and paradise; instead of viewing it as the radiant tempter, which had seduced and degraded him. He could not, therefore, have been compassionated as the humbled, heart-broken, and sorrowing penitent, regretting that, by one foul action, he had sullied a heart that could feel, and a soul that aspired to better wishes and deeds. His continual ostentatious display of his crown and full regal state, to his last hour, prove, that if he experienced remorse for having murdered his nephew, he never repented that he had seized his crown; nor could any one suppose that he would have recalled Edward V. into life, if he had possessed the power, upon the terms of abandoning his heart-loved dignity; and yet it became every day more evident, that he could not keep it without new bloodshed and severities, from the hostility that rose against him. He chose to commit these additional, tho not illegal violences, and to reign; and, therefore, his penitential agitations were but indications of a spirit formed for worthier things, yet incapable of sacrificing ambition to virtue, and self-doting pride to honor or duty—to man or to God. He preferred, and even in the very crisis of the mortal agony, when the alternative

¹⁸ Grafton, p. 846.

of flight and life was offered him, and even true friendship had lost its hope of altering this result, he declared that he preferred death to dethronement; and he fought and perished, as he had so much lived, with the guilty crown upon his brow.

That Buckingham and Catesby, at different intervals, for their own purposes, goaded his high self-estimating egotism, to usurp the crown, was both known and believed. Some may have discerned, that if he had not attained it, he might have perished from the violence of others; and hence, have allowed, that safety, vanity and persuasion, led him to his crime, and that to his fate. But mankind are too experienced, and too jealous of their social welfare, to allow it to be to any one an excuse for crime, to say, that he was tempted to commit it; we all feel, that a man must tempt himself, before he can be successfully tempted by others; where the previous self-seduction has not occurred, the offered inducement to wrong is resisted as soon as proposed. The honorable bosom spurns dishonor. The hesitating dally with it till it masters them. It is by coinciding with the secret wish and beginning hope, that it prevails, not so much as a seducing tempter, but as a welcomed auxiliary. Buckingham and Catesby would have urged Richard in vain, if the previous inclination of his egotism had not given persuasion to their voice, and secured a listening ear to their counsel.

There is no good evidence that Richard was, from the beginning, planning for the crown; but it is not improbable, that he was secretly envying its possessor, and wishing that he had been as fortunately born. The wish may at last have been father to the act.

One public method which Richard took to express his penitence, and appease his own remorse,

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tho it might please the church and its less enlightened supporters, and suited his own prepossessions, and the religious fashion of the day, was certain of dissatisfying many. He directed 1000 masses to be said for his brother¹⁹; and he now went to the expense of founding 100 singing priests at York, to chant for mercy upon himself.²⁰ So at Northampton, the place where he had arrested Rivers, his first act of wrong, he paid a priest to sing for him.²¹ At Sheriff's Hutton, where he had imprisoned Rivers, we find another chantry priest of the Lady chapel there, allowed ten pounds a year for his salary.²² Others were paid for singing elsewhere.²³ The king's anxiety for his future state, or for the better opinion of his contemporaries, urged him also to endow a dean and several canons at Berking²⁴; and to rebuild a house and chapel, for an anchoress at Pomfret²⁵, the town where the queen's brother and son were beheaded. A pilgrimage to St. James, of Galicia in Spain, being at this time in great vogue²⁶, for its anodyne effects, the king licensed sir Bryan Stapleton

¹⁹ He signed a warrant for paying the friars of Richmond 12 marcs, and 6s. 8d. for these masses at York, May 27. 1484. Harl. MSS. No. 433. p. 176.

²⁰ Rous mentions this, p. 216.; and the grants about it are in the Harl. MS. pp. 72. 80. 90., &c. He had an early taste for this species of expiation; for when he petitioned his brother, as king, in full parliament, on the partition, with Clarence, of his wife's property, and for leave to grant in mortmain, he added, "And I, your said suppliant, propose to edify, found, endowe, and make a college, of a dean, and twelve priests, to sing and pray for the prosperous estate of you, sovereign lord, the queen, *your issue*, and my lady and mother: the welfare of me, Anne my wife, and my issue, while we live in this present world, and for the souls of us when we be departed out of this world; the souls of my lord my father, my brethren and sisters, and of all Christian souls!" Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 172.

²¹ "Warrant to pay 10 marcs, yearly, to sir John Perty, to sing for the king, in a chapel before the holy rood at Northampton," dated March 28. 1484. Harl. MS. No. 433. p. 168.

²² The order to pay him 100 shillings, for half a year, is dated Windsor, Jan. 15. 1485. MS. *ibid.* p. 201.

²³ MS. *ibid.* p. 217.; p. 166. It seems to have been a great fashion to found chantries; for several, established by other persons, are mentioned in this MS.; as one by the chief justice of the king's bench, p. 30.; by the bishop, the tutor of Edward V. p. 79.; and by other persons, pp. 34. 49. 95. 100. 208., &c.

²⁴ Harl. MS. pp. 102. 104.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 193.

²⁶ See several commissions for ships, with these pilgrims, in the Harl. MS. pp. 171, 172. 175., &c.

and a chaplain to go over, "and there to fulfil certain his vows and pilgrimages."²⁷

But altho, two centuries before him, acts like these might have been deemed sufficient expiation for sins, and have even procured for him the character of a pious prince, they then must have revolted as many as they satisfied. The new spirit that was pervading every part of England in religion, already thought that there was too much singing, and too little edification, in the chapels and cathedrals; and deemed pilgrimages worse than useless.²⁸ Many inheritors of the new wisdom of Wickliffe, were teaching, that while it was the duty and the interest of guilt to be penitent; and while the regretting offender would find it sweet and balmy, to be so; yet that rites, sighs, tears, phrases, gifts, masses, alms, chanting, pilgrimages, and all the mechanical drama of bodily sorrow, were not to be substituted for that self-condemning humiliation for the crime, and that surrender of the splendid advantages for which it had been committed, which Richard's spirit could never brook. It was becoming obvious, that if a theatrical compromise of this sort could be effectual, crime would be as frequent as the inclination to enjoy its fruits; and earth would become uninhabitable. Hence Richard was, by many, but the more suspected of hypocrisy for his penitential actions. This was hard measure; but it was natural. He could not be wiser than the legal and established directors of the conscience of his age. They taught the delusive theory of the benefit of ceremonial penance, and built their affluence upon its belief; and he, like all his contemporaries, who did not adopt the new opi-

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²⁷ Harl. MS. No. 433. p. 143. Dated Jan. 23. 1484. The letter of recommendation for Thomas Rouloat, "who hath vowed to doo diverse pilgrimages within this realm," Jan. 29. 1484, looks like a deputy for the king. Ibid. p. 146.

²⁸ See before, Book III. Chap. VI. VII.

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nions of the Lollards, cherished the doctrine of purchaseable expiation and ritual penitence; and would have deemed it heresy, worse than his own misdeeds, to have questioned their efficacy. Yet, who could accredit his sincerity, while he wore his blood-earned crown!

Another of the means, by which Richard endeavored to manifest his repentance, to atone for his crime, and to regain the good opinion of society, was by becoming an active instrument to suppress vice in his kingdom, in all classes, and to urge them to rectitude and morality. On the 10th of March 1484, he addressed a circular letter to all his bishops.²⁹ In this he mentions, "Our principal intent and fervent desire is, to see virtue and cleanness of living to be advanced, increased and multiplied; and vices, and all other things repugnant to virtue, provoking the displeasure of God, to be repressed and annulled; and this *perfectly followed*, and put in execution, *by persons of high estate*, pre-eminence and dignity, induces persons of lower degree, to take thereof example, and to insure the same."³⁰— He adds, "and as it is notarily known, that in every jurisdiction, as well in their pastoral care, as other, *there be many* as well of the *spiritual* party, as of the temporal, delyring from the true way of virtue and good living, to the pernicious example of others, and lothsomeness of every well-disposed people; — WE, therefore, desire and require you, that according to the charge of your profession, ye see, within the authority of your jurisdiction, all such persons as set apart virtue, and promote the damnable execution of sin and vices, to be reformed, repressed and punished; not sparing

²⁹ Harl. MS. No. 433. p. 281.

³⁰ He also subjoins, I think, with an allusion to his private deprecating supplications, "but also thereby, the great and infinite goodness of God is made placable, and graciously inclined to the *exaudition of our petitions and prayers.*" Ibid.

for any love or favor, whether the offender be temporal or spiritual." ³¹

With this avowed desire of impartial reformation, when he visited Kent, he published a patriotic proclamation, in which he stated, "The king's highness is fully determined to see administration of justice to be had throughout his realm, and to reform and punish all extortion and oppressions in the same. Therefore he wills, at his coming into Kent, that every person dwelling therein, that findeth himself grieved, oppressed, or unlawfully wronged, make a bill of his complaint, and put it to his highness, and he shall be heard; and without delay have such convenient remedy as shall accord with the laws." He adds, "for his grace is utterly determined, that all his true subjects shall live in rest and quiet, and peaceably enjoy their lands and goods according to the laws. He therefore chargeth, that no man, of whatever condition, trouble, hurt, or spoil any of his said subjects, or their bodies or goods, on pain of death; that none make or contrive quarrels; nor take any victuals without paying for them, nor vex any farmer," &c. ³²

On these principles he also acted, when, on receiving information that a constable had been grievously maimed at Gloucester, by three riotous gentlemen, he dispatched a mandate from London, on the 6th of December 1484, directing the imprisonment of the assailants; and prohibiting retainers, liveries, and their insignia, which united men into bands, following great leaders. ³³ He even extended his reforms to the offices of his ministers; and would not allow their

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³¹ Harl. MS. No. 433. p. 281.

³² *Ib.* This and the preceding, have been printed in the notes to Kennet's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 576. So in his proclamation for the apprehension of several who had taken arms against him, he declared his intent to administer strict justice to all his subjects: and forbidding several evil practices. Harl. MS. *ibid.* p. 128.

³³ *Ib.* p. 127.

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minor situations to be purchased, to the prejudice of the fair system of rising by seniority.³⁴

These were all laudable acts, beneficial to his subjects, and fairly announcing his own desire to contribute to the happiness and to increase the morality of his people; but they were not likely, as he was circumstanced, to add to his popularity. Reformation of political grievances, whether real or imaginary, is always a source of reputation, because it affects the distant government, with which few are in immediate contact; while it leaves the individual critic and supporter untouched. But reformation of the private conduct and manners is never popular, unless it originates from the most unquestionable and commanding virtue. It interferes too much with our daily habits, tempers, interests, pursuits, amusements, and inclinations, to be cordially welcomed; and from a man of one great and known crime, would be always suspected to be hypocrisy and art. The rudest mind could say, what all would feel, "Murderer of your nephews! do you preach to us!" And when the powerful found him to be repressing their injustice and oppressions, would they not think or ask, What wrongs they had done or could do, which he had not exceeded! They could but seize lands or goods, or one heiress, maid, or widow; but he had usurped a throne from its lawful possessor; and even while he lectured and coerced them, was only able to do so, by keeping the mighty spoil which he had seized. Hypocrisy would be the general charge upon him for all his efforts, however sincere, to produce those moral amendments in society, by which he endeavored to atone for his own errors. He had brought himself

³⁴ Thus, he ordered a person to be discharged "from his place in the office of the privy seal, to which he had been admitted by giving of great gifts, and other sinister and ungodly ways, to the great discouraging of the under-clerks, which have long continued therein, to see a stranger, never brought up in the said office, put them by from their promotion." Harl. MS. *ibid.* p. 123.

into the dilemma, that all his wrong actions would be deemed tyrannical, and his good ones hypocritical; and this evil has pursued his memory, as it abridged his life.

The strong outcry of tyranny, which has been raised against Richard, and under reigns, when the liberties of the subject were little respected, seems to have arisen not so much from actual cruelties committed, which, in common language convert a king into a tyrant, but rather from those severe and repeated exertions of legal power, by which he endeavored to crush and extinguish discontent.³⁵ Not exceeding some former precedents of kingly authority, he yet used its antient privileges, with a precipitation³⁶, a frequency, a publicity, an unqualified display, and a rigorous impartiality, which, tho' not contrary to the prior and permitted practice of the crown, was justly becoming offensive to the improving reason, the more observing sense of justice, the rising prosperity, and the wonted privileges of the nation. Arbitrary government, even for good purposes, was neither expedient nor palatable. No one desired to abase the local despotisms of the aristocracy, to set up that of the monarchy instead. Hence, when Richard sent his mandates to seize ships, mariners, soldiers, artificers, artists, victuals, materials, conveyances and goods, whenever he wanted them for his purposes, public or private³⁷;—when he, even in his earnestness to have

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a tyrant.

³⁵ Thus, when after the rebellion in the west, he indicted four persons of distinction, as principals in treason, and above five hundred others, as accessories, of whom only two were taken and suffered, and the rest fled, he is said, by the chronicler, to have "tyrannically persecuted them." Holling. p. 746. It was unwise severity, but not tyranny.

³⁶ Thus, he beheaded Buckingham, without arraignment or judgment. Holling. p. 744.; but Edward IV. and queen Margaret had acted thus in the case of many revolting nobles.

³⁷ As "Warrant to aid and assist the king's clerk and counsellor, A. L. in taking up all vitaille, souldours, mariners, artificers, labourers, carts, boats, and all other stuff; as horses, waynes, and all such timber and stones as he shall think necessary, for the king's use;" dated July 31. 1485. Harl. MS. No. 433. p. 179. And "Warrant to aid and assist J. P. in taking up, at the king's price, suche and as many

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proper persons in the provincial magistracies, charged the bailiffs, &c. of Tamworth to have no regard to a custom of choosing their bailiffs out of their burgesses and freeholders, but to regard the suffisaunce of the person's goods only³⁸; — when in pursuance of his habit of acting vigorously, on the first moment of any alarm, he signed a command to assist a yeoman of the crown, in attacking certain persons in sundry places of the west parts of England, “which he detected of certain things that they should do and attempt, against their natural duty and liegance³⁹ ;” when what he wanted for gunpowder, was thus forcibly taken⁴⁰, the nation was displeased at this peremptory use of the royal authority. So his quick and immediate pursuit and orders to seize all who attempted any insurrections against him; and his unhesitating confiscation and granting away their possessions, without waiting for legal sentences or parliamentary attainders, occasioned great reprobation to him.⁴¹ The number of respectable men, crowded into one proclamation, startled the reader; and by such formidable enmity being displayed, his

mariners, souldeours, &c. to do the king service in certayne of his shippes; and vitaille, and other things behoveful for the same;” dated Scarborough, June 30. 1484. Ibid. These kind of mandates abound in this volume, and for all kinds of purposes.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 190.; dated at Nottingham, Oct. 12. 1484.

³⁹ Ibid. p. 189.

⁴⁰ “Warrant to assist J. C. yeoman of the crown, to take, in the king's name, all manner of stuff necessary for making of certain great stuff of gunpowder, which John Bramburgh, a stranger-born, had covenanted with the king to make for him; and for the same to agree and make prices with the owners.” Jan. 28. 1484. Ibid. p. 145.

⁴¹ There are many commissions and warrants of this sort, in the Harl. MS.; as those to lord Stanley, to seize, to the king's use, the lands of St. Leger, p. 134.; others, to seize the lands and goods of sir W. Brandon, p. 143.; of bishop Morton, p. 137.; sir Roger Tocot, p. 145.; and a great many more. They were sometimes so general, as “Warrant for the delivery of all manner of sheep, horses, oxen, kine, swyne, and other cattle, to the king, appertaining by the forfeiture of his rebels and traitors, within the counties of Somerset and Dorset;” Jan. 6. 1484, p. 137.; and “Warrant for selling the hay and corn, except wheat, of the said rebels,” p. 138. What a latitude for oppression, in the execution of these mandates, must there have been!

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own government was arraigned and endangered.⁴² His policy outshot its own object, in confessing, that so many men of their character and importance, had combined against him. The number of thinking minds and feeling hearts, which began to perceive what good government ought to be, and of what evils this manner of ruling would be productive, were increasing every year. They perceived, that such despotic powers were grievances, which no temporary benefit ought to sanction; and as Richard, by always moving in the shortest path to his desired ends, was repeatedly enforcing them, the charge of tyranny has fastened upon his reign; and the clamor excited by his arbitrary conduct has prevented many future repetitions of it. If England were ever to be free and prosperous, it was certainly time that such mandates of state should be discountenanced and disused. His use of them had however the merit of making former oppressions discreditable; and shewed to all administrations, that power reigns more safely by concealing than by displaying its own extent.⁴³

Our ablest lawyers have acknowledged, that Richard's statutes were wise and useful. In the enactment, that his subjects should be no more charged with the exactions or impositions called benevolences⁴⁴, a mode

His forced
loans and
laws.

⁴² Thus, a proclamation was issued for the taking of sir John Gilforde, sir Thomas Lewknor, sir William Hawte, sir William Cheyney, Richard Gilforde, Reynold Pympe, sir Edward Poynings, sir Thomas Fenys, sir William Brandon, John Wingfelde, Anthony Kene, Nicholas Gaynesforde, and *several others*, the king's rebels and traitors; offering 300 marcs, or 10*l.* of land, for taking any of the first six, and 100 marcs for any of the rest. Harl. MS. p. 128.

⁴³ One instance, how unfairly Richard has been charged with tyranny, appears in the imputation transmitted by More, and copied by all, that he had Collingbourne executed for a satirical distich. See before, Book IV. last chap. But the truth was, that this man was arraigned for treasonable offences. His indictment states, that, about the 18th July 1484, he had offered another 8*l.* to go to Richmond and Dorset in Bretagne, and urge them to invade England before St. Luke's day, to get the revenues due at Michaelmas; and to assure them, that, if Richmond would land at Poole, he, and others, would cause the people to rise in arms for him. Also, to advise Richmond to send Cheney, to inform the French king that Richard meant only to dally with his ambassadors till the winter was over, and then to attack France; and therefore, that it was Charles's interest to aid Richmond immediately. Holling. p. 746.

⁴⁴ Stat. of Realm, vol. ii. p. 478.

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of raising money without parliament, he gratified the country. But altho, unfortunately for himself, he destroyed his own popularity, and irritated the country, by having recourse, in his future exigencies, to the very measure he had abrogated; it is probable, that, like all our sovereigns who have attempted to obtain supplies by exerting their prerogative, he was afraid to summon a parliament, when discontent increased upon him. He was too liberal, to be personally rapacious; for when the corporations of London, Gloucester and Worcester, offered him money, he magnanimously refused it, telling them he would rather have their hearts than their property.⁴⁵ There was nothing mean or sordid about him. But he had emptied his exchequer by his bounties to men, who were enabled by his own generosity more effectually to betray him; and pressed by Richmond's impending invasion and the domestic conspiracies which it excited, he allowed himself to use his power to extort money on the plea of necessity—the tyrant's plea—which contributed to fix the character of tyrant upon him, with its consequential evils.⁴⁶

Besides some beneficial regulations on those important modes of transferring landed property, which are called fines and feoffments, and others, to rectify abuses in the petty but useful temporary courts called Pie-powdre, held during fairs; besides annulling certain patents to Edward's queen; and some statutes on manufactures and trade⁴⁷; he sanctioned three most serviceable enactments for the relief of his subjects, from the oppression of their superiors. One was, that on arrest for suspicion of felony, every

⁴⁵ We learn this from Rous, Hist. p. 216.

⁴⁶ More says, that, being "obliged to pill and spoil in other places, this got him *stedfast hatred*." p. 154.

⁴⁷ Stat. Realm, vol. ii. pp. 477. 480—498. Pie-powdre, from Pied-poudré,—so termed as being courts for immediate decision, while the dust was still on the feet of the complainant.

justice of the peace should have power to bail⁴⁸; another, that the property of persons imprisoned for felony, should not be seized before conviction⁴⁹; a law, which, in cases of treason, his own conduct sometimes counteracted; and the third, which directed that none should be returned for juries, but those who had forty shillings a-year freehold; because so many untrue verdicts had been given by persons "of no substance or behaviour, and not dreading God or worldly shame:" and thereby several had, thro the excitation of their evil willers, been wrongfully indicted, and others improperly spared.⁵⁰ It was the weakness of Richard's mind, to let the urgencies of the moment defeat the provisions of his deliberate judgment. His good laws⁵¹ gave the people that knowlege and taste of a better system, which made them resent, more indignantly, his own subsequent breaches of it; as he then assumed a dispensing right, which no common sense could approve.

While such masses of military retainers and personal followers obeyed the orders of the great nobility and gentry, it was of small avail to a king to be popular among the nation, if the aristocracy were either indifferent or averse to him. Till the full use of artillery made armor either useless or prejudicial to its wearers, none could stand in battle against their mailed assailants who were without it, or who had not learnt to act in it with strength and agility, or who were not powerful in archery. Hence, the common population who had not been trained by a due military education, were but a mob, that was sure to be broken as soon as attacked; and this state

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⁴⁸ Stat. Realm, vol. ii. p. 478.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 479.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ But as Richard could gain no favor for any thing, even "his politic and wholesome laws," (Bacon says, and without a word of counteraction) "were interpreted to be but the brocade of an usurper, thereby to woo and win the hearts of the people." Hist. Hen. VII.

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retinues of
the great.

of warfare made the antient aristocracy of the country the terror of the crown, whenever its feelings united against the reigning sovereign.

It was the number of followers which the nobility and gentry retained or could assemble and exhibit, under the family insignia of their crest or other device, which gave them the power of thus endangering the throne, and of doing much sudden mischief, and many oppressions. To abate this evil in the country, Richard was steady in discountenancing the antient custom of giving liveries, badges, ensigns, cognizances or other distinctive clothing or ornaments to any. He issued several prohibitions of this sort, very necessary to the peace and improvement of the country, but very displeasing to those who had the means of conferring what they could make so useful to their violences. The sheriffs of various counties, and mayors of various cities and towns, were instructed to forbid both the granting or wearing this dangerous costume, and also the receiving them from any person whomsoever.⁵² This was an attack on the pride and power of the great and rich, as bold as it was patriotic.⁵³ But all his measures to lessen their oppressions, altho wise of themselves, and kind to the people at large, necessarily displeased the aristocracy; and may be considered as a far more active cause of their enmity against him, than their moral sympathies on his nephews' fate. No class surrenders accustomed power, without enmity to the hand that exacts the loss. In these public benefits of Richard, we see the real cause of his unpopularity with the higher orders. Hence, his reign is truly characterized by Polydore

⁵² See Harl. MS. No. 433. pp. 111. 138. 210. 188., and many other places. One example may suffice. The mayor of Bedford was commanded to make open proclamation, that none of the inhabitants take or receive any retainers, liveries, clothings, or cognizance, of any person whatsoever; Sept. 26. 1484. p. 188.

⁵³ Ibid. Lord Bacon admits, that he was "a good lawyer for the ease and solace of the common people." Hist. p. 2.

Virgil, in two words, "nobilium defectionem," the disaffection of his nobility.⁵⁴ He was becoming too good a king, to suit their interests. And yet his life might have given the crown a disproportionate authority instead. The constitutional balance was perhaps best maintained, by the events that were permitted or directed to occur.

His fastidious use and display of his regal state, revealed too large a personal vanity to create attachment.⁵⁵ Every one has too much of this weakness to endure it from another; and as the pomp of Richard was too expensive for the less affluent of the gentry, and too self-prominent not to make the wealthier feel a great comparative diminution in his presence, it increased, instead of abating, his personal unpopularity. He seems to have discovered the impropriety of his long desertion of his metropolis, for he was chiefly in it during the last twelve months of his life.⁵⁶

His position, as to the church establishment, compelled him to make enemies, whatever course of conduct he should adopt. To shield it, was to dissatisfy all those who desired a participation of its wealth, a reduction of its luxury, a relaxation of its doctrinal despotism, and a diminution of its temporal powers; and who would expect an usurped reign to be most adverse to antient bigotry. To favor the opponents

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His conduct towards the church.

⁵⁴ Pol. Virg. p. 565.

⁵⁵ His wardrobe and love of finery, have been already noticed. He gave his queen $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards of purple cloth of gold, upon damask. Harl. MS. p. 130. He licensed a merchant of Genoa to bring to England, "dyamound and other gemmys, or pretious stones, that if they be for the king's pleasure, *he* may have the first purchase thereof *before all other.*" Dec. 9. 1484. Ibid. He authorized Alderman Shaw to bring out of France, &c., "all manner of gold and silver, and pretious stones, without paying custom." Ibid. p. 210. These were apparently for the king. Divers pieces of his rich plate are mentioned in the receipt for them, p. 212., to be used in the north.

⁵⁶ Excepting one short excursion to Canterbury, in November 1484, and occasional visits to Windsor, in December, January, February, April and May, he was in the metropolis from the beginning of November 1484, to the June preceding his fall, as appears by the grants in the Harl. MS.

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of the possessed church, was to ensure its enmity; and even his warlike brother, who at first inclined against it, had at length bent, from his love of ease and quiet, to its power. In September, he may have still hesitated⁵⁷; but on the second of October, 1484, he publicly shewed, that he had decided to uphold it; for he issued a mandate, commanding that twenty acres of pasture, which had been taken from the convent at Pomfret, should be restored to it; and he took the occasion to tell the nation in it, that he had called "to remembrance the dreadful sentence of the church against all those persons who wilfully attempt to *usurp unto themselves, against good conscience, possessions or other things of right belonging to the church; and the great peril of soul which might ensue by the same.*"⁵⁸ It is extraordinary that he should so far forget his own usurpation as to suppose that this language could have any other effect than to make its readers indignant at its hypocrisy, or self-delusion, and to ensure its being contemptuously retorted upon himself.

Whether he felt this result, cannot be affirmed; but he seems to have paused awhile on this subject, tho he received the archbishop of Canterbury into his favor, in the December following.⁵⁹

In February 1484, the clergy of England met in convocation; and from that addressed to him a petition, complaining that churchmen were cruelly, grievously, and daily troubled, vexed, indicted, and arrested; drawn out of church, and without due reverence, even from the altar, by malicious and evil-disposed persons, notwithstanding all the censures, anathematizations and curses, yearly promulgated

⁵⁷ On the 23d of September 1484, he seized on the bishop of Salisbury's temporalities. Harl. MS. p. 117.

⁵⁸ Harl. MS. p. 121.

⁵⁹ On the 8th of December 1484, he stated this to his grace's tenants, and ordered them to pay him their rents. Ibid. p. 128.

and fulminated by the holy father the pope, and in all the churches of England; so that they could not be resident on their benefices, to execute duly and devoutly their office.⁶⁰

This complaint shews, that both the law and the laity were steadily attacking the ecclesiastical property and privileges.

They proceed to express to him a most emphatical compliment, some months after the circulated account of his nephews' deaths, which, as coming from the dignified representatives of the whole body of the English clergy, becomes a kind of sacred testimony to his character; it must either have been a phrase of the most consummate hypocrisy, or must be allowed to counterbalance, in no small degree, the defamation that has pursued him. They say, "in eschewing whereof, seeing your MOST NOBLE AND BLESSED DISPOSITION IN ALL OTHER THINGS, we beseech you to take tender respect and consideration unto the premises, and of yourself, as a most catholic prince, to see such remedies, that under your most gracious letters patent, the liberties of the church may be confirmed, and sufficiently authorized by your high court of parliament, rather enlarged than diminished."⁶¹

The clergy appear to have persuaded him to become their patron and protector; for there is an official document addressed to them, declaring, that the king had confirmed all their liberties to them, as in their patent made by Edward IV.⁶² He also released the dean of York and others, from paying tenths or fifteenths, during their lives⁶³; but it was not till the 1st of March 1484, that he wrote to pope Sixtus IV. promising to do him obedience, by the bishop of St.

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⁶⁰ See the document in these words, in Wilk. Concil. vol. iii. p. 614. The convocation met on the 3d of February 1484.

⁶¹ Wilk. Con. vol. iii. p. 614.

⁶² Harl. MS. p. 44.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 53.

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David's; and excusing his not having done it before, on account of the conspiracies he had to suppress⁶⁴, altho that of Buckingham's was ended in the October preceding. But now, having fixed his determination to uphold the church as it was, he sent the prelate to him, as the ambassador of his submission; and solicited the pontiff to give a cardinal's hat to his bishop of Durham.⁶⁵ In the following December, he sent both these bishops to give his obedience to the new pope Innocent IV.⁶⁶ Yet, while he offended all the liberalizing minds of the country, by upholding the superstitions and systems which so many wished to modify, he was soon compelled to alter his conduct; for in March 1485, we find him invading one of their most stoutly-claimed privileges, by issuing a warrant to take up sir Lewis Deyken, priest, for certain great murders, robberies, and other detestable offences, which he had committed⁶⁷; and in May such differences had arisen between him and St. Peter's chair, that he signed a commission to examine if the pope's bull, sent into Guernsey, was hurtful to his interests.⁶⁸

Richard had so turned the eye of public criticism upon his actions, that he could do nothing that would be deemed unobjectionable, or that would not be objected to. Other sovereigns, by indolence, retiring conduct, or by management, put all the public responsibility of their conduct on their ministers; but Richard, unfortunately for himself, was so personally active, and so fond of shewing that he was so, that he was supposed to do every thing; and therefore blamed for whatever occurred. He would have been more effectively and more safely the king, if he had striven less to be so; but he loved to feel his power,

⁶⁴ Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. p. 214.; and Harl. MSS.

⁶⁵ Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. p. 216.

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 253.

⁶⁷ Harl. MS. p. 210. This person seems to have escaped from Radnor castle; for there is a pardon to his keeper for it. Ibid. p. 94.

⁶⁸ Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. p. 296.

and to exert it himself, and to be seen to do so. He had too gross a sense of royalty. He did not confine himself to the interior and more exquisite enjoyment of it, which usually attends native and habitual greatness. He wanted the vulgar and animal gratification from it, which a man, raised suddenly from the dust to the throne, may be supposed to crave; but which the brother of a king, accustomed all his life to courtly splendor, ought neither to have valued nor demanded.

Without stretching flattery so far, as to assert that he had a "most blessed disposition," some new facts may be adduced, to shew that he was not an unnatural anomaly. His letter to his mother, after he became king, is expressed in an attentive and affectionate style.⁶⁹ But the register of his official acts, shews many personal civilities to the ladies of his political enemies, from which, as they have never been noticed, he has not had his deserved praise. Altho lord Oxford was his implacable enemy to his last breath, yet he granted his lady a pension of 100*l.* a year, during the earl's exile and hostility.⁷⁰ To lady Hastings, the widow of the peer he had destroyed, he intrusted, with a generous magnanimity, the keeping of all her castles, and presented her with the wardship and marriage of her son and heir⁷¹; altho this latter must have been a most valuable pe-

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⁶⁹ It was written in June 1484. Harl. MS.

"Madam,

"I recommend me to you as heartily as is to me possible, beseeching you, in my most humble and affectuouse wise, of your daily blessing, to my singular comfort and defence in my need. And, madam, I heartily beseech you, that I may often hear from you, to my comfort. And such news as be here, my servant, Thomas Brian, this bearer, shall show you, to whom please it you to give credence unto.

"And, Madam, I beseech you to be good and gracious lady to my lord, my chamberlain, to be your officer in Wiltshire, in such as Colingbourne had. I trust he shall therein do you good service: and that, if it please you, by this bearer, I may understand your pleasure in this behalf. And I pray God send you the accomplishment of your noble desires.

"Written at Pomfret, the 3d day of June, with the hand of

"Your most humble Son,

"Ricardus Rex."

⁷⁰ Harl. MS. p. 53.

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 27.

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cuniary favor, that many were suing for; and tho it gave her the power of educating her son with the revengeful spirit of hostility against him: from this youth he took off the attainder. Nothing could be a greater act of atoning kindness to her, and of liberal confidence, unless it was another official instrument, which he signed at Reading, on the 13th of July, a month after he had made her a widow, by which he covenanted to her to protect her and her children in all their possessions, wardships, and other just rights; to suffer none to do them wrong, and to assist them upon all occasions, as their good and gracious sovereign lord.⁷² Sir Thomas More says, that he loved Hastings. These documents prove an unusual regard, and great good feeling, that he should have taken such a zealous care of his family afterwards. To the widowed duchess of Buckingham he gave an annuity of 200 marcs.⁷³ He sent her permission to come, with her servants and children, to London.⁷⁴ He gave a safeguard to Florence, the wife of Alexander Cheyney; and expressed in it, that "for her good and virtuous disposition, he had taken her into his protection, and granted to her custody of her husband's lands and property, tho, being confederated with certain rebels and traitors, he had intended and compassed the utter destruction of the king's person."⁷⁵ He ordered the officers and tenants of the estates, which had been settled on lady Rivers, as her jointure, to pay to her all their rents and duties⁷⁶; and he took off the sequestration he had put on the lands of an outlaw, that his wife might have the benefit of them.⁷⁷ He seems, by their number, to have taken pleasure in doing acts of good nature and courtesy to the female sex. He settled annuities on many widows, and other ladies.⁷⁸ He paid one,

⁷² Harl. MS. p. 108.⁷³ Ibid. p. 77.⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 135.⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 126.⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 166.⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 77.⁷⁸ For many of these, see Harl. MS. pp. 37. 41. 46. 58. 71. 76. 179. &c. &c.

the arrears of a pension given to her by Edward IV.⁷⁹ tho kings rarely heed their predecessors' debts or promised bounties. He granted to lady Dynham four tons of wine yearly.⁸⁰ He confirmed an annual allowance, which he had made as duke of Gloucester⁸¹; and settled a small one on the widow of a herald⁸²; and a larger one on the sister of lord Lovel.⁸³ All these were acts of kindness, which, if he had been of that malicious, envious and brutal nature, which has been ascribed to him, he would not have performed. A gift to the monks of an abbey burnt down⁸⁴; and to a merchant, towards his losses in trade⁸⁵; a protection for requiring alms to a man, whose dwelling house and property, with his thirteen tenements, had been all consumed by fire, to his utter undoing; and his recommendation of him, as having kept a good household, by which many poor creatures had been refreshed⁸⁶; his payment of Buckingham's debts⁸⁷; and of the bishop of Exeter's, who pursued him with hostility to his last hour⁸⁸; his commission to the hermit of the chapel of Reculver, which had been ordained for the burial of those who should perish by storms, to receive alms to rebuild its roof⁸⁹; the grant of an annuity, for good service done to his father⁹⁰: — all these attentions display the same good temper and feelings which we desire to see in every well-directed mind. There is nothing of the common, cruel, crook-backed Richard about them. It is clear that he had a heart and sympathies much like our own, tho at one interval he forgot their claims. It is a petty circumstance, but it tends to the same point, of shewing that he possessed a common nature of urbanity with the rest of his species, that he did

⁷⁹ Harl. MS. p. 205.⁸² Ibid. p. 91.⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 101.⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 208.⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 89.⁸³ Ibid.⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 148.⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 215.⁸¹ Ibid. p. 200.⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 153.⁸⁷ Ibid. pp. 64. 97.⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 120.

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not neglect the custom then in use, of presenting his friends with new year's gifts.⁹¹ He may have been wrathful, as More intimates⁹², which we may understand to mean, that he was irritable, peremptory and impatient of delay, hesitation or opposition to his plans or of his wishes; and this temper, arising from energy and excitability, may have constituted that fierceness of nature, which has been charged upon him. But if the imperfections and exacerbations of human sensibility are crimes, who is there that is unsinning?

He buries
king Henry
the Sixth at
Windsor.

It is a remarkable instance of the jaundiced eye, with which even the laudable actions of this king have been wilfully contemplated, that altho one contemporary historian, who was no flatterer of him, has mentioned to his praise, that in August 1484, he caused the body of Henry VI. which had been obscurely buried at Chertsey, to be brought to Windsor, with great solemnity⁹³, and to be interred with his royal predecessors there; an act of respectful kindness to the memory of this inoffensive king, and very creditable to his own feelings; yet the clergy, who, in February 1484, that is in his lifetime, and when all his worst actions had been committed, had extolled "his noble and blessed disposition,"⁹⁴ ten years only afterwards, in 1494, under the reign of his successor, when it had become loyal to abuse him, mention this removal from Chertsey to Windsor, with an invective against him, and as an instance of his malignity of nature, that had extinguished all piety and humanity in him.⁹⁵ They declare, that he transferred the corpse to Windsor, because he envied Henry's name, and de-

⁹¹ There is a warrant to pay alderman Shaw "200 marcs, for certene newe yeres giftes, bought of him, against the fest of Cristymesse." Ibid. p. 148.

⁹² More, p. 154.

⁹³ Rous, p. 218.

⁹⁴ See before, p. 301.

⁹⁵ In their address to the pope, to remove Henry VI. to Westminster, they say of Richard, on his re-interment, "in quem feritas naturæ, animæque malignitas, omnem pietatem atque humanitatem penitus extinxerant." Wilk. Concil. vol. iii. p. 635.

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sired to stop the concourse of people that flocked to his former tomb⁹⁶; and yet but ten lines before, they had described Chertsey as a place "certainly hidden, and remote from the common access of the public, and not fit for the sepulchre of so great a king."⁹⁷ These gross inconsistencies shew, that the most calumnious misrepresentations pursued even the most honorable actions of this defamed sovereign. It was magnanimous in Richard, after the slanderous imputations he had suffered about Henry's death⁹⁸, to bring the subject again fully before the contemplation of the nation by his state removal and funeral, after the old king had been thirteen years in his royal grave; and it is inconceivable how even party rage could distort a royal interment at Windsor, a place of high celebrity and great public resort, into an envious desire of committing the corpse to oblivion and neglect.

It was an act of generous attention to the convenience of his people, that altho Edward IV. had, to gratify his love of hunting, annexed a great circuit of country to the forest of Whichwood, and appropriated it to his own use, yet Richard, notwithstanding his own attachment to the chase, to please the people, disforested it, and threw it open to the public.⁹⁹ But his popular actions procured him no favor from the lordly aristocracy, which sought only the continuance of its own oppressive bondage.

Among the amusements of Richard's leisure hours, he seems to have been attached to music; but to have gratified his taste for it by exertions of authority more suitable to that age than to our own. He em-

His personal tastes and pleasures.

⁹⁶ Wilk. Concil. vol. iii. p. 635.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ This same document, written in 1494, gives important evidence, that Richard did not, in their opinion, kill king Henry. For tho they strive, obviously, by their epithets, to blacken him; yet, instead of charging this murder upon him, they expressly impute it to Edward IV. Their words are, that Henry, "in miseranda fata concesserat *jussu Edwardi*, tunc Angliæ regis." Ibid.

⁹⁹ Rous, p. 216.

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powered one of the gentlemen of his chapel, "to take and seize for the king, all such singing men and children, expert in the science of music, as he could find, and think able to do the king service, in all places in the kingdom, whether cathedrals, colleges, chapels, monasteries, or any other franchised places, except Windsor."¹⁰⁰ Such an arbitrary order as this, may shew his passion for this fascinating art, but must have offended wherever it was executed. He was visited by minstrels from foreign countries, and to several other minstrels he gave annuities¹⁰¹; and also, perhaps, from his fondness for their sonorous state music, to several trumpeters.¹⁰²

Falconry and hawking appear to have been favorite pastimes to him. There is a grant to the master of the king's hawks, and the keeper of the mews near Charing Cross¹⁰³; and he issued a commission to take at reasonable price, such goshawks, tarcells, falcons, lanerettes, and other hawks, as could be gotten in Wales or its marches, as should be necessary for the king's disports.¹⁰⁴ A similar warrant was applied to the same object in England¹⁰⁵; he dispatched a person to parts beyond the sea to purvey hawks for him¹⁰⁶; and he had a sergeant of the falcons in England.¹⁰⁷

Hunting was also his amusement; we find his payments to a knight, the master of his hart-hounds, and a regular establishment of dogs and servant¹⁰⁸; and

¹⁰⁰ Harl. MS. No. 433. p. 189.

¹⁰¹ As, to Robert Green, minstrel, ten marcs; the same to J. Hawkyns. Harl. MS. p. 46. Two minstrels had come from the duke of Austria, p. 190.; and two from the duke of Bavaria, p. 210.

¹⁰² Three of them are mentioned, to each of whom he gave a yearly payment of ten marcs. Harl. MS. pp. 78. 96. 104.

¹⁰³ Harl. MS. p. 53.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 214. It is dated March 27. 1485

¹⁰⁵ Dated at Westminster, March 8. 1485. Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Dated March 11. Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ The grant of this is in the same MS. p. 103.

¹⁰⁸ Harl. MS. p. 195. The appointments were, 12*d.* a day for himself; 7½*d.* a day for a servant; 8*d.* for two yeomen riders; 4*d.* for two yeomen vantrers; 8*d.*

persons were restrained from hunting in the park of Sheynsham, in Worcestershire, without special leave; because the king desired to have this park replenished with game, and kept for his disport against his resorting into those parts.¹⁰⁹

Besides these amusements, less refined pleasures sometimes interested his notice; for there is a letter to all the mayors and sheriffs of the island, commanding them not to vex or molest John Browne, whom he calls "our trusty servant and bear-ward;" and whom he says, "we have made master-guider and ruler of all *our bears and apes*, to us appertaining," within England and Wales; he speaks of them in the phrases of strong attachment.¹¹⁰

He was commended by a contemporary, for his encouragement of architecture¹¹¹; and there are many of his grants which prove his attention to it. His works in the Tower¹¹², and at Windsor castle¹¹³, and in the palace of Westminster¹¹⁴, at Barnard castle, at a palace in London, called The Ewer; at the castles of Killingworth, Rockingham, Sudely, Nottingham, Tutbury, Somerhall, and York¹¹⁵; and in his palace at the latter city¹¹⁶; a stone cross at Brecon, a bridge in Somerset, churches at King's college, Cambridge¹¹⁷;

for two yeomen on foot; 6*d.* for two grooms; and 6½*d.* a day for the keeping and expense of two horses, in the said office; and 3*s.* 4*d.* for the meat of forty dogs and twelve greyhounds. MS. p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ Harl. MS. p. 178.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 139. It is dated Jan. 6. 1484. He adds a charge, that no one "unquiet, vex, or trouble him or his servants, keepers of our said bears and apes; but to him, and the keepers of *our said game*, for *our* pleasure, ye show loving benevolence and favor, and them courteously receive and intreat; to you reasonable money paying; and not suffering any manner of person, in that ye goodly may, otherwise to vex, molest, or grieve them."

¹¹¹ Rous refers to Westminster, Nottingham, Warwick, York, Middleham, and other places, as justifying his epithets, "in edificis laudandus." p. 216.

¹¹² His warrant for those, was to his serjeant carpenter, *to take* carpenter's timber, &c. for the hasty speed of his works there. Harl. MS. p. 227.

¹¹³ Harl. MS. p. 211.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p. 204. This warrant is dated Dec. 17. 1484. It was, therefore, distinct from his fortifications there.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. pp. 175. 187. 190. 192, 193. 203. 207. 218.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. p. 179.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. pp. 190. 209, 210.

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and in Wales, are also noticed. Nor did he spare trouble and expense to procure the best materials; for there is a licence to a person to go to France and Normandy, and to buy there for the king, certain tons of Caen stone, and also plaster and glass for his works.¹¹⁸ But he pursued his taste with the full exertion of the royal authority as then claimed; for he signed a warrant to take up all artificers, stuff, and carriages, as should be necessary for the furtherance and accomplishment of the works at York castle.¹¹⁹

His atten-
tion to
trade.

Foreign trade experienced his attention and protection. The merchants of Italy and the Hanse Towns had their privileges confirmed.¹²⁰ Several foreigners were made denizens.¹²¹ One merchant received a gift of 40*l.* in alleviation of the losses he had suffered.¹²² Leave was given to transport wool beyond the Straits of Morocco.¹²³ The Spanish procurator of Biscay had such confidence in his stability, as to covenant to pay him 1600*l.* in eight years¹²⁴; and appears to have advanced him so much money as to have a warrant to receive 8000 crowns of gold from the customs on imported Spanish goods.¹²⁵ He confirmed to the foreign manufacturers of cloths, the liberty of dwelling in Wales, Ireland, or England¹²⁶; but compelled foreign importers to sell their goods wholesale, and if not disposed of within a

¹¹⁸ Harl. MS. p. 213.¹¹⁹ Ibid. p. 187. He had, before this warrant, authorized the dean of York and Ratcliffe "to take all manner of workmen and stuff, for the hasty expedition of his works." Ibid. p. 183. There are several of these peremptory, and, as they would now be, arbitrary and illegal orders.¹²⁰ Ibid. p. 85.¹²¹ A goldsmith of East Friesland, p. 28.; three Dutchmen, pp. 28. 34. 56.; a booker of Florence, p. 74.; other persons, p. 36., &c. It is curious, that a Welshman was then deemed, in law, so much an alien foreigner, as to be made a denizen. MS. p. 85.¹²² Ibid. p. 101.¹²³ Ibid. p. 104. From Venice, there is an entry of 11,000 bowstaves, and another of 7000, and afterwards of 185,000. Ibid. p. 71.¹²⁴ Ibid. p. 100.¹²⁵ Ibid.¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 65.

certain time, to take them out of the country.¹²⁷ The merchants of Spain appear to have had many transactions with him.¹²⁸

Several licences were granted for ships to sail to Iceland. This volcanic rock of snow and ice above, and fire below, seems to have been much frequented in Richard's time, and to have drawn his particular attention, tho licences were required for the voyages and their freights.¹²⁹

Weak in body, afflicted by sickness, but powerful in mind, it was on that mind Richard necessarily relied; and by exerting the faculties, which he felt to be vigorous within him, he endeavored to accom-

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¹²⁷ Stat. of Realm, vol. ii.

¹²⁸ The substance of two documents in the Harl. MS. implies this. One is, that "Petre de Salamanca, Petre de Valadolet, Diego de Castro, Sancio de Valinafedo, Fernando de Carion, Johan Pardo, Diego de Cadago, Alfonso de Lyon, Martino de Cordova, Gonsalo de Salamanca, merchants of Spain, should have 200*l.* of the customs and subsidies coming of whatsoever clothes, grayned or ungrayned, and of other merchandizes whatsoever, by them charged in the port of London, or elsewhere in England." p. 76. The other directs, that "Petre Salamanca, Sanchel de Valmazeda, Johan Pardo, Diego de Cadagna, Fernand de Carrion, Martyn de Ordogna, Diego de Castro, Peter de Valdslyt, and Martyn de Malverda, have licence to perceeve 400 marks of the customs and subsidies, coming of all manner of woollen cloths, grayned or ungrayned; of lede, tynne, alum, wyne, yron, to be shipped in the ports of London and Southampton." p. 99.

¹²⁹ One licence is, to a name like that of Jane Shore's husband. "William Shore, merchant of London, and Robert Chapman, of Kingston-upon-Hull, have a licence to pass to Island, with two shippes of the portage of liii tonnes. The licence during a year," p. 88. A fuller account of two others will give an idea of the intercourse allowed to this place.

"To all owners, masters, and mariners of the navye, of the countyes of Norfolk, and Suffolk, as well fishers as others intending to depart to the ports of Island :

"As we understand, that certain of you intend hastily to depart towards Island, not purveyed of waught for your surety in that behalve, We charge you, that none of you depart out of any of the havens in this our realm, without our licence; and that you gather and assemble you, in such of our havens of Norfolk and Suffolk as ye shall think most convenient, well harnysed and apparelyd, for your own suretie; and so depart altogether toward Humbre, to attend there upon our ships of Hull, as your waighters for the surety of you all; and that you keep together.

"Feb. 23. Anno 1." p. 159.

"To all merchants, fishermen, masters, mariners and other our subjects, now being in the parties of Island. We have granted and commanded William Combreshall, captain of our ship named the Elizabeth, to depart with the same towards you, and to be your conveyer and master, to such place as he shall think convenient, as well for your suretie as for other great causes. We will that ye dispose you to be ordered and guided by him, and in no wise to depart from him, unto such time as the whole fleet of you shall come to anchor, and meet with others of our army upon the sea, on pain of forfeiting your ships and goods.

"July 6. A° 2°." p. 180.

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plish all he wished. In personal strength he could not compete with his enemies. This was a gift of nature, and of its author, which was not subject to his command. But his reason, his conceptions, his resolution, his power of foreseeing, combining, and deciding thought; his quickness to act, and his energy of action; these were within the compass of his own power, and obedient to his ambitious and aspiring soul. Hence, the infirmities of the exterior man made his interior spirit more essential to his use, and more precious in his estimation. He felt that he towered in mind, tho he had not the advantage of body; and when he added to it the authority and means of royal power, he was delighted to exert acquisitions in which he knew that he distanced all surrounding competition.

Hence flowed what one author calls his horrible vigilance and celerity¹³⁰ because his intellect always rushed to anticipating and decisive exertions. Hence, a contemporary also gives to this quality and habit of action the epithet of excessive.¹³¹ He was too rapid, too decisive, too violent, too impatient. He struck before others saw the emerging danger, or felt the necessity of the precautionary rigor. His brother's error had been careless negligence; and his fault was a preventive activity, which was misconstrued to be remorseless tyranny. By leaving nothing undone that could be done, he was always doing too much for his own quiet, or for the approbation of his contemporaries. Every one dreaded a perspicacity and a precipitation, which left no time for recollecting repentance, and no hope of mercy. His little habit, deemed so horrible, of always playing, or we may say, fidgetting with his dagger, pulling it continually half in and out with his right hand¹³², was but a

¹³⁰ Pol. Virg. p. 552.¹³¹ "Nimis." Croyl.¹³² Pol. Virg. p. 565.

mark of a restless impatience of spirit, which could not even let the fingers be quiet. It is unnecessary to ascribe it to any ferocious nature; the mildest men have many unmeaning habits of such moving dumb-show.

Richard would have reigned more happily, with less talent, or with greater apathy.¹³³ It is oftener the safest wisdom to leave the course of things to produce their own results, and to work out their own remedies, than, by anticipating or precipitating measures, to attempt to control them, or to prevent those consequences which we dread or dislike. Many apprehended evils never occur, and many that are produced, disappear of themselves, which hasty or too precautionary interference only aggravate or change into worse. But Richard was too prone to think that human vigilance could not be too active and foreseeing; nor the exertions of human policy too immediate, vigorous, and decisive. Hence, he tended to out-run the tardier perception of his friends; and created alarm instead of security, dread instead of attachment, and the desire of a less wakeful and strenuous master, instead of that confiding regard and personal affection which he coveted, and by which alone he could be secure. The more he punished, the more he found he had to punish; till he diffused an indifference to his government, and a secret approbation of the plans of others to have a milder dynasty. He did not wait to let time do, imperceptibly and inoffensively, much of what he wished to have done; and his forcing violence exasperated his contemporaries, and ruined himself.¹³⁴

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¹³³ The proclamation of Perkin Warbeck, being addressed to popular feeling, may be considered as expressing the general estimate of Richard's reign. "The desire of rule did bind him, yet, in his other actions, he was noble; and loved the honor of the realm, and the contentment and comfort of his nobles and people." Bacon's Hist. p. 615.

¹³⁴ Some grants of Richard in the Harl. MS. No. 433., have induced me to consider whether they related to the celebrated Columbus. I cannot satisfy myself

Whether
Columbus

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Richard's
service.

that they do, and yet the possibility is so interesting, that I think it right to note the facts on which that surmise occurred, and leave them to the chance of future confirmation or refutation. If he be the person alluded to, some other documents may occur to some future enquirer, that will elucidate the point; or others may shew that they do not concern him.

Observing some grants to Christopher Colyns, I thought they meant the common name of Collins, and passed them over. But remembering that the name with which Columbus chose to go into Spain, was Christopher Colon; and seeing, in the same MS., deacon spelt dekyn, as in p. 238., and Cologne, Coleyn, p. 196.; and that Caxton spells this town Colen (*Dest. Troy.* 2nd. p. 134.), I could not avoid asking myself, if this Christopher Colyns could have been but a varying orthography for Christopher Colon. Names and words are frequently spelt in the MS. with as much variation, as Tyddor for Tudor; Rauffe for Ralph; Herry for Henry; Wolstre for Ulster, werre for war, &c.

The notices of the grants to which I refer in the Harleian MS. are as follows:—

1. "Christofre Colyns hath the ship called the Barbara, of Fowey, which was taken with staple ware, and forfeated, given to him of the king's rewarde." p. 94.

2. "Christofre Colyns hath a privie seale to sir Thomas Thwayt, tresourer of Calais, to content him 20*l.* which he delivered William Bolton, to content certain souldiours in Guysnes." *Ib.*

3. "Christofre Colyns hath a privie seale to the treasurer and chamberlaine, to content unto him 128*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* in redy money; and make unto him assignment of the same, by the said Christofre paid for the wages of 200 men." p. 100.

4. "Christofre Colyns hath a warrant, directed to the sheriff and escheator of Kent, charging them to deliver unto him, or the bringer thereof, as much tymbre to be taken out of the felde called Huntyngdon felde, beside Feversham, as his workmen shall think will serve for fence grattes, and the posts of a drawbridge, at the castell of Quenesburgh; and for the flores in the porter's lodge there; and also for an axiltre for a mille. Given the 16th day of February, an. 2^o." p. 207.

5. "A comission to al maires and others, showing, that Christofir Colyns, constable of the castell of Quynsburgh, or William Constable, his brother, hath auctoritie and power to take masons, stones, carcasses, tylers, and dawbers, vessalls, and othre necessaries for the works in the said castell. Given at Lond. the 10th of April, an 2^o." p. 212.

6. "Christofre Colyns hath a warrant to the treasurer and chamberlayn of the exchequer, to make assignment unto him, by taille or tailles, in due form, at the receipt of the exchequer, to him and Thomas Cotton, as collector of the subsidie in London, of the some of 3*l.* appointed to the said Cristofre for his reward, and 27*l.* for his habiliments of warre, &c." p. 63. "Christofer Colyns, th' office of constable of the castell of Queneburgh, and the mylne to the said castle adjoining, during his life, with the wages of 20 marks yearly, to be perceived of the issues of the counties of Essex and Hertford, by the hands of the sheriff." p. 74.

7. "Cristofre Colyns, squier, an annuytie of 100*l.* fro Estre, an^o primo, to the ende and terme of 20 years, of the subsidie of 3*s.* per ton, and 12*d.* per lb. &c. in the port of London." p. 76.

If these grants relate to Columbus, they shew that he was employed by Richard, as the constable or military commandant of the castle of Queenborough, in the isle of Shepey, in February and April 1485; for as the king assumed the crown in June 1483, the February and April of his second year, would be those of 1485. The commission directed and empowered him to construct works for strengthening that castle, which was one of the points of the coast which was guarded against Richmond's invasion. The grants also imply that he had taken a ship, which was deemed forfeited, and given to him; that he had paid the soldiers at the English castle of Guynes, near Calais, on the French coast: that money was given him for his habiliments in war; and that an annuity of 100*l.* was assigned to him by the king, and as this was to begin from Easter 1484, we may presume that to have been the period when his services to Richard commenced. Hence if these donations relate to Columbus, he was in England, and in Richard's service, from Easter 1484, till this king fell at Bosworth, in August 1485.

To ascertain or disprove this curious fact, it becomes important to inquire whether any fact known of his true biography is inconsistent with his being in

England during this period. That he had been in England, and on the English coasts and seas, in an earlier part of his life, appears to be certain; and therefore he might have sought employment here afterwards, when Richard invited and received such foreigners as could be useful to him in repelling Richmond's threatened invasion.

Columbus was born, according to some, in 1442, according to others, in 1447. He says of himself, in the memorandum (printed in Churchill's and also in Kerr's Voyages), "In February 1467, I sailed 100 leagues beyond Iceland. To this island, which is as large as England, the English carry on trade, especially from the port of Bristol." This passage shews, that he was in our seas seventeen years before the time of the grant; and in another place, he implies, that at some time he had been in England, for he says, as quoted by his son, "I had seen all the countries of the east and west, and towards the north, especially England." No account mentions at what period he was in England, or how long he stayed in it; but he mentions it elsewhere, as if it was a place that he was well acquainted with. Thus, speaking of one of his discovered islands, he says, "It is larger than England and Scotland together."

On the subsequent movements or stations of Columbus, after 1467, we have a little further information. His son remarks, that he has no perfect knowledge of his father's early years. "I was so young at his death, that owing to filial respect, I had not boldness to ask an account from him of the incidents of his youth; besides, I was not then interested in such inquiries." His son also mentions, that Colon or Columbus, in one place of his writings, says, that he had been at sea twenty-three years, without being on shore for any length of time; and in another part, that he went first to sea at fourteen years of age. But whether he was born in 1442 or 1447, these passages are not inconsistent with his being one or two years on shore in England, in 1484 and 1485.

From the historical memoirs of Columbus, by D. G. B. Sportono, of Genoa, lately published, and the original documents in the Appendix, it appears that Columbus was born at Genoa in 1446 or 1447, that his father Dominico, was a wool-carder; that Columbus learnt reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the occupation of carding wool there, and at fourteen went to sea. That he became captain of a ship of war, in the service of René d'Anjeir, the ex-king of Naples, and about 1475 commanded a squadron of Genoese ships and galleys; that his name stands registered in a book of losses by sea, in the year 1476; that he went to Lisbon; that in February 1477 (not 1467) he was on the voyage beyond Iceland; that he undertook several other voyages, especially to Guinea, to England, and to the islands possessed by Spain and Portugal, in the Western Ocean, and married at Lisbon, and that his proposal to Genoa for his voyage of discovery, was probably made in 1477, before he went on his Iceland voyage.

That Columbus fought, as well as navigated, is evident from two facts. In a letter, written in 1495, he mentions that he was formerly sent to Tunis, by king Reynier, to take the Galeasse called Fernandina; and at another time, his son states, that he entered into the service of a famous captain of his own name, who commanded a fleet against the infidels, and in his service attacked four large Venetian galleys; but his vessel taking fire, he leapt into the sea, and swam to the shore near Lisbon. He might, therefore, have been taken into Richard's service, to command an English fort on the sea coast, and to defend the maritime castle of Guynes, on the French shore, which often had foreign soldiers as part of its garrison.

The acknowledged poverty of his parents, must have made his life that of an adventurer, seeking service and employment where he could get them; and as Richard, being threatened by Richmond's invasion, and not knowing where he would land, was obliged to keep every accessible point watched and fortified, it was natural for him to retain and use an active and experienced foreigner. Such persons were likely to be more trusty to him than many of his own subjects. He had several foreigners in his service, and may have had Christopher Colon. Cabot, who discovered Newfoundland, came from Venice to settle in England, at that time.

That there was one foreigner here, at that time, of the name of Colyn, appears from another entry in the same MS. It is this: "Herne Colyn hath a letter of passage, to passe unto the duc of Burgoyne, and to convey thither an hobyie; and John le Heure, with another hoble." West. March 4 An^o 2^o (1485) p. 210.

BOOK
V.REIGN OF
RICH. III.

The son of Columbus says, that his father assumed or revived the name of Colon to himself, and caused himself to be so called in Spain. He may, therefore, have also been so named in England. His Italian Life calls him Colon. Mariana names him Christoval Colon, vol. ix. p. 197.

His son states, that he went to Lisbon, and taught his brother Bartholomew to construct sea charts, globes, and nautical instruments; and sent his brother to England to Henry VII. to make proposals to this king, of his desired voyage. He presented to Henry a map of the world, with a Latin inscription, dating his application, February 13. 1488.

Altho the Latin lines clearly mention 1488, in these words, yet both in some English and Italian translations, the date is printed 1480; and 1484 is mentioned as the year when his brother returned to him. It is so in the Italian Life, c. 12. p. 63. This is a mistake. Bartholomew's return must have been after 1488, and seems to be more rightly placed, by Hackluyt, in 1494.

His son says, that his wife being dead, he resolved to go to Castile; but lest the king of Castile might not consent to his proposal, he dispatched his brother Bartholomew from Lisbon to England. This would date his going into Spain, some time before February 1488; but, as the year was then reckoned, in England, to begin from the 25th of March, it is probable, that Bartholomew's date of the 13th February 1488, was in reality 1489.

The recent work of M. Navarette (Collection de los Voyages) furnishes us with some other important particulars. According to his documents and inferences, Columbus went to settle at Lisbon about the year 1470, where he married the daughter of Bartolomé, who was attached to the household of the Infant Don Juan, of Portugal, and who was also a navigator, and went with a colony to the island of Puerto Santo. The widow of Bartolomé, after his death, gave the use of his papers, charts, and instruments to Columbus, who visited the island of Madeira, and from the information which these papers afforded him, Columbus offered his services to the court of Portugal, for undertaking further discoveries to the West.

That he was at Lisbon in 1474, we perceive by a letter dated June 25. 1474, from Pablo Toscanelli, a celebrated astronomer at Florence, to him at Lisbon, in which he states his opinion, that the direct tract westward from Lisbon to the Spice Island, must be *shorter* than that from Lisbon to the coast of Guinea. He accompanied his assertion by a chart of his own making, with the track marked upon it. He says, "Do not be surprised that I call the place in the west the lands where the spices grow, which country is called Levante or East, because those who sail to the west will find those places in that direction, while they who proceed eastward by land will meet them in the east."

Columbus did not succeed with the court of Portugal, for he was obliged to *escape precipitately* from that country about the year 1484; the reason of which is not stated. He retired then at first to Andalusia, where he became acquainted with the duke of Medina Celli.

On 20th March 1488, the king of Portugal, of whom he had asked a safe conduct to return to Lisbon, wrote to him at *Seville* a kind letter, saying, that he would be pleased to see him, having acquiesced with his zeal for his service, and that affairs should be settled to his satisfaction. We are not able to assert whether he accepted of this invitation; but we find him at *Seville* in the years 1487, 8, and 9, where it appears by several documents, that various sums of money were paid him at different periods by order of queen Isabella, till the year 1492, apparently for his support and encouragement.

By the recommendation of the duke of Medina Celi, Columbus was, in the year 1486, taken into the service of the queen Isabella, and received a salary from her.

These facts leave a vacancy in his biography for the years 1484 and 1485, which comprise the period in which Christopher Colyns was in Richard's service. M. Navarette thinks he went to the duke of Medina in 1484. He might have gone in the beginning of that year; but that he remained with him from that time till 1486, is a supposition not proved by any document, and not consistent with the mode of his public re-appearance in that year.

Mr. Washington Irving, in his excellent *Life of Columbus*, states that, in 1484, he thinks, towards the end of the year, "Columbus departed secretly from Lisbon, taking with him his son Diego. The reason he assigned for leaving the kingdom

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I.

REIGN OF
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thus privately, was, that he feared being prevented by the king. Another reason appears to have arisen from his poverty. His affairs had run to ruin; he was even in danger of being arrested for debt. A letter has been lately discovered, which was written by the king of Portugal to Columbus some years afterwards. This letter ensures him against any arrest on account of any process, civil or criminal, which might be pending against him." See it in Navarette, vol. ii. Dec. 3.

Mr. Irving adds, "an interval now occurs of about a year, during which the movements of Columbus are involved in uncertainty. A modern Spanish historian thinks he departed immediately for Genoa. (Memor. Hist. Novo Mundo. L. 2.)

Thus all that we know for certain of Columbus during the years 1484, 1485, and 1486, is, that in some part of 1484 he departed suddenly and secretly from Lisbon; but that the place to which he went is uncertain. Navarette thinks it was to Andalusia; Munez, to Genoa. But if our documents relate to him, it was to England that he went for employment, and there obtained it in Richard's service.

Nothing is known or disclosed of him by any of his biographers in the year 1485, until at the end of that year he suddenly appeared in great poverty in a little sea-port of Andalusia. This interesting fact is thus stated by Mr. Irving:—

"The first trace we have of him in Spain, is in the testimony furnished a few years after his death, in a law-suit, by Garcia Fernandez, a physician, resident in the little sea-port of Palos, in Andalusia.

"About half a league from that town stood an ancient convent of Franciscan friars. According to the testimony of the physician, a stranger on foot, accompanied by a young boy, stopped one day at the gate of the convent, and asked of the porter a little bread and water for his child. While receiving this humble refreshment, the prior of the convent happening to pass by, was struck with the appearance of the stranger; and observing from his air and accent that he was a foreigner, entered into conversation with him. This stranger was Columbus, accompanied by his young son Diego. Whence he had come from does not clearly appear: that he was in destitute circumstances is evident from the mode of his way-faring. He was on his way to the neighbouring town of Huebra, to seek his brother-in-law, who had married a sister of his deceased wife.

"The prior was greatly interested by the conversation of Columbus, and struck with the grandeur of his views. He detained him as a guest, and diffident of his own judgment, sent for a scientific friend, Garcia Fernandez, to converse with him. He remained at the convent until the spring of 1486, when the court arrived at the city of Cordova." The prior gave him a letter to the queen's confessor, and Columbus leaving his child, "set out full of spirits for the court of Castile." Irving's *Columb.* vol. i. pp. 96—100.

This is the only authentic account we have of Columbus, from the time of his secret departure from Lisbon, sometime in 1484, until his public appearance at Cordova, in the spring of 1486, the precise interval in which Christopher Colyns was employed by Richard in England; and from this statement we learn, that in the winter before the spring of 1486, he suddenly appeared in a little sea-port town in the bay of Biscay, or on the coast of Spain, like a destitute person, asking for bread and water for his child. To be in such poverty at a sea-port as to call at a convent for food, and this sea-port being one of those in Spain, which a ship from England would be likely to touch at, gives Columbus the appearance of having recently landed there from some other country, and would fully suit a passage thither from England in the end of 1485. The visible poverty also suits the circumstances in which Columbus would have fallen after Richard's death, if he had been the Christopher Colyns above alluded to.

For Richard III. fell at the end of August 1485; from that time the military friends of Richard, and especially his foreign officers, would receive no favor or pay from Henry VII. If he had been appointed to the command of the castle of the Isle of Sheppey, to defend the Medway against Henry's invasion, it is most probable that he would be dismissed, on the king's victory and accession, early in September. From that time his pecuniary resources here would be taken from him, and the act passed in the following November (1485), by which all Richard's grants were reversed and invalidated (*Rolls Parl.* vol. vi. pp. 336—384.) would annul, without hope, the annuity of 100*l.* granted by Richard to Christopher Colyns, because his name is not among those who were exempted from the deprivation.

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Thus in November 1485, he would be totally unprovided in England of all maintenance, and had probably been so since Richard's fall in the preceding August. Thus Columbus, in December 1485, would have been in the necessitous state in which he appeared about that time at Palos: and Palos is such a sea-port in Spain as he was likely to have then landed at from England. Hence the authentic account of his being so circumstanced at Palos, in the winter before the spring of 1486; his secret retreat from Lisbon in the fear of arrest or detention sometime in 1484; and the absence of all other certain account how he passed the interval, not only have no inconsistency with his employment by Richard III. in 1484 and 1485, but have a singular coincidence with them.

He has not given any contrary statement in any of his own writings. He says in one letter to the king and queen of Spain, "To serve your highnesses, I was not inclined to involve myself with France, or with England, or with Portugal." This is true. The engagement with Richard III. was only to assist in the defence of England against Henry; not to sail upon a voyage of discovery. The true date of his first application to the court of Spain, we have in his own letter to the nurse of the prince Don John, written when he arrived in 1500 as a prisoner; for, in mentioning it, he says that all were incredulous, but that the queen supported him. He adds, "Seven years were passed in treaty, and nine in execution." p. 224. Now he sailed on his voyage 3d August 1492, and his agreement for it with Ferdinand was signed 17th of April 1492. Therefore seven years of treaty would make his first application to have been in 1485; in the last part of which he was at Palos, interesting the prior to assist his voyage, after he must have left England on Richard's fall. The prior had become determined to befriend his scheme; "He offered to give Columbus a favorable introduction at court, advised him to repair thither, and to make his proposition to his Spanish sovereigns: he gave him a letter, strongly recommending him and his enterprize," but kept him at Palos, till the court reached Cordova. Irving, p. 99. These facts suit the surmise that Columbus may have served Richard as Christofre Colyns. It also accords with that person's acting as a military commandant for Richard; that Columbus says of himself, "I ought to be judged as a *captain*, who for a *length of time*, up to this very day, *have borne arms*, without ever quitting them, and by *real warriors such as myself*, and not by lawyers." Memorial of Columbus, p. 239. During the seven years that he was soliciting Spain, between 1485 and 1492, he went to France himself, and sent his brother, Bartholomew, to England, who represented to Henry VII. the map dated February 13. 1488. p. 43.

That William Constable was the brother of Christopher Colyns seems at first sight an objection to the alleged identity with Columbus. But it is obvious that this person could only be his brother by marriage, and to have been so, Columbus must have married Constable's sister, or the sister of Columbus, or of his wife, must have been wedded to Constable. Neither of these possibilities is inconsistent with the known history of the former. Columbus had lost his first wife before 1484, and therefore was at liberty to have married an English lady, when in England; or, on the other hand, in the continual intercourse which was then taking place between English knights, adventurers, and merchants, and the coast of Spain, Genoa, and the Mediterranean, William Constable might have made the Genoese lady his wife. Columbus had sisters.

The whole effect of all the above facts is rather favorable than otherwise, to the possibility that he was the Christofre Colyns, whom Richard III. appointed his constable of the castle of Queenborough. We have therefore thought it our duty to submit the possibility to the consideration of the reader. It is not presented as certain history, but merely as a reasonable probability, which the coincidences that we have collected, induce us not to omit to state as a fair subject for future investigation; at the same time we acknowledge that probabilities are not ascertained facts; nor are coincidences alone, historic proof. They are only collateral confirmations of other more direct testimony, and while this is wanting, must not be mistaken for it.

CHAP. II

The Reign of HENRY VII.

1485—1509.

THIS prince had never been in London, since that boyish age in which Henry VI. had mentioned, that he would have the crown they were fighting for.¹ This remark of his maternal uncle may have arisen, from the good king's perception of the Lancastrian line having then no nearer heir after his own; and from his belief, or wish, that the York family might not be permanently successful.² It indicates how early the eyes of the Lancastrian party were turned to Richmond; and how far men, at that time, looked forward to the possibilities of the future accessions. This seems to have been a favorite, altho a dangerous subject of their political speculations.

His grandfather, Owen Tudor, a private Welsh gentleman, in the service of the widow of Henry V., had married her; and had been imprisoned for that marriage, in Newgate, and at Wallingford castle.³ This French lady survived her self-degrading nup-

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II.

REIGN OF
HEN. VII.

1470.

¹ This circumstance is mentioned by Henry's earliest biographer, Bernard Andreas, p. 136. His work is in MS. in the Cotton library, Domit. XVIII. All the chroniclers allude to it. Andreas intimates, also, that the duke of Bretagne had heard, from others, that Richmond would reign, p. 140.; which shews, that Henry's remark had fixed the public eye early on him. Perhaps Henry had meant, in case of his own son's death, to have appointed the earl his successor; and, from this feeling, uttered the prognostication alluded to. Henry VII. himself countenanced and circulated it.

² It is not improbable, that when the duke of York claimed to be the heir to the crown, before the birth of Henry's son, the secret politics of the Lancastrian court, in their extreme enmity to their rivals, may have projected the setting up of Richmond, from his maternal relation to the crown, as the antagonist interest.

³ Rym. Fed. vol. x. p. 686. He is there called, Owen ap Tedyr, but, in another document, he is named Meredith ap Tydier. Ib. p. 828.

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tials only nine years⁴; but in that time had three sons, of whom the youngest became a monk; the second was Jasper, the indefatigable earl of Pembroke; and the third, Edmund, whom Henry VI. created earl of Richmond⁵, and who, marrying Margaret, the heiress of the Somerset line, then only ten years old⁶, died himself at the age of twenty-five⁷; leaving one son, Henry, whom the events, already recorded, raised to be the founder of a new dynasty on the English throne.

Born in
1456.

Henry VII. was born at Pembroke castle, in 1456, a few months before his father died. His infancy was sickly⁸; but he was carefully nursed by his mother, a child herself. He was afterwards committed by Edward IV. to the care of the lady of sir William Herbert, to be educated in a state of friendly and liberal custody; and he owed to her the foundation of his manly accomplishments.⁹ The best instructors were provided for him; his mind was active, and his improvement rapid.¹⁰ He acquired that attachment to religion which never left him; and his behaviour was interesting. Herbert falling

⁴ She had married Owen in 1428; she died in 1437. Rym. Fœd. vol. x. p. 662. On January 4. Feb. p. 433.

⁵ He was made so in March 1453. Rolls Parl. vol. v. p. 250—254. In 1436, we find Edmund, and his brother Jasper, under the care of the abbess of Berkyng, from July 27. 1437 to February 28. 1439, for which she was paid 17*l.*, and afterwards to November 1441, for 52*l.* 12*s.* more. Rym. Fœd. vol. x. p. 828.

⁶ Holling. p. 678., who mentions her, at that age, to have become Richmond's mother. This is hardly credible; yet her funeral sermon states, that Henry VI. procured her marriage with his maternal brother, when she was only nine years old. p. 8. The duke of Suffolk wanted her for his son. *Ib.*

⁷ He died the 3d of November, in 1456, and was buried at St. David's, leaving his son Henry VII. but fifteen weeks old. Inquis. ap. Dugd. Bar. vol. ii. p. 237. This would place Henry's birth in July 1456; so that he was not quite four years younger than Richard III.

⁸ "In tenella ætate sæpe valetudinarius fuit." Bern. And. MS. p. 134. He was born, according to this author, on St. Agnes' day, which was the 21st of January. This makes him six months older than the inquisition mentioned in Dugdale.

⁹ Pol. Virg. p. 522. "Well and honorably educated, and in all kind of civility brought up, by the lady Herbert." Hall, p. 287.

¹⁰ B. Andreas says, that he was told by Andreas Scot, of Oxford, Henry's preceptor, that he never heard a boy of that age so capable and so quick in learning. MS. *ib.* p. 135.

in 1470, at Banbury, Jasper, the prince's uncle, during the short restoration of Henry VI. obtained possession of his person, and carrying him to London, introduced him to the king, who was pleased with his countenance, and expressed the idea of his possible elevation.¹¹ The battle of Tewkesbury compelling Jasper to fly, he thought it prudent that Henry, then in his fifteenth year, should leave the country with him.¹² His mother suggested that Wales had many castles in which he could be safe; but his uncle advised her not to take the chance, as his life would be aimed at; and promised to regard him as his son.¹³ The observation of Henry VI. had made him a mark of dangerous attention, and she assented to his temporary exile. Jasper meant that France should be his asylum, as Henry's grandmother had been the sister of the French king's father; but a storm driving them on Bretagne, the duke received them courteously, yet detained them. Here they remained above twelve years, as actual prisoners, but kindly treated.¹⁴ The efforts of Edward IV. to get them within his power, had the effect of making the duke more vigilant in watching them; but also more alive to the policy of keeping them in his dominions.

It was extraordinary, that the proud nobility of England should choose for their sovereign a young man so unknown to Englishmen, and whose paternal ancestry was so obscure. But their party feelings urging them to oppose the throne, and their safety requiring a leader of some nominal pretensions at least, they sacrificed their inveterate prejudices of birth to political expediency; and, perhaps, they

1470.

¹¹ Pol. Virg. p. 522. Hall, p. 287.¹² Pol. Virg. p. 531.¹³ Bern. And. MS. p. 136—140.¹⁴ Comines, vol. i. p. 514, who adds, "The earl of Richmond told me, that, from the time he was five years old, he had been always a fugitive or a prisoner. I was at the court of the duke Francis at the time they were seized, and the duke treated them very handsomely for prisoners." *Ib.*

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V.REIGN OF
HEN. VII.1485.
August.

thought they could govern, more easily, a king who would owe his crown, not to legal right, but to their selection and support. Hence, they combined in his favor against Richard; and allowed Stanley to put the crown on his head, in the field of Bosworth.

Resting two days at Leicester, after this victory, to settle his immediate measures, Henry sent a proclamation, as king, into York, to inform its citizens of Richard's death¹⁵; and that no one might set up the young earl of Warwick, the son of the late duke of Clarence, and the next heir to the crown, if Edward's daughters, who had been incapacitated, were passed by, as their leader and his competitor for the throne, he ordered sir Robert Willoughby to take him from Sheriff's Hutton castle, in Yorkshire, and to lodge him, then an unbefriended lad of fifteen, in the ominous Tower of London.¹⁶ Henry advanced to the metropolis by easy journeys, amid much popular applause. The feelings of the country were sufficiently divided, to insure to every successful leader a satisfying quantity of public acclamations. As he approached London, he was met by the city authorities, with the usual gratulations, in their usual costume. They had been liberal of these to all the chiefs who had approached them from the field of victory. The peers greeted him at Shoreditch. He entered in a close chariot¹⁷, which was not liked; but he may have thought it necessary for his safety. He went to St. Paul's church, offered his three standards¹⁸, and joined in the *Te Deum*; and took up his first residence, like Edward V. in the bishop's palace. While he rested there, plays, pastimes, and pleasures, were

¹⁵ See it in Drake's Ebor. p. 122.

¹⁶ Pol. Virg. p. 565. Graft. p. 853.

¹⁷ Bacon. B. Andreas says, "latenter." MS.

¹⁸ Graft. p. 854. One had the image of St. George. In the second was a fiery dragon, beaten upon white and green sarsenet. The third had a dun cow, painted on yellow tarterne. Ib.

exhibited in every part of the city; and on the 30th of October, he proceeded in great state to Westminster, and was crowned.¹⁹

It was amid many circumstances connected with his future inquietude that Henry came to his throne. A stranger to most of those who had crowned him, except from the short acquaintance of the last few hurried days, he could not but perceive that they had exalted him by ungratefully abandoning a liberal master, whom they had dethroned and killed. Like Richard, he had to reign among conflicting interests, in a stormy age of new opinions, and over an aristocracy both humorsome and dictatorial; jealous of privileges, which the welfare of the increasing population required to be abated; easily affronted; and whose resentment, the deposition and fate of four sovereigns had shown to be most deadly. What security could he obtain for their continuing fidelity? and how must he shape his conduct to escape those rebellions and evils which had pursued the throne of England, from the accession of Richard II. to the downfall of his late namesake?

The errors of the last king pointed out many things that were to be avoided. But as all the contending interests which had been agitating the country since the reign of Henry V., continued still subsisting and unappeased, it was a natural impossibility that his reign could be long tranquil, or universally or permanently popular. Whichever way he moved, he, like the reprobated Richard, must dissatisfy many. New enemies would start up, from impatient selfishness, every year of his reign; and no wisdom or virtue could save him either from abuse or hostility.

¹⁹ Graft. p. 854, 855. B. Andreas gives Elizabeth a pretty speech on Henry's successes, which Speed has translated in his history, p. 741; but which it is not likely the royal biographer could have heard, tho he was present at Henry's entrance into the metropolis.

BOOK
V.REIGN OF
HEN. VII.

1485.

Happily, however, for our comfort, hope is more active than foresight; and the tempests that are to afflict us, are rarely believed possible till their ravages are felt. The king trod warily, and had a naturalized equanimity of temper, and a magnanimity of mind, which, being unconquerable by adversity, kept him from either exciting or deserving it.

His two first objects were, to obtain a parliamentary sanction for his crown, and to reward his friends. The parliament met in September. The bishop who had been preceptor to Edward V. opened it with a speech, which, quoting both Ovid and the Bible, assured the nation that a golden age was coming to it under their new Joshua, who would strive with all his might to extirpate or amend the wicked; and ended with exhorting the land to hail him as the Jews did their Solomon, with "God save the king!" "May the king live for ever!"²⁰ The parliament first granted a subsidy, and then enacted the inheritance of the crown to be "in the most royal person of king Harry VII. and the heirs of his body, and on none other."²¹ The attainders of his friends were reversed²², and similar measures were retorted on the chief supporters of Richard.²³ A general amnesty was then wisely proclaimed to all others who should submit themselves, and swear fealty within forty days. A great number came from their

²⁰ Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 267.

²¹ *Ib.* p. 268—270. This statute vested a new parliamentary right in his posterity, and took it away from Edward's line; for, if Elizabeth had died childless, this act fixed it in Henry's issue by any other wife.

²² *Ib.* p. 273. As the king himself had been attainted, it was consulted upon by the judges what was to be done in this respect. They unanimously agreed, "That the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood; and that, from the time the king assumed the crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions of blood discharged." But the records of the attainders against him were ordered by parliament to be destroyed. Bacon's Hist. p. 581.

²³ Parl. Rolls, p. 275—278. The attainders of Richard's supporters were much censured, as these gentlemen were obliged to obey his military summons as king, on pain of forfeiting their own lands or lives. Croyl. p. 581.

sanctuaries, and accepted the offered grace.²⁴ He made his uncle Pembroke, duke of Bedford; and Stanley, earl of Derby; and Chandos, a gentleman of Bretagne, earl of Bath. He raised sir Giles Daubeny and Willoughby to the baronial peerage; and restored Buckingham's eldest son to his father's dukedom and possessions. He named a numerous privy council from his most valued or important adherents; but, tho' kind to them all, he selected those to be his confidential ministers and friends, who had been his earliest and most continuous assistants and advisers.²⁵ They who had served Richard and at last betrayed him, were rather rewarded than trusted by Henry; and it was probably from this reason, that lord Stanley, while allowed to remain constable of England, was not placed in his household, nor much befriended, tho', for the sake of his mother, the king occasionally visited him. The chamberlainship was presented to sir William, who had really given Henry the victory and the crown. Anxious to adopt such measures as should improve the kingdom, in laws, institutions, and manners, he endeavored to raise hopes in all, that a better order of things would be established, wherever the national welfare required the melioration.²⁶ He introduced a new means of personal safety, by appointing, like the king of France, a body guard of fifty archers²⁷; and tho' he delayed

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²⁴ Pol. Virg. p. 566. Graft. p. 855. Stillington, the bishop who had assisted to make Edward V. illegitimate, was at first imprisoned at York, "sore crased, by reason of his trouble." Drake's Ebor. p. 123. But he obtained a pardon.

²⁵ Pol. Virg. p. 567. Bray, to whose activity and prudence Henry owed so much, was made sir Reginald, and appointed one of his privy council. Throughout his reign, Morton, Fox, Bray, and Daubeny, seem to have been his most trusted advisers.

²⁶ Pol. Virg. p. 567. Hall, p. 425. Graft. p. 857. It was at the end of autumn in this year, that the new kind of sickness came on in England, called The Sweating Sickness. It began with a burning perspiration, with such a violent heat in the head and stomach, that the sufferers could bear no clothes. It was very mortal; but they who survived its violence for twenty-four hours usually escaped. In eight days, two lord mayors and six aldermen became victims to it. Graft. p. 857, 858. Pol. Virg. p. 567, 568.

²⁷ Their name, "yeomen of the guard," was not new. The king was too wise not to soften an obnoxious measure, by connecting it with existing titles. The

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his covenanted marriage with Elizabeth, perhaps deliberating on the policy of preferring the heiress of Bretagne, till the nation became uneasy, he yielded at length to the general desire of extinguishing all future civil wars of rival dynasty, by uniting her line with his own, in their marriage on the 18th of January, 1486. Bonfires, dancing, songs, and banquets pervaded the metropolis. It seemed the consummation of the nation's happiness.²⁸ She was beautiful and gentle. But whether from her previous conduct, or from more personal causes than we can now discover, no cordial affection subsisted at first between her and Henry.²⁹ The king sent for his two clerical friends, Morton and Fox, in whom he placed the highest confidence.³⁰ Morton was appointed archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor: and Fox, a bishop and his privy seal.

It was the sanguine belief of the nation, that the union with Elizabeth closed the fountain of all future factions. It would have done so if the conflict had been merely a personal contest; but the contending leaders being the representatives of the continuing hostile interests, the materials of commotion continued ready to explode, whenever any new man of influence chose to become turbulent. Of these hostile interests, many became embodied in attachment to the York family; because Henry, having come forward on a Lancastrian title, all that opposed government inclined to favor the antagonist line.

The battle of Bosworth had destroyed the most

novelty was, in the personal appropriation of them to the royal security, and in their fixed locality about his apartments. Their state effect has occasioned them to be continued in the dresses of their first institution.

²⁸ Bern, And. MS. Dom.

²⁹ Bacon, p. 582. Yet he settled on her a liberal dower (Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 6.); and seems to have become more attached to her after she was separated from her mother, and had exhibited her own piety and maternal virtues.

³⁰ Morton was raised to the primacy on the death of cardinal Bourchier (Pol. Virg. p. 575.), who was descended from Edward III. thro his son Thomas, duke of Gloucester. Croyl. p. 581.

distinguished adherents of Richard III. but left the animosity of his friends to the new sovereign, and his treacherous supporters, unabated. Yet the preceding tempests had swept away the men of most name and importance; and no person of active consequence existed at the moment of the new accession, disposed to resist the change, excepting lord Lovel. It has been seen that Catesby, by his dying will, recommended that this friend of Richard should be taken into Henry's favor. Instead of using this policy, the king excepted him out of the general amnesty.

In the spring, Henry resolved, like Richard, to make a tour of popularity and policy to the northern counties.³¹ As they cherished so warmly the memory of Richard, this visit had the appearance of danger; and Lovel thought it would enable him to avenge his fallen master. He left his sanctuary, and attempted a sudden insurrection against Henry.³² The king, on horseback, nobly accompanied, proceeded by Waltham to Cambridge, where the University received him with honor; and passed on to Lincoln, where he kept his Easter, attending frequently at the cathedral during the solemnity. Turning off to Nottingham, he went, the next week, into Yorkshire, where the Stanleys took their leave of him; and he moved thro Doncaster to Pomfret.³³ It was the plan of Lovel to destroy him by surprise. The king had heard that he was exciting disturbance, and had disregarded the rumor; but as the stately train was advancing towards York, the rebels suddenly appeared about Ripon and Middleham³⁴; and if Henry had not been, at this crisis, joined at Barnesdale, by the earl of Northumberland, "with a right great and noble

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³¹ There is a full account of Henry's progresses in the Harl. MS. No. 7, p. 408. Hearne has printed the present one, from the pen of a spectator, in his Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 185.

³² Pol. Virg. p. 568.

³³ Hearne, p. 186.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 187.

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company," Lovel might have effected his purpose. The king was almost intercepted, when the earl appeared.³⁵ He could only send, at the moment, against the insurgents, 3000 men, several armed only with leather instead of mail, under the duke of Bedford. But this nobleman, on consulting with his knightly companions, deeming it advisable to allure the enemy to submission, and to avoid a conflict that must be doubtful, sent an offer of grace and pardon to all who would lay down their arms. As their plan of surprise had failed, and had not been seconded, and they were too few to wage a protracted war with the king, the insurgent accepted the judicious proposal; and Lovel withdrew, in the night, into Lancashire³⁶, and afterwards sailed to Flanders, to Margaret, the dowager duchess of Burgundy³⁷, whose affection for her brother, Edward IV., led her to support all who chose to become inimical to Henry. The two Staffords, who had been co-operating with Lovel, were taken, and the elder one executed.³⁸

The king approaching York, was received, three miles from its gates, by the corporation and citizens on horseback; and near the walls, by processions of friars; and within the city by the general assemblage from all the parish churches; the whole population vociferously acclaiming him.³⁹ Pageants of crowned kings and minstrels were ready with their long speeches; and Solomon, David, and the Virgin, were also conjured up to welcome him. His devout attendances at the minster were followed by state banquets, which united the hearts of the subjects to their king; and he then crossed the country; and

³⁵ So Croyland states, p. 582.

³⁶ Pol. Virg. p. 569.

³⁷ Bacon, p. 582.

³⁸ Pol. Virg. Grafton, p. 860. This was the Humphrey who had so actively assisted to surround Buckingham.

³⁹ The popular cry of "the mervellous great number of men, women, and children, on foote, was, 'King Henry! king Henry! Our Lord preserve us that sweet and well-savored face.'" Hearne, p. 187.

having, on Whitsun evening, reached Worcester, he visited Gloucester and Hereford, with the same congratulations from the municipal authorities, friars, clergy, and people; and from their oratorical pageants⁴⁰, which so much delighted the yet emerging and still simple literary taste of our ancestors. He paused awhile at Bristol, where the William Canyng⁴¹ of our too early-flowering, and too impatient Chatterton, had then recently been mayor; and where some Rowley taught king Bremmius at the town gate, and Prudence at the high cross, and Justice, with her maiden children, at St. John's, to address the king with humble good sense, tho not with the poetry that breathes in Ella and sir Charles.⁴² The inventive genius of the city was displayed in pageants that were praised⁴³; and the king, having conversed with the citizens to their hearts delight⁴⁴, returned to Sheen, visited by the nobles as he passed; and receiving, from the great towns and abbeys, complimentary presents of gold, silver, wine, beads, and mittens. The lord mayor of London, with all the

⁴⁰ All these our author describes with careful remembrance and visible pleasure. Hearne, p. 188—201.

⁴¹ This merchant is frequently mentioned in W. Wyrcestre's Itiner.

⁴² See the speeches to Henry in Hearne, p. 199—201. I have no doubt that Chatterton found much that was ancient; but like Macpherson with Ossian, he seems to have made his originals but themes for his own genius to compose upon, and has given us himself instead of his ancestors. It is a misfortune to the world, that he found any thing to excite his talents so prematurely, and to suggest their exertion in the path he chose.

⁴³ After mentioning that a baker's wife, in her joy, cast out of a window a great quantity of wheat, exclaiming, "Welcome, and good luck!" the author adds, from his own taste, "There was a pageant called The Shipwrights' pageant, with praty conceits playing in the same; and a litle farther, an olifaunte, with a castle on his back, curiously wrought; and the resurrection in the highest tower of it, with certain imagery smiting bells. All went by weights, *merveolously wele done.*" *Ib.* p. 202.

⁴⁴ The king asked them, "the cause of their poverty; and they shewed his grace, for the great loss of shpls and goods within five years. The king comforted them, that they should set on and make new ships, and exercise their merchandize as they were wont to do; and he should so help them, by divers means, as he shewed them." The effect of his kind manners, the author thus expresses: "The mayor of the town told me, they heard not, this hundred years, of no king so good a comfort; wherefore they thanked Almighty God, that had sent them so good and gracious a sovereign lord." Hearne, p. 202.

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city companies, in their barges, rowed up to Putney, to accompany him in state down the Thames to Westminster. At all the cities, the bishops read the pope's bull, declaring the king and queen's title to the crown⁴⁵, the foundation for the anathemas of the church, that were subsequently issued against those who opposed it.

Henry soon afterwards visited Winchester, where his son Arthur was born⁴⁶; whose christening was contemplated and provided for by the countess of Richmond, the king's mother, with a ceremonial solicitude⁴⁷, and was afterwards performed with a deliberate pomp⁴⁸, which shew how fondly the age as well as the happy directress of the occasion was attached to dramatic parade.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Hearne, p. 200—203.

⁴⁶ On St. Eustachius' day. *Ib.* p. 204. In September, 1486. Speed, p. 742. Our venerable chronicler was absurd enough to say, on the prince being christened Arthur, "of which name outward nations and foreign princes trembled and quaked, so much was that name to all terrible and fearful." Graft. p. 860. So Hall, p. 428. They forgot that the Arthur of romance was not the Arthur of history.

⁴⁷ His minute preparatory ordinances, from the Harl MS. No. 6079, are printed by Hearne, p. 179.

⁴⁸ Hearne has also printed the full detail of this stately baptism, and the consequent festivities, p. 204—208.

⁴⁹ This lady survived her son king Henry. Her life is a favorable picture of the high female nobility of those times. Her funeral sermon states, that her father was John duke of Somerset; her mother, Margaret. That she was right studious in books, which she had in great number, both in English and in French; and she translated several tracts of devotion from French into English; among these, the *Mirror of Gold*, and the last book of Thomas-à-Kempis. She lamented that she had not applied to Latin, tho she knew enough of it to understand well her prayer-book. By lineage and affinity, she had thirty kings and queens within four degrees of marriage to her, besides earls, marquises, dukes, and princes. She was temperate in food, "eschewing banquets, rere-suppers, and joculars betwixt meles." She rose about five o'clock, attended her public and private prayers, dined at ten. She had written regulations for her household, which she had read to them four times a year. She frequently exhorted them to do well. She was very kind in entertaining strangers. She daily fed, lodged, and visited in her house, twelve poor persons; ministered to them in their sickness, and saw them on their death-beds that she might learn to die. See her funeral sermon, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, at the Sun in Fleet-street. After her first husband (Richmond's) death, she married the eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, and uncle of the one who favored Richard. Surviving him, she chose for her third and last husband, lord Stanley, at the end of the reign of Edward IV. then a widower. She had no children by her two last nuptials. But this lady demands our grateful remembrance for the benefits she has occasioned to learning and religion. She founded a perpetual lecture of divinity at Oxford, and another at Cambridge, at which some of our ablest divines have emerged to deserved reputation; also, a perpetual public preacher at

As Henry had been as much seated by violence on his throne as Richard III., tho by battle instead of the scaffold, he was not, for some time, popular beyond his own immediate party, that had enthroned him. The general body of the nation was still greatly affected to the house and memory of York. Richard was remembered with regret, especially in the northern counties.⁵⁰ Henry was hated for his success; and charged with having put to death, in the Tower, the young earl he had imprisoned.⁵¹ The king's general demeanor, from the difficulties surrounding him, was not adapted to lessen the adverse humor. He was mysterious and impenetrable. More says, that one thing was so often pretended, and another meant, that nothing was so plain and openly proved, but from the custom of close dealing, men inwardly suspected it⁵²; and Bacon remarks, that he had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance.⁵³ Having prospered so much by the treachery of others to Richard, and being afterwards compelled to keep the traitors as his friends; while, from his strangeness to the nation, and from its resentment at his victory, he had such a necessity for their support, and yet from their previous conduct, such an uncertainty as to their stability; Henry was like a man sleeping near a precipice, or living amid surrounding ambushes. He knew not where he was really safe, nor in whom he could fully confide, nor for what duration. Hence, caution and alarm produced that doubting, and wary secrecy, which, causing suspicion and uneasiness in others, prevented them from being cordial, and him from being popular or happy. All crowns obtained

Cambridge, which has been altered into the delivery of one sermon to the clergy every Easter. She also founded Christ's college, and likewise St. John's, at Cambridge. She was admitted into the fraternity of several religious houses, which entitled her to their prayers, and to a share in what they deemed their meritorious penances and good works. See preface to her sermon, ed. 1708.

⁵⁰ Bacon, p. 595.⁵¹ Pol. Virg. p. 569, 570. Speed, p. 742.⁵² More, p. 245, 246.⁵³ Hist p. 583.

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by violence and treachery must be pursued by these disquietudes. But altho the nation was full of discontent, and of unemployed soldiers, and turbulent men without livelihood, who sought subsistence or advancement in disturbance⁵⁴, the disaffected had no great leader to organize, embody, and direct them. The Stanleys, if disposed to revolt, could never be trusted again. Buckingham was too young; and the son of Clarence was secluded in prison. From this want of actual chiefs, and yet, from the necessity of having one of name as a nucleus for successful insurrection, it became a remarkable feature in this reign, that impostors should be set up to supply the deficiency, and to become the desired leaders. They were the creatures of the disaffection, and of the exigencies of the day. They failed, from their being deceptions; but their temporary impressions shew how transitory Henry's sceptre might have been, if a Warwick, or Hastings, or Buckingham, had been alive to have excited and combined the nobility and gentry into a confidential co-operation against it.

The first that was started against Henry, was a boy of ten years old.⁵⁵ At his emerging, some contradictions confused the character which the adventurer was reported to have assumed. According to the earliest rumor, the young duke of York had arrived in Ireland.⁵⁶ The king sent messengers into different parts to ascertain every circumstance as to his origin, education, previous residence, and present friends⁵⁷; and had the Pope's bull in his favor again read in the churches, and all his enemies excommunicated.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Pol. Virg. p. 569.⁵⁵ Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 397.⁵⁶ Bern. And. MS. p. 185.⁵⁷ Ib.⁵⁸ Hearne, Lel. p. 209. The Pope's bull, dated 6 kal. April, 1486, states, that he approves and confirms Henry's succession, and requires the obedience of all his subjects, and forbids any from raising tumults; and if Elizabeth should die childless, settles the succession in his issue by any other wife. Rym. Fœd. xii. p. 297. To have recourse to such an authority, implies great doubts in Henry's mind as to his permanency.

It was at last declared, that the new competitor of the king was Warwick, the son of the duke of Clarence, the attainted brother of Edward IV. ; and that he had escaped from the Tower.

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It does not seem that this lad was first launched into his adventure by the duchess of Burgundy, tho she afterwards adopted him. It was a priest at Oxford, who began the delusion⁵⁹; and others who had flourished under Edward IV. combined to prompt his sprightly nature, and to give him that information which enabled him to mislead others so ingeniously, that many would have died in his defence.⁶⁰ The earl of Lincoln, whom Richard III. had declared heir to his crown, was so infatuated by his own resentments as to accredit him.

As his partisans had no force in England, sufficient to make a safe point for the assembling of those who were to support him, the pretended prince was first exhibited in Ireland, in Lent⁶¹, with all the success that could be expected from warm hearts and excited imaginations. The Irish nobility believed all his tales. Even the lord chancellor received him into his castle. Thus patronized, the duchess Margaret added her impressive sanction, and he prepared to land in England.⁶²

⁵⁹ Bern. And. p. 186. This author calls him the son of a baker or cobbler; the Parliament Roll says, of a joiner, vol. vi. p. 397. William Symonds, the contriving priest, was but twenty-eight years of age; and on being examined before the convocation, after his capture, confessed the imposture. See the document in Wilkin's Conc. vol. iii. p. 618.

⁶⁰ Bern. And. p. 186. Polydore Virgil says the priest was suborned by the chiefs of his faction, p. 571.

⁶¹ Hearne, p. 209. Graft. p. 862—865. Pol. Virg. p. 570. He was crowned with a diadem, taken from a statue of the Virgin. The viceroy, chancellor, and treasurer, sanctioned the coronation; and the bishop of Meath preached at it. Ware, Hib.

⁶² This lady, who seconded every plot to dethrone the man that had driven her own family from the sovereignty of England, was, in Henry VII.'s time by a classical allusion, occasioned by her pertinacious enmity to him, called his persecuting Juno. B. Andreas, MS. Dom. A 18. She had her brother Edward's taste for martial romances. Caxton says, he translated his Destruction of Troy, out of French into English, at her commandment and request, and called her his lady and mistress. If printing circulates books, let us recollect, that it was the demand for

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Alarmed at the popular favor that began to befriend this unexpected competitor, Henry drew the real earl of Warwick out of the Tower, paraded him thro the streets of London; and satisfied the great body of the nobility and gentry, that the other was an impostor. To allay, as far as possible, all resentful feelings against himself, he had a general amnesty of all offences proclaimed, without any exception. This had a salutary effect; but did not suit the interests of the York party, nor reconcile its general friends. The earl of Lincoln, his queen's nephew, and the next male heir of York after Warwick, determined to take advantage of the insurrection of the Irish; and left England to join Margaret in Flanders, where he met lord Lovel. It was settled, that they should foment the rebellion in Ireland, land in England, release the real earl of Warwick, and make him their Yorkist king.⁶³ The impostor was only to be used as a convenient instrument for exciting the opposing spirit of the English nation into an effective co-operation.

Henry, endangered and angered by this serious plot, dispossessed his queen's mother, the widow of Edward IV. of all her possessions. Her residence had been the seed-bed of the conspiracies in his own favor, and would naturally be the centre of all that would attack him. To prevent this again, he confined her to a residence in Bermondsey abbey.⁶⁴ Then,

them which chiefly created printing. It was the demand, exceeding what copyists could supply, that led the mind to the invention of the typographic art, far more than any accident. Caxton shews this, in his own confession as to this work: "Forasmuch as I am weary of tedious writing, and worn in years, being not able to write out several books for all gentlemen, and such others as are desirous of the same, I have caused this book to be printed; that, being published the more plentifully, men's turns may be more easily served." *Dest. Troy*, p. 120, 3rd book. He says of the two first books, that, by her commandment, he began the translation at Bruges, continued it in Ghent, and finished it in Cologne, in 1471; and that he was at Cologne, when he began the third book for her contemplation. 2nd book, p. 134. Here we see the places that connected him with the art of printing.

⁶³ Graft. p. 864, 865.

⁶⁴ "Where," says Grafton, "she lived a miserable and wretched life." p. 864.

uneasy at Lincoln's flight, and fearful that others would follow him, and make Flanders and Brussels to be a scene of conspiracy against him, as Bretagne and Paris had been for him, against Richard, the king went to Essex and Suffolk, but could not gain any certainty where his enemies would land.⁶⁵ He caused the eastern ports to be closed, and the coast to be guarded ; sent the former queen's son Dorset to the Tower⁶⁶ ; and prepared to encounter the invasion that he was certain would take place. These measures of energy were of the same character of violence which Richard had used against Rivers and others. But Henry avoided his most revolting error, by abstaining from blood.

Lincoln and Lovel sailed to Ireland with 2000 able German soldiers, under a commander of high birth and great talent and experience, Martin Swart ; and landed at Dublin on the 24th of May, where the boy was again proclaimed king. This select force, accompanied by a multitude of savage Irishmen, armed only with "skaynes and mantels," under lord Geraldine, arrived on the 4th of June at Furnes, near Lancaster⁶⁷ ; projecting to pass into Yorkshire, and there concenter all the friends of the York dynasty.

The king assembled at Kennilworth castle his army, which lord Oxford petitioned to command ; and, issuing a judicious proclamation⁶⁸, marched thro Coventry and Loughborough⁶⁹, to Nottingham, where

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So Hall, p. 431. There is an account of her funeral, and of her many daughters' last attentions to her, in a MS. in the library of the Royal Society. This lady, in her prosperity, had the merit of completing the foundation of Queen's College, Cambridge (Pol. Virg. p. 571.), which queen Margaret had begun.

⁶⁵ Hearne, p. 209.⁶⁶ Graft. p. 866. Pol. Virg. p. 572.⁶⁷ Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 397. Pol. Virg. p. 573. Graft.⁶⁸ It forbad any to rob churches or individuals, or to molest any one ; or to take provisions without paying for them, on pain of death ; or to lodge themselves, but as the king's officers directed ; or to make any quarrel ; or to impede the bringing of supplies to the army. Hearne, p. 210, 211.⁶⁹ All vagabonds and common women were driven from the army, and those who remained were put into the stocks and prisons of Loughborough. Ibid. p. 212.

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16th June,
Battle of
Stoke.

Capture of
Lambert
Simmel.

lord Strange brought him a powerful body. Swart moved toward Newark. The king, after hearing divine service, intercepted them at Stoke, a mile beyond Newark.⁷⁰ Lincoln, by Swart's advice, drew up his men in an advantageous station on the brow of a hill. Henry made three divisions; but filled the foremost with his best troops, and placed the others as their supporting wings. After an address to his army, the battle began. It lasted three hours, and was at one time doubtful.⁷¹ The skill and valor of Swart deserved a better cause. He fell with Lincoln, Lovel, and Geraldine; and their deaths, with 4000 others⁷², ended the only conflict that seriously endangered Henry after his accession. The impostor, and the priest who had taught and moved him, were taken. The latter was committed to "perpetual prison and miserable captivity." The former was too insignificant a puppet to be any longer dangerous; and, as the wisest depreciation of his claims and of his followers, he was made the king's falconer, and afterwards sent to turn the spits in his kitchen.⁷³

Happily for Henry, this dangerous invasion was made too precipitately by Lincoln and Lovel. Much national feeling was with their enterprise; but the evils of attainder and confiscation were too great to be risked, without a greater probability of success than they presented. If they had won this their first battle, they might have been numerously joined, but their defeat extinguished all hopes of any present change of dynasty. Henry had again an interval of tranquillity; he made a truce of seven years with Scotland; received ambassadors from the French

⁷⁰ Hearne, pp. 213—215.

⁷¹ Bernard Andreas says, that, at one time, Henry's friends were thought to be defeated. "Dum præliarentur, nostri qui *putabantur superati*, illos denique subjecerunt." MSS. Dom. p. 189.

⁷² Hearne, p. 214. Bern. And. Pol. Virg. p. 574. Hall, p. 434.

⁷³ Pol. Virg. p. 574. Graft. p. 867. Bern. And. MS. p. 189.

king, and endeavored to mediate between him and Bretagne. He released the marquis Dorset from the Tower, and received him into his friendship; and perceiving how deeply the nation was interested in the house of York, he gratified the public feeling by a coronation of his queen.⁷⁴

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The imposition of a tax which the parliament enacted to defray the expense of the king's aid to Bretagne, excited the northern counties into a revolt. The king directed the earl of Northumberland to enforce the payment of the assessment; and the people, who had borne this lord a continual grudge for his treachery to Richard in the battle of Bosworth, vindictively attacked and killed him⁷⁵; and then assembled in rebellion under sir John Egremont. Henry intrusted the earl of Surrey with an army to suppress it; and as it was not otherwise supported, he discomfited them with ease. Their popular leader was beheaded; and Egremont fled to the court of Margaret in Flanders.⁷⁶

The next great ebullition of discontent appeared in the countenance given to the youth, who pretended to be the young duke of York, brother of Edward V. It was hoped, or believed by many, that this prince had not been put to death by Richard, but had escaped; and a young man of the same age, who

Perkin
Warbeck's
pretensions.

⁷⁴ Graft. pp. 871, 872. Hall, p. 438. The admirers of grand ceremonials may see a detailed account of her splendid coronation. *Lel. Coll.* vol. iv. pp. 216—233. She is thus described, in her procession, the day before: "She had a kirtle of white cloth of gold of Damascus, and a mantle of the same suit, furred with ermine, fastened before her breast with a great lace curiously wrought of gold and silk, and rich knobs of gold, tasselled at the end. Her fair yellow hair hung down, plain, behind her back, with a calle of pipes over it. She had a circlet of gold, richly garnished with precious stones, on her head." p. 219. At her coronation, she wore a kirtle and mantle of purple velvet, furred with ermine, with a lace for the mantle. p. 222. Her sister Cecil bore her train.

⁷⁵ Graft. p. 877. Hall, p. 443. Bern. And. MSS. p. 183. Pol. Virg. p. 579. Sir John Savage, who had also deserted Richard, just before battle, did not long survive the earl. Riding out of his pavilion at Boulogne, he was suddenly trapped and taken; and, disdaining "to be taken of such vileyne," he endeavored to defend himself, and was killed. Graft. p. 895.

⁷⁶ Graft. p. 878. Pol. Virg. p. 580.

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had travelled much abroad, going first into Portugal, suddenly appeared in Ireland ; asserting that he was the youthful son of the still-lamented Edward IV.

The Irish credulously welcomed him. The French king, then at variance with Henry, sent for him ; assigned him a guard, and treated him as a prince. The English exiles that were abroad, hastened to him at Paris ; and expeditions, that alarmed Henry into a hasty pacification with the French king, were publicly projected ; but this treaty separating Charles from his interests, the pretending duke of York retired to the duchess Margaret. She received him with full recognition ; gave him also a guard of honor, and called him The White Rose, prince of England.⁷⁷

This countenance, and the plausibility of his conversation, and the suitableness of his appearance to his pretensions⁷⁸, made such an impression in his favor, that it was received in England as an undoubted truth, that he was the real prince ; and therefore, anterior in right to the crown, to his sister Elizabeth. Not only the common people, but divers noble and worshipful men, believed and affirmed it to be true.⁷⁹ Seditions began now to spring up on every side. Many assembled in companies, and passed

⁷⁷ Graft. pp. 896—898. Hall, pp. 462, 463. She pretended to be delighted to hear him, again and again, repeat the well-arranged story of his escape from the intended murderers ; his wanderings in foreign lands, and his happy arrival in her dominions. Pol. Virg. p. 589.

⁷⁸ The account of Bernard Andreas is, that the king's French secretary, influenced by the duchess of Burgundy, became unfaithful to him ; and, joining her faction, assisted her to set up this new adventurer, a native of Tournay, to whom Edward IV. had been godfather ; and who had been educated in the kingdom, and was, therefore, well qualified to pass for his younger son. Hence, he was able to narrate, from his own observation and memory, the habit and actions of Edward IV. and of the king's friends and domestics, whom he had known in his childhood ; and many true circumstances of times and places, besides what he also learnt from the information of others. MS. Domit. p. 210. So that no impostor could have been more judiciously selected.

⁷⁹ The statement which this person gave of his pretended escape from the Tower, and subsequent flight to the king of Scotland, was, "In my tender age, I was secretly conveyed over sea ; where, after a time, the party that had me in charge, suddenly forsook me. I was forced thereby to wander abroad, and to seek mean conditions for the sustaining of my life." Bacon's Hist. p. 615. Speed, p. 757.

over to him in Flanders. Some, from real conviction, excited others to befriend him. Many did so from dissatisfaction to Henry, by whom, they thought, they had not been sufficiently rewarded; and not a few, from a desire to benefit by change and commotion.⁸⁰

Two persons only were now surviving of the murderers of the young princes, sir James Tyrrel and John Dighton. The king committed them to the Tower; subjected them to examination, and circulated their confessions among the public.⁸¹

Henry placed vessels of war, and soldiers he could trust, to guard his coasts; and employed every agency and means to discover who this princely pretender really was. The result of his inquiries his ambassa-

⁸⁰ Pol. Virg. p. 590. Graft. p. 899. Sir Robert Clifford and sir William Burley went over, to apprise the duchess of the feelings and intentions of the English friends to the new claimant.

⁸¹ I do not find that a verbatim and official copy of their statements was published. Bacon says, "They agreed both in a tale, as the king gave out to this effect;" and then adds the narrative already stated in the reign of Richard III. His lordship adds, "Thus much was then delivered abroad, to the effect of those examinations. But the king, nevertheless, made no use of them in any of his declarations, whereby, as it seems, those examinations left the business somewhat more perplexed. John Dighton, who, it seemeth, spake best for the king, was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition." p. 608. The withholding from the public, of their exact confessions, is something extraordinary, but may have arisen thus; Tyrrel, as a gentleman, would have as little to do with the actual manual murder, as possible. That he planned the deed, employed and sent in the agents, and glanced on the bodies, and then set off to Richard, was, probably, all he did. The disposal of the bodies, and the actual killing, he may have left to the men; and Miles Forrest, as the professional ruffian, may have been the one most active in burying the corpses. Dighton, less used to murder, may, like Macbeth, have been afraid, or averse, to look again on what he had done, and left the burial to the rugged Forrest. On these suppositions, Dighton would not be able to have pointed out the exact spot where Forrest had buried them; and the inability to produce the bodies, at that important crisis, may have alarmed Henry. Perkin said, he had been saved and conveyed away by one of the employed assassins. As the king, from the death of Forrest, could not produce the evidence of both these, that the princes were killed; the single evidence of Dighton, without the production of the remains, left a defect, that was not irreconcilable with Perkin's pretensions. Hence, the King was afraid of exposing to the verbal criticism of the public, at that moment, when so many were eager and interested to point out the smallest imperfection, the actual confessions. Unable then to find the bodies, he thought it better to circulate the substance of the depositions, and to add a report, which the murderers could not swear to, nor personally know, as they did not assist. That a priest had afterwards moved the bodies to another place. They who know, by experience, how written documents may be commented on by parties interested to support a particular case, and how much they may be perverted to mean something very different from their intended import, will best understand the soundness of Henry's judgment, in not then submitting them to the inspection of his enemies.

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dors communicated to the Austrian duke of Burgundy; and solicited him to discountenance the imposture. His final answer to Henry, without deciding on the genuineness of the pretender, was, that he would not assist him, but could not prevent the lady Margaret from exercising her own discretion on the occasion.⁸²

Henry, with great wisdom, endeavored to defeat the conspiracy by the gentlest means. He persuaded Clifford to abandon it. He offered pardon and reward to all who would do the same; and obtaining the names of its supporters in England, he arrested lord Fitzwalter, two knights, four gentlemen, and six clergymen of rank⁸³, who abetted it. He forbade all trading to Flanders; and astonished the world, by arresting, on the accusation of Clifford, his former preserver, sir William Stanley, to whom he owed his throne. Stanley was confined to his own chamber in the Tower. The charge against him was, that he was secretly abetting the imposture, altho in the confidential post of lord chamberlain to Henry.⁸⁴ Henry, at first, would not believe it. When the truth became evident, he arrested sir William, who ingenuously

⁸² Graft. pp. 900—902. Pol. Virg. p. 592.

⁸³ These were, sir William Rochford, doctor of divinity, and sir Thomas Poynes, both Dominicans; doctor William Sutton; sir William Worsley, dean of St. Paul's; and two others. Graft. p. 902. The two knights, and another, were beheaded; and the lord pardoned, till, attempting to escape to Perkin, he suffered also. Ibid. Doctor Sutton was the parson of St. Stephen Walbrook. Fabian, p. 530.

⁸⁴ B. Andreas' information on sir William's alleged conspiracy, is, "There were then living very learned and very religious men, who were taken up, as in the conspiracy with the chamberlain. Among these, was one who excelled in the knowledge of sacred literature, the provincial of the Dominicans; also, the dean of St. Paul's, doctor of divinity, and some others. *All these either gave money to Perkin, or privately sent it to him, from others.* But the chamberlain, the richest of all, possessed great heaps of treasure, by which he had promised to bring him into the kingdom, and to defend him in it. Sir Robert Clifford communicated these facts to the king, who, as his wise custom was, first, most prudently investigated, whether what this person told him was true; and, having ascertained it to be so, then consigned his chamberlain to be punished by the laws. MS. Dom. vol. xviii. pp. 216, 217. This direct and decisive evidence shews, that sir William was planning to deal with Henry, as his brother, lord Stanley, had with Richard. Pol. Virgil mentions, that Clifford charged Stanley with being one of Perkin's allies. p. 593.

confessed it.⁸⁵ For this treachery he was arraigned at Westminster, adjudged to death, and suffered at Tower-hill on the 16th of February.⁸⁶

The king now inflicted severities like those for which Richard had been reprobated. He caused divers persons to suffer condign punishment in England for their seditious or disloyal expressions; and then sent an army into Ireland, under sir Edward Poynings, to destroy the supporters of his youthful competitor. Poynings assembled the Irish nobility, who gave him fair promises; but dreading his threats, withdrew into the woods and marshes of the country. Sir Edward attempted a vigorous pursuit, but found his force insufficient to act against them, in their fastnesses and retreats. He surprised the earl of Kildare; yet Henry thought it politic not only to release him, but to appoint him the lord lieutenant of the island.⁸⁷

The young adventurer at length sailed from Flanders; and on the 3rd of July attempted to land at Deal in Kent.⁸⁸ But finding that a party, which he landed, was attacked as enemies, he returned to Flanders, to consult on his further enterprise.⁸⁹

He sailed to Ireland, and thence passed into Scot-

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⁸⁵ Pol. Virg. p. 593. It is not probable, that sir William's declaration, That, if he were certain that Perkin was the son of Edward, he would never bear arms against him, was the only ground of Henry's severity, tho' this might be all that sir William chose publicly to say. Yet this speech implies, sufficiently, his adverse mind to Henry. No man, in Stanley's situation, and after Lambert's imposture, would have said so much, if he had not desired the success of the new plot, and had not wished to contribute to its prosecution.

⁸⁶ Graft. p. 905. Pol. Virg. p. 563. He is included in the act of attainder, (Stat. of the Realm, vol. ii. p. 633.) without a detail of his offence. It is mentioned, that sir William had collected a treasure of 40,000 marcs, in his castle at Holt-Stowe; and, from his tenantry, could have brought a large force into the field against the king

⁸⁷ Graft. pp. 907, 908. Pol. Virg. pp. 594, 595.

⁸⁸ Stat. Realm, vol. ii. p. 633.

⁸⁹ Graft. p. 909. Pol. Virg. p. 596. Five captains, and 160 men, were taken. B. Andreas says, about 400. The king's speech, or rather prayer, on this advantage, which he adds, was an expression of gratitude and resignation to the Supreme, ending, "No prosperity, no adversity, no chance, no time, no place, shall ever make us unmindful of Thee." MS.

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land, where the young king James decided to receive him with honor, as the genuine duke of York; and to encourage his adherents, and evince his own conviction, he married him to his near kinswoman, the earl of Huntley's daughter; and supplied him with an army to enter England by the northern borders.⁹⁰

His army plundered and ravaged in Northumberland; but satisfied with their booty, would advance no further. No Englishman welcomed the pretending prince; and on his return to Scotland, the king began to question his reality, and to relax in his behalf.⁹¹ In January 1496, Henry apprised his parliament of the Scotch aggression.⁹²

Lord Daubeny was dispatched with an army towards Scotland; but the people of Cornwall, resenting a new taxation, assembled in a rebellion, formidable for the numbers, tho not for the efficiency, of those engaged in it. They chose captains, and moved to Taunton. The king was alarmed to hear that Lord Audley and several of the minor nobility had joined them; and that they were marching to London. He called back lord Daubeny from the north, to meet them; while he commissioned the earl of Surrey to defend Durham and the Scottish borders.⁹³

The king, choosing to let their first impetuosity waste itself, the rebels marched, unopposed, to Wells, to Salisbury, to Winchester, and thence into Kent, and reached Blackheath. They were meditating to enter the metropolis, and attack the Tower; when the king, sending the earl of Oxford with a select body of archers and men at arms, to take them in the

June 22d.
Battle on
Black-
heath.

⁹⁰ Graft. p. 912. Pol. Virg. p. 597. In this year died the duchess of York, mother of Edward IV. and Richard III. Hall, p. 472.

⁹¹ Graft. p. 912—914. Pol. Virg. p. 598. On Perkin's transactions in Scotland, see Bernard Andreas' MS. History, p. 218.; and Hall, pp. 473—476.

⁹² Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 509.

⁹³ Graft. pp. 916, 917. Pol. Virg. pp. 599, 600. During the quarrel with Scotland, all Scots, not denizens, were ordered to depart out of England within forty days. Stat. Realm, vol. ii. p. 553.

rear, marched out of the city, to attack them in front. In the first assault at Deptford bridge, they took lord Daubeny prisoner; but unexpectedly released him. The king had come upon them on the 22d of June, two days earlier than he had threatened. They could not long resist his forces. They were soon dispersed; many killed, more taken, and Audley was hanged.⁹⁴ The invasion of the Scots was repelled, and retaliated, by the earl of Surrey, till the king of Scotland agreed to a truce, and promised to convey Perkin Warbeck out of his dominions.⁹⁵

Perkin retired to Ireland, and endeavored to revive the rebellion in Cornwall.⁹⁶ He called himself Richard IV., obtained some support, and assaulted Exeter. Repulsed there, he attempted Taunton: the Cornish men talked of being desperate; but when Henry's army was assembled under his most trusty noblemen, Perkin, afraid of risking a battle, suddenly destroyed all his own hopes, by flying at midnight, with sixty horsemen, over the country to Southampton. There he sought the shelter of the church at Bewdley abbey; and soon, with subdued and desponding mind, submitted to the king, and was taken to London. He was carefully watched, but not harshly treated, till he escaped out of custody, and reached the sea coast. Closely pursued, he

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⁹⁴ Graft. pp. 920—922. Pol. Virg. pp. 601—603. Stat. Realm, vol. ii. p. 684.

⁹⁵ Perkin's volunteered statement to the Scottish king, and implied in his proclamation, that Edward V. was murdered, seems a deciding circumstance, to prove both his own imposture, and Richard's guilt. If, as some have surmised, Edward had died of illness and grief, and his brother had been conveyed away, by his uncle's orders, to foreign parts, Perkin, for the credit of the family, would have been taught so to state. But his calling Richard, in his proclamation, "our unnatural uncle," and adding to the same epithet, in Scotland, the additional charge that the king employed an instrument to murder them both; and that the assassin had cruelly slain Edward, but had preserved him; satisfactorily shew, that no one then believed that Edward V. died a natural death, and leave no doubt as to his own imposture; because, Richard and Tyrrel having, by his own statement, determined on their deaths, would have taken care to be sure, that the catastrophe they planned had been effected.

⁹⁶ He landed at Whitsun-bay there, September 7. 1497. Stat. Realm, p. 684. See Bern. And. MS. p. 219.

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retraced his steps; and solicited an asylum in the priory of Sheen, near Richmond. From this refuge he was taken to London; set in the stocks a whole day, before the door of Westminster hall; exposed to the reproaches and insult of a deriding populace; and carried through London the next day, to undergo the same degradation at the standard in Cheapside, where he read a confession of his imposture, from a copy of his own writing.⁹⁷ On that night, June the 15th, he was committed to the Tower. There Warwick, the son of Clarence, had been confined for fifteen years, by Henry, so continually secluded from all society, that his mind sank into such a state of fatuity, as to be unable, says the old chronicler, "to discern a goose from a capon." Yet, an Augustine friar, attempting to engraft on his name a new conspiracy against Henry, persuaded one of his scholars to personate him in Kent. But the friar and his puppet were soon apprehended; the latter was hanged on Shrove Tuesday; the other doomed to perpetual imprisonment.⁹⁸

Perkin was enabled, by means unexplained, to bribe and interest three of his keepers, to let him and Warwick escape from the Tower. They were taken. Perkin was drawn to Tyburn, and there

⁹⁷ Pol. Virg. p. 608. Graft. The substance of the confession was, that he was born at Tournay; his father's name, John Osbecke, a controller of that town. That his mother placed him with a cousin, at Antwerp, to learn Flemish. Returning home, a merchant of Tournay took him again to Antwerp, where he became ill, and put him under a tradesman at Middleburgh. That he went afterwards to Portugal, in an English ship, and entered a knight's service at Lisbon; and that, attaching himself while there to a Breton, he went to Cork, where, because he wore silk clothes, the Irish would believe he was one of the Plantagenets; and urged him to pretend to be so. This confession makes no mention of his having been in England, under Edward IV.; nor of the duchess Margaret's concern with him. It seems to be a factitious paper, meant to throw the whole imposture on the Irish; and is not reconcilable with the other facts about him, unless by supposing that they were intentionally suppressed. The end seems to have been, that, having ruined his character by his flight, even his former friends cared for him no more. This confession could only increase the public contempt for him, as an unsteady dastard, and as a juvenile impostor.

⁹⁸ Graft. p. 931. Pol. Virg. pp. 608, 609.

executed⁹⁹; and the son of Clarence, for having endeavored to escape with him from an unjust confinement, was arraigned for high treason¹⁰⁰, confessed his effort to release himself; and for this offence, was beheaded on the 28th of November 1499.¹⁰¹ This act too much resembles the worst deeds of Richard III. The earl's imprisonment was an act of violent injustice; and the execution of one so debilitated by it, was little less than legal murder. The private comforts of Henry afterwards began to lessen. His eldest son soon died; his own health gave way, and he was in his grave at fifty-two. But who can wear a crown gained in battle, and contested afterwards by disaffection, with innocence or happiness? Virtue and felicity are the guests of other homes.

It is remarkable, that in all the three impostures against Henry, there were literally a priest and a plot. A priest at Oxford trained Lambert Simnel; two Dominican friars, a dean of St. Paul's¹⁰², a doctor of divinity, and other clergymen, were active supporters of Perkin Warbeck; and an Augustine friar brought out the last pretender in Kent.¹⁰³ These facts indicate

State and
reform of
the church.

⁹⁹ The discovery of the bones of children in the Tower, and the other facts mentioned in the preceding pages, remove, so satisfactorily, to my own judgment, all doubt of Richard's murder of his nephews, that I have no question, that Perkin was as complete an adventurer as Lambert Simnel.

¹⁰⁰ The poor helpless earl was charged with attempting to rescue Perkin, and to make him king. Stat. Realm, vol. ii. p. 684.

¹⁰¹ Graft. p. 933. It was said that the king of Spain had refused to wed his daughter with the king's eldest son Arthur, while this heir to the house of York was alive. Ibid. A reason for his execution which doubles its guilt. Two years afterwards she came, and the nuptials took place; *ibid.* p. 935.; but the prince scarcely survived them a year.

¹⁰² This dean was, on the 13th November 1494, attainted of treason, but afterwards pardoned. Stat. Realm, vol. ii. p. 619. Fabian calls him "a famous doctor and preacher; the provincial of the Black Friars." p. 530.

¹⁰³ Besides these, we have other indications of some part of the clergy prosecuting Henry with conspiracies. The abbot of Abingdon connected himself with Simnel's imposture, and Lincoln's rebellion; and, the 1st of January 1487, concerted, that J. Mayne should go to the earl abroad, and give him money for those purposes. This Mayne, on the 1st of December 1490, consulted with a priest, T. R., in London, to release Warwick from the Tower; and the priest went down to the abbot, to shew him "the clearness (that is, the innocence) of the said compassed treason."

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an hostility in a part of the church against Henry; and lead the mind to inquire by what circumstances it was occasioned.

Three questions early pressed upon Henry's attention, as to the church establishment. Was it to be permitted to keep its great property, which the laity wished to diminish and to share? Were its luxuries and the display of its affluence, so criticised by the rest of society, to continue? Should its doctrines, discipline, authority and exerted power, remain unaltered? Of these momentous subjects, Henry did not venture to meddle with the first; he left the property of the church to be regulated by his successor: on the third, tho he did not suppress, he did not encourage persecution; but on the second, the luxury and manners of the clergy, he felt himself strong enough, from the support of some of their wisest chiefs, to interfere, by positive and reforming regulations. Sincerely attached to religion himself, it was offensive to his own feelings and judgment, to see it connected with luxury and immorality, in its appointed teachers.

One of the first statutes of the king was made "for the more sure and likely reformation of priests, clerks and religious men;" and authorized all bishops to punish them for any incontinence, by such imprisonment as they should think expedient.¹⁰⁴ The pope, Innocent VIII. applauding Henry's anxiety for the increase of religion in his realm, complained very early in his reign, of the application of the strong hand of law to the clergy. He assured the king,

After the abbot had seen this man, he told Mayne that he was light witted; but he would reveal his mind to another person. They were all charged with conspiring to levy war against the king, on the 20th of December, and were attainted. *Rolls Parl.* vol. vi, pp. 346, 347.

¹⁰⁴ *Stat. of Realm*, vol. ii. p. 501. The additional provision of the act, That the prelates could not be chargeable with an action of false imprisonment, for so doing, implies, that before this act passed, the offending clergy resisted the right of their superiors to correct them.

that it was not without grief of heart he heard, that they had been sentenced by secular judges, to torture, to stripes, and even to the gibbet; and that the possessions of cathedrals, and the lands, not feudally held, of the bishops, had been confiscated, and this by the royal authority.¹⁰⁵ We have not the sovereign's answer. But as in all instances of the treasonable priests, already alluded to, he took none of their lives, but was content with their being consigned to perpetual imprisonment; it is manifest that he yielded that deference to their asserted privileges, as to allow their order to exempt them from the punishment of death.¹⁰⁶

But in the first convocation after Lambert's imposture, measures were begun for the reformation of the church. It was stated, that many presbyters badly conducted themselves; that they took their repast in taverns, and sat there almost all the day.¹⁰⁷ The rebuking letter of Morton, Henry's confidential archbishop¹⁰⁸, besides forbidding these practices, censured also their mode of wearing their hair, so as to conceal their tonsure; and also their having their garments open in front, so as to make little distinction between themselves and laymen in their dress. He also prohibited their having swords, daggers or belts, or gold purses, or any ornaments of this precious metal. Their non-residences on their benefices were also remarked and reprobated.¹⁰⁹ Yet he obtained the grant of a subsidy for the king, and another in the following year.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ See his letter, dated May 7., in Wilk. Concilia, vol. iii. pp. 616, 617.

¹⁰⁶ Grafton remarks, At that time, here, in England, so much reverence was attributed to the holy orders, that although a priest had committed high treason against his sovereign lord, and to all others, offenders in murder, rape, or theft, yet the life was given, and the punishment of death released. p. 931.

¹⁰⁷ See the proceedings in convocation. Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. pp. 618, 619.

¹⁰⁸ It is dated March 16. 1486. Ibid. p. 619.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. pp. 619, 620.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. pp. 621. 630. The king sanctioned an act, which made void all letters patent that exempted abbots, &c. from paying tenths. Stat. Realm, vol. ii. p. 530.

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In 1489, Innocent VIII. granted the king an important bull for the reformation of the monasteries. In this he stated, that he had heard that some monasteries, that of Clugny, and others of the Cistercians, the Premonstratenses, and various orders, had relaxed their mode of living, and their appointed rules of observances, and their pious contemplations, and were leading a lascivious and too dissolute life. He therefore authorized the king to direct the archbishop to cause them all to be visited, and to reduce them to their true and ancient customs, all excuses set apart; and to cut off and punish all that should prove rebellious.¹¹¹

In the next year, Morton exerted his intrusted powers on the celebrated abbey of St. Alban's. It has been doubted if the monks, before their dissolution, were so profligate as they have been often depicted. The letter of Morton to the abbot of St. Alban's, must end all doubt on this subject.¹¹² He tells the abbot, that he has been accused of simony, usury, the dilapidations of the goods and possessions of the monasteries; and was noted for some other enormous crimes; that not only he the abbot, but not a few also of his fellow monks, were leading a vicious life, and frequently profaned the sacred places, by shedding of blood, and unchastity. He specifies the loose women, whom the abbot had introduced as

Another act, enforcing the same measure, annulled the instrument of Edward IV. that discharged any spiritual persons from paying their tenths or fifteenths. *Ibid.* p. 552.

¹¹¹ Wilkins has printed this bull, vol. iii. p. 631. Henry also obtained from the Pope, in 1487, a bull, which Alexander VI. confirmed, in June 1493, for lessening the privileges of sanctuaries. If criminals ever left them to commit fresh offences, the sanctuaries might be entered. They were to protect persons only, not goods; and the king might send keepers to watch traitors in them. *Rym.* vol. xii. p. 541. Henry afterwards acted with less scruple towards these abused asylums, some of whose privileges lasted even to our own times. In 1504, Julius II. granted a bull, that persons suspected of high treason might be taken out to be judged, if not convicted before. *Rym. Fœd.* vol. xiii. p. 104.

¹¹² It is dated in 1490, and printed in Wilkins, p. 632. In this he calls himself "visitor, reformer, inquisitor, and judge." *Ibid.*

nuns into the convent, and the profligate practices that he and others were pursuing.¹¹³ He commands him to make an effective reformation within sixty days, on pain of further proceedings, in case he should be disobedient or contumacious. Morton was strenuous in pursuing his ecclesiastical reformations. Differences arose between him and his brother prelates¹¹⁴ upon them, and his life was endangered.¹¹⁵ But after Morton's death, in 1500, the ecclesiastical luxury was still repressed; for a year afterwards, "the Gray Friars were compelled to wear their old russet habit, as the sheep doth dye it."¹¹⁶ Other dissensions prevailed among the clergy.¹¹⁷ That the king ventured upon these innovations on a body so powerful, will fully account for the impostors that were sent abroad to dethrone him being countenanced or instigated by members of the church. But the spirit of improvement had awakened; and another instance of it was the papal limitation of the power of making saints. By his bull on this subject, in 1494, the pope confines it to the pontifical chair alone; and specifies the regulations under which they were from that time to be created.¹¹⁸

Yet Henry found it necessary not to prevent the church from occasional persecutions of heresy. In April 1494, he suffered an old woman to be burnt

¹¹³ Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 632. The privilege claimed by the church was also restricted by the benefit of clergy being ordered to be allowed only once to persons not in actual orders. Stat. Realm, p. 538.

¹¹⁴ Fabian remarks, that in July 1494, Dr. Draper was borne by force out of St. Paul's, "for a variance that there was between the bishops of Canterbury and London." p. 530.

¹¹⁵ The statute on conspiracies by the king's servants, to murder his counsellors or great officers (Stat. Realm, vol. ii. p. 521.), is said to have been passed, from Morton's danger from some "mortal enemies in court." Lord Bacon, p. 594.

¹¹⁶ Fab. p. 533.

¹¹⁷ Thus, in 1494, "Dr. Hill, bishop of London, pursued grievously the prior of Christ Church in London." Fab. 529. And in March 1502, "the prior of the Chartreux at Sheen, with another monk of that house, was murdered by the sinister means of a monk of the same place, and other mischievous persons." Ibid. p. 534.

¹¹⁸ See all the rules laid down by the Pope, in the document printed in Wilkins, vol. iii. pp. 636—639.

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politics.

for heresy¹¹⁹; and two years afterwards we read, that many lollards stood with faggots at St. Paul's cross.¹²⁰ As it is not said that they were destroyed, the king may have compromised with the establishment to permit this exhibition, to deter, without allowing them to be killed. This ceremony of menace was repeated in 1498, with twelve persons accused of heresy¹²¹; but in the next year, "an old heretic" was, in Smithfield, consumed by the flames.¹²² In the Lent of 1505, a prior, with five other heretics, were exposed, with indignity, at St. Paul's.¹²³

The two great objects of foreign policy which occupied the anxious attention of Henry, were, the preservation of Flanders and Bretagne from being united with France. The French government pressed zealously forwards to both these objects; and the hostilities maintained by the towns of Ghent and Bruges, against their duke Maximilian, assisted this ambition. Charles VIII. sent an army of 8000 men from France, under the lord Cordes, to assist the revolting towns, and to conquer Flanders. Henry reinforced lord Daubeny, his governor at Calais, with 1000 archers and soldiers, who, with the flower of the garrison, joined the troops of Maximilian at Newport. Their united force, not 3000 men, marched towards the French intrenchments at Dixmude, which 4000 of the disaffected Flemings had reinforced. The English were conducted, unperceived, to one point of the fortified encampment; and moving rapidly to the part where the artillery was posted, immediately attacked it. This policy was to discharge, with a steady effect, their arrows, and then fall prostrate while the ordnance fired over them; to rise again, and shoot while the cannon was re-loading; and then to charge before the foe recovered from the fatal effects

¹¹⁹ Fabian, p. 529.¹²² Ibid.¹²⁰ Ibid. p. 531.¹²³ Ibid. p. 535.¹²¹ Ibid. p. 532.

of the arrows. Another division of the English waded thro the ditch, which the Germans leapt over with their Moorish pikes; and after suffering a loss of 8000 men, the French army abandoned their guns and camp. Cordes, to balance this defeat, with 20,000 troops, attempted Newport, and carried the Tower; but a bark, with eighty fresh English archers arriving at a critical moment, the besieged rallied, and recovered the tower; and the French believing that a great English army had landed, abandoned their enterprise in despair.¹²⁴ As Maximilian was the son of the emperor of Germany, the policy of Henry was enabled, in this quarter, to counteract effectually the French ambition. By sir Edward Poynings, he took Sluys, "the den of thieves to those who traversed the seas towards the east parts," or the German Ocean, and the Baltic; and by his co-operation, the province of Flanders was reduced to the authority of Maximilian.¹²⁵

The efforts of Henry to prevent Bretagne from being incorporated with the French monarchy, were less successful. When Charles VIII., with whom Henry had made friendly truces¹²⁶, in 1487, pursued his quarrel with this duchy, with the hope of mastering it, Henry endeavored to act as the mediator¹²⁷; and unwilling, as well from gratitude to Charles, as from his wise system of peace with other countries, to plunge into a serious war with France, he discountenanced sir Edward, now lord Woodville, the valiant and chivalric brother of lord Rivers, who at-

¹²⁴ Graft, p. 880—882. Hall, p. 446. Pol. Virg.

¹²⁵ Graft, p. 890. Hall, p. 452. Pol. Virg. On Henry's transactions with France and Maximilian, see B. Andreas' contemporary account. MS. Dom. pp. 193—202. For a minute detail of all the circumstances, I would refer the reader to Rapin's History of England; and for a more succinct and correct one, to his *Abrégé Historique des Actes Publics*, vol. ii. pp. 516—520.

¹²⁶ See them in Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. xii. pp. 277. 281. 344., dated Oct. 12. 1485, and Jan. 17. 1486, and July 14. 1488. The last extended to Jan. 17. 1490.

¹²⁷ Henry's mediatorial commissions are dated March 7. and December 11. 1488, Rymer, vol. xii. pp. 337. 347.

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tempted, unauthorized, with 400 men, to assist the Breton duke, by whom, in his necessities, he had been so kindly entertained.¹²⁸ Losing this opportunity of securing the attachment of the Bretons, and of defeating the French project, he left the forces of Bretagne to fight, unsupported by him, an unequal battle with the power of Charles, and to be defeated.¹²⁹ The duke dying, Henry perceived his error, and resolved to assist the young duchess, his daughter, now the sovereign of Bretagne, with troops¹³⁰; but not really pledging the force and vigor of England in the effort, he preferred negotiations¹³¹, to defer what he could not prevent; and amid this hesitating deference, the French obtained an ascendancy in the country, which they never lost.¹³² Charles amused Henry with ambassadors; and the Pope's legate, by attempting a mediation, paralyzed the arm of England. The French king was, in the meantime, bribing the Breton nobility, and paying assiduous attentions to Anne, the heiress of the province.¹³³ Maximilian also wooed, and was privately contracted or married to her by proxy¹³⁴; but after some vacil-

¹²⁸ Hall, p. 439. Pol. Virg.

¹²⁹ This was the battle of St. Aubin du Cormier, fought July 27. 1488, in which lord Woodville fell. Hall, 441.

¹³⁰ On 23d December 1488, Henry issued the order to raise troops for her succor, which is in Rymer, vol. xii. p. 355.; and on Feb. 10. 1489, he covenanted, by a treaty, to send her 6000 men, for which she was to pay, and to give two towns as a pledge for their payment. She was not to make peace without his consent, nor he to renew a peace with France, without comprising her in it. See the treaty in Rym. p. 362.

¹³¹ See the commissions and documents on these, during 1490, 1491, in Rymer, vol. xii. pp. 431. 435. 449. 453.

¹³² There seems to have been too much anxiety in Henry to be repaid his expenses, and too much caution in the government of Bretagne against him. Before his troops were admitted into Nantz, an oath was exacted from him, that they should go out at the first request. Rym. p. 452.; and she agreed to deliver to him Morlaix, but to have its revenues, on paying him 6000 gold crowns a year. p. 488.

¹³³ Graft. p. 872—876. Hall, p. 449.

¹³⁴ This was in November 1489. It was not communicated to Henry till the ensuing February 1491, on which he issued new commissions of negotiation. Rym. vol. xii. p. 435—438. In the last she is called queen of the Romans; so that there was too much Machiavelian politics used on all sides. I suspect, that the Breton government thought Henry wanted to unite the duchy to England, as much as Charles sought to add it to France; while Maximilian wished to annex it to his

lations she decided the competition, by annulling her engagement with Maximilian, and giving her hand, and with that, the duchy, to Charles.¹³⁵ Henry attempted in vain, to prevent its absorption into the French monarchy. In 1491 he raised an army, expecting a coinciding force from Maximilian; but this prince was unable to raise one. Disappointed of his concurrence, Henry resolved to make a descent on France himself; and on the 6th of October passed over with his army to Calais, and there encamped. Charles again had recourse to embassies and negotiations. Henry put on a warlike semblance, and besieged Boulogne; but the prize was gone. The marriage of the heiress had united it irrecoverably with the French crown. Nothing could sever them but battles like those of Poitiers and Agincourt, and campaigns as successful afterwards as those of Henry V.; and what he could accomplish, with the aid of Burgundy, against discontented France, in its then inferior state, was impracticable now, in her palmy state of strength, union, valor, and compact dominion¹³⁶, and with the Breton nobility favoring the annexation. Henry, but unfirmly seated for some time on his own throne, felt himself unequal to dissolve an union which he might at one time have prevented; and making a peace with Charles, who agreed to reimburse his expenses, he retired from the contest¹³⁷; leaving France to consolidate its

dominions. All the four parties were finessing with each other, till Charles VIII. won both the golden apple and the Venus.

¹³⁵ Graft. pp. 885—888. Hall, p. 451. He married her Dec. 16. 1491. The only effectual means by which Henry could have defeated Charles VIII.'s annexation of Bretagne to France, was by marrying the heiress himself; and Bernard Andreas says, that before he left Bretagne, Frances had often proposed this to him; "sepius orando contendisset."—MSS. Dom. A. 18. p. 168. But on this subject Henry's hand was tied. His nuptials with Elizabeth were the price of his English crown; and the nation called upon him to sacrifice all foreign interest to their domestic policy.

¹³⁶ Graft. pp. 890—895.

¹³⁷ One document in Rymer intimates that Charles VIII. was to pay Henry 620,000 gold crowns, which the duchess owed him for his army, and 125,000 for

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acquisition of a peninsular line of coast from Dol to the Loire, which includes Brest, the greatest station of the French navy, the useful roads of the isles of Ushant, and the convenient ports of St. Malo and L'Orient.¹³⁸ The maritime results of this incorporation have given a vigor to the power of France, more effective than it derived from the addition of Normandy or Guyenne, which it had wrested before, from the misdirected government of England, under Henry VI. and the Suffolk administration.¹³⁹

the arrears of the pension of Louis XI. Rym. p. 490. The actual treaty d'Etaples, between Charles and Henry, dated Sept. 3. 1492, does not mention these payments. Its chief articles are, that the peace should last to the death of both the kings; and that it should comprise the king of the Romans and his son. p. 497. But by the conventions of the 3d November and of 10th December, Charles became bound to pay the above sums by 25,000 livres every half year. p. 506. He submitted to be excommunicated, if he failed. p. 509. There are receipts for these payments every half year, till Charles died. Ibid. p. 527., &c. There are also receipts for them from Louis XII. up to Henry's death. p. 700., &c. Pope Alexander VI. granted a bull of excommunication against Louis, if he should fail. p. 762.

¹³⁸ In October 1491, the chancellor's speech, on the opening of Parliament, stated, that the king had cause of war with France, for the dissimulation and dead faith of its government, but thought it right to temporize. Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 440. He made a preliminary treaty with this country on November 3. 1492, but it was not finally ratified till Oct. 1495. Ibid. 507.

¹³⁹ The king landed at Dover, on his return from his ineffectual expedition to France, on December 17. 1492. Fab. p. 529.

CHAP. III.

Foreign Alliances of HENRY VII. — His Character ; Public Views ; Death ; and Beneficial Laws.

HENRY made an alliance with Ferdinand and Isabella, against France¹; but his intercourse with the sovereigns of Spain had little other result than cordial civilities, and a contract of marriage between their daughter Catherine and his eldest son Arthur.² He made also alliances with the duke of Milan, the king of Naples, the bishop of Liege, the archduke Philip, whom his father Maximilian had set over the Low Countries, and the duke of Saxony, the governor of Friesland.³ He concluded a perpetual peace with the king of Denmark, and with Portugal⁴; and treaties of commerce with the republic of Florence, and with the Low Countries.⁵ He also negotiated with the city of Riga, concerning some of its ships, which English cruisers had taken.⁶ He was empowered to assist Ladislaus, king of Hungary, with money against the Turks.⁷

The pacification with Scotland ended, after much negotiation⁸, in a marriage between its sovereign

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¹ See it in Rymer, pp. 417., and the public papers upon it, pp. 410—413. The kingdom of Spain was consolidated by the taking of Granada from the Moors, November 25. 1491. Hall, p. 453. On November 26. 1504, Ferdinand announced to Henry, that his queen Isabella had died that day, by his letter in Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 112.; and that she had appointed him the governor of her kingdom of Castile, for their daughter Joan.

² The marriage is first mentioned in the treaty of May 7. 1489, ratified Sept. 20. 1490. Ibid. p. 417.

³ See these in Rymer, vol. xii. pp. 429. 576. 720. 785.; and vol. xiii. p. 120.

⁴ Rym. vol. xii. pp. 374. 387.

⁵ Ibid. vol. xli. p. 389.; and vol. xiii. p. 132. One article allows the fishers of both nations to fish freely in every place without licence or passport.

⁶ Ibid. vol. xii. p. 701.

⁷ Ibid. vol. xiii. pp. 4, 5.

⁸ See these at first in 1487 with James III. in Rymer, vol. xii. p. 328., and after

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James IV. and Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry⁹; an important union, as it occasioned the house of Stewart to succeed to the English crown. The marriage of Catherine, the princess of Spain, with Arthur, was also accomplished.¹⁰ She landed at Plymouth, the 4th of October 1501¹¹; and on the 12th of November, made her entry from Lambeth into the metropolis.¹² Two days after, she was married to the prince, then but fourteen years old. He lived only a few months after these premature nuptials¹³; and Henry his brother, who had been made duke of York, was now declared prince of Wales¹⁴; and a dispensation from the Pope was soon afterwards obtained, to allow him to wed his brother's widow.¹⁵ A delay on its celebration took place, which gave time for the English king to have some scruples about it¹⁶, and for his son, the intended husband, to object to it. Hence it was not completed while Henry lived; and it was at last effected, with the ultimate result of causing that celebrated divorce to which the Protestant religion owed its first legal

his death in many truces in the same volume. In 1497, Henry issued letters patent, agreeing that his differences with Scotland should be determined by the judgment of Ferdinand and Isabella. p. 671.

⁹ The Pope's bull of dispensation was, on 4th kal. Aug. 1500, obtained for this marriage. Rym. p. 765. The treaty of marriage, dated January 24. 1502, is in p. 787. The lady was only 12 years old on the 29th of November 1501, but Henry was not obliged to send her before September 1. 1503.

¹⁰ She was the fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Her portion was to be 200,000 crowns of gold, one-half to be paid on her reaching England, and the rest in two years. Her dowry was to be 23 or 25,000 crowns. Rym. p. 417. See also the official instrument, pp. 754. 780.

¹¹ Fab. p. 533.

¹² Graft. p. 935. For a full and picturesque account of her reception in England, and of the jousts and banquets given on the occasion, which are curious for displaying the expiring ceremonies of chivalry, see the MS. detail printed by Hearne, in *Lel. Collect.* vol. v. pp. 352—373.

¹³ He died on the 2d April 1502. There is a full detail of his state interment printed by Hearne, *Lel. Col.* vol. v. p. 373.

¹⁴ The patent so creating him, dated June 26. 1502, is in Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 11. On the 24th of October 1503, Henry VII. made a treaty with her parent, for marrying Catherine to his son, afterwards Henry VIII. It is like the one for Arthur, excepting that Henry had received half her portion. Rym. vol. xiii. p. 36.

¹⁵ This bull, which became the subject of so much discussion, on Henry VIII.'s divorce, is dated 7th kal. Jan. 1503, and is in Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 88.

¹⁶ Moryson's *Apomau.*

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establishment in England. Arthur's mother rapidly followed him to the grave.¹⁷ And Henry began afterwards to negotiate for another wife¹⁸; but either his illness, or the death of Philip, the brother of the intended queen, changing this intention, he made a treaty of marriage between his second daughter Mary, and Charles, then archduke of Austria and prince of Spain, who reigned afterwards the celebrated emperor Charles V.¹⁹ This prince was then only seven years old. It was actually solemnized at the end of 1508, by his substitute, who kissed the lady and put a ring on her finger.²⁰ But this ceremony was all that followed from the engagement. Charles changed his mind and politics, and the lady had to seek her husband elsewhere.

It was in March 1501, that sir James Tyrrell, the principal murderer of Edward V., was arrested, with his eldest son, on a charge of treason; and on the 6th of May following, perished on the scaffold. He was connected with the last insurrectionary attempt of any of the nobility. The earl of Suffolk, a descendant of the ill-fated minister of Henry VI. and son of a sister of Edward IV., enraged because he had

¹⁷ On the merits of this princess, it is just to her to add the testimony of Bernard Andreas: "From her youth, her veneration for the Supreme, and devotion to him, were admirable. Her love to her brothers and sisters was unbounded. Her affection and respect to the poor, and to religious ministers, were singularly great." MS. *ibid.* p. 168.

¹⁸ The commission to John Young, concerning this incident, dated May 10. 1506, is in Rym. vol. xii. p. 127. The lady was Margaret of Austria, sister of Philip, then the governor of the Low Countries. Her dowry was to have been 300,000 French crowns, and an annuity, during the marriage, of 3850 more. *Ibid.* But Philip died that year, and the treaty was not completed.

¹⁹ By the treaty signed at Calais, December 21. 1507, the marriage was to take place before Easter 1508, on pain of heavy penalties. Her dowry was to have been 250,000 crowns of gold. Rym. vol. xii. p. 171. On 26th October 1508, an instrument was signed by Maximilian and Charles, appointing a lord of Bergen-op-Zoom to attend to solemnize these nuptials in the name of Charles; and it mentions that Henry's illness, from which he had recovered, had occasioned the delay of the ceremony. *Ibid.*

²⁰ The official instrument stating this, and the words of their mutual affiancing, on 17th of December 1508, is in Rym. vol. xii. p. 236.—Charles, with permission of his grandfather Maximilian, pledged to Henry a jewel, called, "the rich fleur de lys," weighing in its gold and stones 111 ounces, for 50,000 crowns. *Ibid.* p. 239.

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been compelled, by Henry's impartial justice, to stand a trial for killing a person in his passion, quitted England to join the old duchess of Burgundy. Pardoned by Henry's clemency, he again allied himself with her, in enmity against the king. This conduct excited Henry to arrest those who were accused of hostility against him. Some were imprisoned; and Tyrrell, with others, executed.²¹

In estimating the character and reign of Henry, too narrow views have been taken; and the difficulties amid which he had to act, have not been sufficiently contemplated.

He may be considered as the great re-founder of the English monarchy. He terminated the agitations and danger of the throne, which had almost become a Polish sovereignty: an aristocracy of many petty kings, obeying the nominal and paramount one no longer than they pleased; and choosing or deposing him, and changing the dynasty, as it chanced to gratify their passions, or to suit their varying interests. This power and custom disappeared from England after Henry VII. had acceded. The great nobility shook and disposed of the crown no more; tho various attempts were made against Henry to renew such anti-national disorders. He gave the English crown a permanent stability; and he meant to do so. One of his greatest aims was to rescue it from the dictatorial tyranny, both of the nobility and the church establishment, who had each, at various periods, chained, threatened, and subverted it; and to rest it on the general interests, and affections, and prosperity of the country. He considered the whole nation as one great family headed by himself; and he depressed the two classes that had so long maintained a disproportionate degree of power, to the prejudice of the general improvement and comfort.

²¹ Graft. pp. 937—939.

These plans necessarily produced much obloquy; yet even in his own days his merit was felt amid all the opposing interests and prejudices that attacked him; and he died with the epithet fixed upon him, of a second Solomon.²² He was so respected abroad, that three popes of Rome elected him, before all the other reigning kings, as the "chief defender" of christendom; and sent him, by three successive embassies, three swords and caps of maintenance.²³ He conquered his numerous enemies, "by his great policy and wisdom, more than by shedding of blood or cruel war."²⁴

It was essential to his great public objects, that he should break down the power of the unruly aristocracy, which was reviving, in new trunks and ramifications, from the injuries it had received during the civil wars. He saw, that one necessary means was, to wean the minds of Englishmen from that love of war to which their courage and activity of spirit made them at that time so peculiarly prone; and the education for which made his nobility too martial for the safety of the throne, and for the tranquillity of the kingdom. With this view he not only professed to love and seek peace, and made it, as lord Bacon says²⁵, the usual preface in his treaties, that when Christ came into the world peace was sung by angels; and when he left it, he bequeathed peace as their great characteristic to all his followers; but he also caused his chancellor to give his parliament one of the wisest lectures on the only just causes of war, that, up to that time, it had ever heard.²⁶

Henry was not averse to state, but he used it for its kingly effect and public utility, not for his per-

²² Fabian, then alive, says, "He may most congruently, above all earthly princes, be called the second Solomon, for his great sapience and acts." p. 537.

²³ Ibid. p. 537.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Bacon, p. 635.

²⁶ See it in Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 440.

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sonal exaltation.²⁷ He made his royal ceremonials auxiliary to his great design of occupying, civilizing, and weakening his nobility; and weaning them from that turbulence in which they had, till his reign, chiefly sought their consequence, and employed their time.²⁸ The splendid exhibitions caused an emulous rivalry which exhausted their means, but satisfied their vanity; and the joust and tournament which he patronized, the harmless semblance of war, and peaceful occasion of popular applause, gave them enough of the bustle and parade of military dress and display, to keep them from the reality, and to supersede the desire for its occurrence. Their tastes, by this wise management, increased for peaceful grandeur and domestic comforts; and his reign may be considered as the completion of that transition of the warring baron into the pompous lord, which has since advanced to the elegant gentleman and highly cultivated mind.²⁹

It was Henry's steady and determined pursuit of this great object, and the effective means which he adopted for attaining it, which has given that reproach of avarice to his character that has been so often repeated in misconception and by rote. It is as true of greatness as of war, that money is its sinews; therefore, when Henry caused the illegal actions of his nobility and gentry to be pursued and

²⁷ Grafton mentions, "He so much abhorred pride and arrogance, that he was ever sharp and quick to them which were noted or spotted with that crime." p. 948.

²⁸ Grafton adds, "There was no man with him, though never so much in his favor, or having never so much authority, that either durst or could do any thing as his own phantasia did serve him, without the consent or agreement of the other." *Ibid.*

²⁹ The stately splendor in which he indulged his nobility and people, perhaps, more than himself, may be seen in his manner of holding his royal feasts at Christmas, *Lel. Col.* vol. iv. pp. 234—237.; and at Easter, and St. George, and Whitsuntide, pp. 238—248.; on the queen's taking her chamber, at her lying-in; and on the creation of Arthur prince of Wales, p. 250.; and the christening of the princess, pp. 20—27.; on the fiancial of this lady with the king of Scotland, pp. 258—264.; and on her departure from England, and marriage in Scotland, pp. 265—300.

punished by fines, he took the most effectual way to disable and reduce them to that subordination which the common welfare demanded. It was their revenues which annexed to their arm and voice such multitudes of retainers, and which had so often enabled them to stand embattled against the crown. Hence, when lord Oxford, on receiving a visit from Henry, chose to display a military retinue which alarmed the king, altho he was told that they were not usually attendant, but had been specially provided to do him honor; he wisely replied, altho to a friend, "My lord! I must not suffer my laws to be broken in my presence—my attorney general must speak to you about this;" and this legal officer enforced the subsisting statutes that forbad retainers so effectually against the earl, that he was obliged to pay a fine of 15,000 marcs.³⁰ The true friend of the crown could not have made the king's visit the pretence of reviving the proud custom of numerous retainers. It was an act of selfish display, that would have been eagerly imitated, on other pretexts, if the present attempt had been passed over unpunished.³¹ We may regard, with few exceptions, Henry's enforcement of pecuniary penalties as part of his wise methods of disabling faction and oppression; tho the very good he achieved by it, created in his own time, the imputation from those whom it corrected, that avarice, and not the public benefit, was his motive.³² When we read in a writer who was present at the time, that

³⁰ Bacon, p. 630.

³¹ That Henry prosecuted, to the fines and penalties he levied, for the purpose of humbling those who were too great, or too violent, for the good of all, is not the fancy of the present writer. It was his own account of his motives. Our old chronicler has mentioned this fact: "He did use his rigour only, *as he said himself*, to bring low and abate the high stomachs of the wild people, nourished and brought up in seditious factions and civil rebellions, and not for the greedy desire of riches, or hunger of money." Graft. p. 949.

³² So Grafton intimates: "Such as were afflicted, would cry out and say, that it was done more for the desire of gain and profit, than for any prudent policy or politic provision." *Ibid.*

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lord Strange, the son of Stanley, brought to the king, before the battle of Stoke, a great host, only from his father's folks and his own, sufficient of themselves to have beaten all the king's enemies³³, we cannot but feel that the crown was in continual jeopardy, while any nobleman could, from his own resources, raise such a force.

Another direction of his public care, was to make the law the universal, impartial, silently-ruling, but irresistible sovereign of all classes of the community. The great and restless may dislike, but the people at large always love the reign and exercise of law. It is the only weapon by which the inferior and the weak can safely and effectually combat against power. It is at once the shield and sword of all in their civil transactions; and that it might become so, it was necessary to reduce, and to accustom, the higher orders to its domination; and to cause all ranks to feel, in order that all might recognise and obey, its authority and corrective force. To produce this effect, was another great cause of the king's enforcing the legal penalties. It was as important to deter the smaller orders from joining the wealthier, or the disaffected, as to abase and circumscribe those. Every insurrection exhibits to us a long train of minor names, who chiefly pursued it; and especially after the great lords became more cautious, and put their inferiors forward into the front of the battle. The public peace could not therefore be secured, until the middling and lower orders had been taught to know that the arm of law could reach them, and to dread its inflictions. Viewed in this light, what has been called his avarice, was in truth his clemency,

³³ LeL. Collect. vol. iv. p. 213. How greatly the penalties exacted from the nobility must have weakened their power, we may judge from observing, that one of the articles in Empson's account of the sums he received, is "69,900*l.*, the condemnation of lord Bergavenny, for such retainers as he was indicted for in Kent." Harl. MSS. No. 1877. The same MS. shews that lord Stanley was fined 6000*l.*

mildness, and enlightened judgment; and his penal severities were often mitigated by an active kindness towards the offending.³⁴ He found the fines also useful in preventing those taxations which, tho often imposed under other sovereigns, had twice caused insurrections in the country.

That the king expressly acted on the principle of making the law the master of all, we see by the speech he caused to be made to the parliament, in January 1503, on the inestimable value to every state of justice and law. The chancellor enforced on their attention, that justice was the queen of the virtues; that without it, kingdoms were but great dens of robbers; that all states were upheld by the laws, and that justice was their architect; that it was the most honorable, the most useful, and the most pleasant of all things. His eloquent oration, ending with this peroration from St. Austin; "Despise dungeons, despise bonds, despise exile, despise death—but let all men love justice:" is said to have had a wonderful effect in animating the distinguished hearers to an ardent attachment to this great social virtue.³⁵

But it is not probable, from the usual effect of human imperfections, that the king could have always pursued his wisest objects, or had them enforced, in an unexceptionable manner. Misinformation, wrong judgments, fraud of others, occasional passion in himself, official harshness in executing right sentences, abuse of legal power in those who enforced it, would not unfrequently convert law into tyranny, and useful fines into oppressive exactions. Law is a

³⁴ So Grafton. "To this severity was joined a certain merciful pity, which he did often show to such as had offended, and were amerced. For such of his subjects as were fined by his justices, to their great impoverishing, he, at one time or another, did help, relieve, and set forward." p. 949.

³⁵ See the speech in Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 520. Grafton notices, that "He was an indifferent and sure justicier, by the which one thing he allured to him the hearts of many people, because they lived quietly and in rest, out of all oppression and molestation of the nobility and rich persons."

weapon ever liable to be misused ; and severe are the wounds of its unprincipled blows. Many grievances, therefore, must have accompanied Henry's legal inflictions ; and the experience of human nature assures us, that the accumulation of treasure tends as much to increase the desire for it, as to lessen any delicacy as to the means of acquiring it. Hence, when it is said, that he allowed or encouraged Empson and Dudley, his lawyers, to indict " divers subjects accused of sundry crimes," to extort great fines³⁶; and that they executed their commission with an insatiable and oppressive rapacity, that blemished his own character, some portion of their misconduct may be attributable to himself; to his regard rather to the pecuniary results, than to the justice of the prosecutions. He may have occasionally forgotten the Ciceronian maxim, which all ages concur to verify, that the *Summum Jus* may become the *Summa Injustitia*.³⁷

³⁶ Bacon, p. 629. The king was reported to have left 1,800,000*l.* sterling in his treasury. *Ibid.* p. 635.

³⁷ Among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, is one of the accounts of Dudley, of the fines and dues he received, which we shall transcribe. It discovers one fact, not exclusively attributable to Henry, but belonging to the age ; that a number of offices were purchased or paid for by money, which ought never to have been venal.

" Here followeth all such obligations and sums of money as sir Edmond Dudley have received of any person, for any fine or duty to be paid to the use of our sovereign, Henry VII., since the first time that I, the said Edmond, entered the service of our said sovereign, that is, the 9th September, 20th year; all which obligations and sums, I, said Edmond, have delivered to our said sovereign, and to John Heron, to the use of his highness. And so, at this quote day, the 24th January, the year aforesaid, there remains in my keeping and custody no obligation, and no sums.

Churchwarden of St. Stephen's, Coleman street, in hand, 25*l.*, 25*l.* by obligation.
Carell and his son, for their pardons, 1000*l.* Recognizance, 900*l.*, 100*l.* in money.
21 H. VII. City of London, for the confirmation of their liberties, 5000 marcs, by fine.

Several obligations for Richard Corson.

John Arundel, for his discharge of a certain sum claimed to be due.

Sir James Tyroll, 100 marcs.

R. Buckhard, for the office of customarship in the port of London, 125 marcs, money ; 125 marcs by obligation.

J. Warwick, 100 marcs, money ; 100 marcs by obligation ; and 20*l.* ; for license to make clerks.

Merchant Tailors, for the charter of their liberties being inrolled in London, 100*l.* money.

Henry was not an old man when he died³⁸, but

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For pardon of M. Curtis, late customar of London, for discharge of his offences in the office, received 500 marcs.

J. W. for a balliwick, 20 marcs, money.

Office of keeping the great wardrobe, granted to A. W., 200*l*.

22 H. VII. License to C. Brandon, to marry lady Mortimer, 40*l*.

Form of your average of London, 20*l*.

Alderman, for your gracious favor in his being sheriff, 100*l*. money.

Restitution of bishop of Ely to his temporalities, 3800*l*. obligation; 2000 marcs, money.

Your clerkship of Hull, 106*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

Prior, for amortizing and appropriation of a priory in Essex, 400*l*.

Adventurers for king's favor, going to Flanders, 200*l*.

Alderman of London, for liberty to be mayor of the staple at Westminster, for life, 100*l*.

23 H. VII. Men of London, Incorporated, for 20*l*.—Delivered to king his great books, called "Jura Regalia."

For one Ratelyff, for the office of clerk of the records in the Tower, 20*l*. money.

Pardons of Knosworth, 500*l*; Shore, 500*l*; Grove, 133*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. Alderman of London, 1033*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.

To be porter of Calais, 200*l*.

Bishop of Durham, an indenture, by which he was bound to pay king 20,000*l*.

Abbot of Cistercians, for confirmation of their franchises and privileges, and to use their free elections without license, 5000*l*.

Cardinal B. Bath, according to agreement, 500*l*.

P. C. for his pardon, 300 marcs; obligation, 1000*l*.

P. H. shall ship so much merchandizes in three years, as he shall pay, for the customs and subsidies thereof, 1000*l*. to the king's coffers.

Bishop of Bath, 100*l*. a-year, so long as he shall be bishop.

J. Y. pardon, 500 marcs.

Discharge for buying certain alloms, contrary to restraint, 200*l*.

License for butt of malmsey, 5*l*.

Ditto, 210 butts, 70*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*.

Delivered three exemplifications, under the seal of king's bench, of the condemnation of the lord Bergavenny, for such retainers as he was indited of in Kent, amounting unto, for his part only, after the rate of the moneths, 69,900*l*.

For king's favor in deanery of York, 1000 marcs.

Pardon for Alderman, 1000 marcs.

M. Rede, for king's favor to him, in the office of chief justice of common pleas, 400 marcs.

Clerk of the peace, Warwick, 40 marcs.

Earl Derby's pardon, 6000*l*.

Poor of Christchurch in London, 500 marcs, for their free election, restitution, and king's assent.

21 H. VII. Discharge of Kidell's mills, &c.; of Sir J. S., 300 marcs.

Kidell of earl Derby, 20*l*.

—— abbot Peterborough, 93*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.

Mastership of king's mint, 400 marcs.

Weyership of works, 100*l*.

Prior of Christchurch, restitution of temporalities, 900 marcs.

License for 1020 butts of malmsey, and botolarge of same, 391*l*.

Ditto, 900 butts, 500 marcs.

To be delivered to king, one carpet, 12 yards long, and 3½ broad, forfeit to him by one Currant, of Exeter.

My lord of Canterbury, for scape of 16 men, convicted, 1600*l*., and for the restitution of his temporalities, 1064*l*."

³⁸ He was a few months short of 53. He had reigned 23 years 8 months.

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the infirmities of age advanced prematurely upon him. In a letter to his mother³⁹, breathing the truest filial kindness, he complains that his sight was impairing, and that he had taken three days to write it, tho it was not long.⁴⁰ A severe illness increased upon him during the last few years of his life; but in the Lent before he died, he began to look forward to his next change of existence, and to rectify some points of his conduct, in case he should survive. He told his confessor, that he had determined on three things⁴¹; 1st, A true reformation of all the officers and ministers of his laws, that justice from thenceforward might be truly and indifferently executed in all causes; 2d, That the promotions of the church, which were in his disposal, should be thenceforward given to able men, who were virtuous and well-learned⁴²; 3d, That as to those, who were in jeopardy from his laws, for things formerly done, he would grant a pardon generally to all. These reso-

³⁹ Some of his expressions shew his good feeling. "Madam! my most intirely well beloved lady and mother! I recommend me unto you in the most humble and lowly wise that I can, beseeching of you your daily and continued blessings."—After noticing her requests to him, he adds, "All which things, according to your desire and pleasure, I have, with all my heart and good will, granted unto you. And, my dame, not only in this, but in all other things that I may know should be to your honor and pleasure, I shall be as glad to please you as your heart can desire it; and I know well that I am as much bounden so to do, as any creature living, for the great and singular motherly love and affection that it hath pleased you, at all times, to bear towards me; wherefore, mine own most loving mother! in my most hearty manner, I thank you; beseeching you for your good continuance in the same."—Sermon on Margaret, p. 38. It is pleasing to read this effusion of natural sentiment from a king near the age of fifty, to his aged parent.

⁴⁰ He says, "Verily, madam, my sight is nothing so perfect as it has been, and I know well it will appair dally. Wherefore, I trust that you will not be displeased, tho I write not so often with mine own hand; for, on my faith, I have been three days ere I could make an end of this letter." Ibid. p. 40.

⁴¹ I take these facts from the bishop of Rochester's funeral Sermon, delivered over his body on the 10th of May 1509. Harl. MSS. No. 7030. p. 209. He discharged all prisoners about the city, that lay for fees or debts under forty shillings. Bacon, p. 634.

⁴² In a letter to his mother, in which he mentions his desire to make his confessor, Dr. Fisher, a bishop, he says, "By the promotion of such a man, I knew well it should courage many others to live virtuously, and to take such ways as he doth. I have, in my days, promoted many a man unadvisedly, and I would now make some recompensation to promote some good and virtuous men."—Ex. Regist. Col. Jo. Sermon, p. 41.

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lutions imply that he felt some deficiencies in all these points. He often mentioned to his most confidential attendants, that if it should please the Most High to prolong his life, they should see him a new and a changed man. He acknowledged, with great humility, the singular benefits he had received from the divine favor; and accusing himself of ingratitude, in not having more assiduously promoted the honor, and preferred the will and pleasure of that Sovereign⁴³, to whom compared, all others are but an insignificant name.

He had been always attentive to his religious duties, according to the fashion of his day. Believing in the efficacy of prayer for his welfare, he had a collect daily said for him in all the churches; and in many years, about Lent, he sent money for 10,000 masses to be recited in his behalf. He gave both daily and annual alms to the poor and needy; and never heard of a virtuous man in his kingdom, but he was anxious for his prayers; and he settled on such pensions, some of ten marcs, on others ten pounds.⁴⁴

As his malady advanced, he submitted to the Romish ceremony of annealing or anointing, for which he offered every part of his body. He performed his penance with that compunction and those tears which were then so valued; sometimes weeping and sobbing three-quarters of an hour. The sacrament of the altar he received with the deepest reverence, advancing to it on his knees. He contemplated the image on the cross, that was held before him, with earnest devotion; holding up his hands; embracing it; and trying to lift up his head, as it approached.

For twenty-seven hours the agonies of death were upon him. His pains were fierce and sharp, and

⁴³ Harl. MSS. No. 7030. p. 210.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

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almost unceasing. He called repeatedly upon the Saviour he adored, with fervent supplications for ease and succor. "O! my blessed Jesus — O! my Lord! deliver me — deliver my soul from these deadly pangs, from this corruptible body — O! deliver my soul from everlasting death." It pierced the hearts of his attending friends, to see his agonies and to hear his groans⁴⁵; at length the happy hour of release arrived; his corporeal frame became insensible; and his emancipated spirit flew to regions more congenial with its separated nature.

The encomium of the affectionate bishop is warm, but seems not exaggerated.⁴⁶ The less partial and more frigid chroniclers, are little less commendatory.⁴⁷ His pleasing countenance interested his subjects⁴⁸; and his manners and qualities displayed the genuine virtues of a wise Christian and kingly heart.⁴⁹ In danger prompt, self-possessed and determined, his spirit always rose to the necessary energy, and devised and performed what the exigence demanded. It was his firm and lofty wish always to look his

⁴⁵ Harl. MSS. No. 7030. pp. 212—217.

⁴⁶ "His politique wisdom in governance it was singular; his wit always quick and ready, pythly and substantial; his memory, fresh and holding; his experience notable; his counsels fortunate, and taken by wise deliberation; his speech gracious, in divers languages; his person goodly and amiable; his natural complexion of the purest mixture. His mighty power was dreaded every where, not only within his realms, but without also. His dealing, in time of perils and dangers, was cold and sober, with great hardiness." Fun. Sermon, Harl. MSS. 7030. p. 208.

⁴⁷ Thus Grafton: "Of wit in all things, quick and prompt; of a princely stomach and haute courage. In great perils, doubtful affrays, and matters of weighty importance, supernatural, and in a manner divine. Such things as he went about, he did advisedly, and not without great deliberation and breathing." p. 948.

⁴⁸ In his progresses, his person is thus described by Grafton,—“Of body but lean and spare, albeit mighty and strong therewith; of personage and stature somewhat higher than the meane sort of men be; of a wonderful beauty and fair complexion; of countenance merry and smiling, especially in his communications; his eyes grey, his hair thin.” p. 948.

⁴⁹ "He was sober, moderate, honest, affable, courteous, and bounteous." Bern. Andreas, the preceptor of his son Arthur, describes him in three neat lines;

“Principes, ingenio nitente præstans;
Fama; religione; comitate;
Sensu; sanguine; gratia; decore.”

perils in the face, and to deal with them hand to hand.⁵⁰

His regard for trade was attested, not only by his laws for its benefit, but by his personal and disinterested kindnesses to those who conducted it⁵¹; and was rewarded by the augmented affluence and sustained prosperity of the country.⁵² He accepted the offer of Columbus, to make his adventurous voyage; and would have patronized it, if he had not been forestalled by Isabella.⁵³ He gave his sanction to the maritime expedition of the Cabots, which discovered Newfoundland⁵⁴; and which was at Henry's expense⁵⁵; and also to other adventurers.⁵⁶ He favored every national improvement that was then understood or pursued; and fulfilled his own early wishes of ruling for the benefit of his subjects. No preceding sovereign had so well or so abundantly combined the personal, moral, political, and intellectual quali-

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⁵⁰ Speed, p. 775. To please the citizens of London, and to honor trade, he became a member of the Merchant Tailors company. Ibid. p. 748.

⁵¹ Thus Grafton says, that to the merchants, "he himself, of his own goodness, lent money largely, *without any gain or profit*, to the intent that merchandize, being of all crafts the chief art, and to all men both most profitable and necessary, might be the more plentifully used, haunted, and employed, in his realms." p. 949.

⁵² "He, by his high policy, marvellously enriched his realm and himself; and yet left his subjects in high wealth and prosperity. The proof whereof is apparent, by the great abundance of gold and silver yearly brought into this realm, both in plate, money, and bullion, by merchants passing and repassing with merchandize." Graft. p. 949.

⁵³ The son of Columbus states, in his Life of his father, that Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to Henry VII. to offer his service in a voyage of discovery; who, on the 13th of February 1488 (1489), made a map of the world, and presented it to Henry. The king accepted his proposal, "*con allegro volto*," with a cheerful countenance; and sent to call him; but before Columbus heard of the success, he had engaged himself to Isabella. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i. pp. 507, 508.

⁵⁴ Henry's letters patent to John Cabot, a Venetian, and his sons Sebastian and Sancho, to sail to all parts of the world under his flag, with five ships, to discover new countries, and to take possession of them as his governors and deputies, paying him one-fifth of their profits; and to import their merchandize free of all custom duties, is dated the 5th of March 1496. Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. p. 595. It was in the summer of 1496, that Sebastian Cabot says that he sailed. Hakluyt, p. 512.

⁵⁵ So Baptiste Ramusius says, that S. Cabot wrote to him, "at the charges of king Henry VII." Hakl. p. 513. Gomara also mentions that the ships were rigged at Henry's costs. Ibid. p. 514. So Fabian.

⁵⁶ On the 9th of December 1502, a patent was granted to Hugh Eliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of Bristol; and to Jean and Gonzales Fernandez, Portuguese, to search for new countries. Rym. vol. xiii. p. 37.

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ties of the true English king. His real character seems to have been, sedate thought, well-governed mind, calm temper, active spirit, extensive foresight, large views, and enlightened judgment. His feelings were subjected to his reason. Early adversity had excited energy, but subdued enthusiasm. Danger made him cautious, but not cowardly. He never enterprised beyond his power of achieving. He never risked the possessed, for any superior but uncertain good. His habits were domestic and moral; his social demeanor, easy, kind, and interesting. He made religion a principle, a duty, and a habit; and he found it his best refuge, and unfailing consolation, and his most permanent happiness. But state policy, and the resenting struggles of attacked power, sometimes broke into the unity of his moral rectitude; and have left blots, which if he had not been violently placed in his high station, would not have disfigured him. Yet the clemency and forbearing sagacity, with which he met rebellion by amnesties, and by limited severities after its suppression, exhibited a new feature in the use of kingly authority, and became a legacy of wisdom to his successors. He preferred to correct, by the milder punishment of pecuniary penalties, than to mutilate the body, doom it to imprisonment, or take away life⁵⁷; but the introduction of this improvement in our legislation, instead of being referred to his discerning policy, or to his philanthropy, has been imputed only to his avarice, and stigmatized as rapacity.⁵⁸ Whoever transcends his age, must expect to

⁵⁷ Thus, in 1498, Henry sent commissioners to pardon the adherents of Perkin and the Cornish leader, on their compounding for their lives by paying fines. See the commission in Rym. vol. xii. p. 696., &c. This mild commutation of the death of treason, for the light punishment of a pecuniary penalty, deserves more applause than it has received.

⁵⁸ It is surprising to read, in sir William Blackstone, as characterizing all his reign, that "his ministers, not to say the king himself, were more industrious in hunting out prosecutions upon old and forgotten penal laws, in order to extort money from the subject, than in framing any new beneficial regulations. In short, there

be censured by those whom he excels. Yet, the nation felt his value, and became steadily attached to

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is hardly a statute in this reign, introductive of a new law, or modifying the old, but what, either directly or obliquely, tended to the emolument of the exchequer." Vol. iv. p. 429. These sentences, not very consistent, lead us to suppose, that our elegant commentator had forgotten this king's laws, when he framed these censures. But even Bacon himself has written *Henry's Life*, in many parts, more like the attorney-general of James I. than like that immortal philosopher whose name is associated with all that we most respect in English mind, and value in true science. A succinct review of Henry's laws will shew both their objects and utilities.

SUBSTANCE OF THE LAWS OF HENRY VII.

It is lord Verulam's just remark on Henry's legislation, that "his laws are deep; not vulgar: not made upon the spur of a particular occasion, for the present; but acts of providence of the future: to make the estate of his people still more and more happy; after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroic times."¹

To divest his great men of that armed force which, by retaining or enlisting large retinues under their family liveries or badges, they had always ready for their violent purposes; and to destroy those means and seminaries of rebellious sedition, he pursued Richard's system of prohibiting both the giving and receiving any retainers; and he caused the lords and commons to swear, not to receive or aid any felon, or retain any man, or give liveries, signs, or tokens; nor make or assent to any riots or unlawful assembly; nor impede the king's writs; nor bail any felon², or liveries. He constituted, or revived in a more effective shape, a new legal tribunal—the Star-chamber, by which three of his cabinet ministers, calling to their aid a bishop and two justices, were authorized to punish all misdoers in a summary way, according to the existing statutes, but without being convicted in due form of law.³ To this new engine of legal power, which, from the indefinite and arbitrary authority it assumed, became afterwards peculiarly oppressive, was committed the repression of all giving of liveries, tokens, and retainers, and unlawful maintenance; and of all riots and lawless assemblies. The retaining of any of the king's tenants was also forbidden⁴; and new penal provisions were enacted against all disturbances of the peace, by riotous and illegal assemblies, under-servants, receivers, stewards, or bailiffs of lordships.⁵

Human life was taken more vigilantly under the care of the crown; and its safety was enhanced, and a deeper sense of its value produced, by judicial protection. An act passed, reciting, that murders were daily committed; and that the people in towns, who saw the violence, would not arrest the murderers. The coroners were therefore commanded to execute diligently their duty of inspecting and inquiring into all violent deaths; and murderers were to be arraigned and tried without delay.⁶ The female sex were further guarded, by its being made felony to take them away against their will; and by subjecting the procurers and receivers to the same penalty.⁷

The negligence and misconduct of justices of the peace were reprobated. They were ordered to have the king's proclamation on their duties, read at the sessions four times a-year; and all persons aggrieved, whom they would not redress, were directed to complain to the judge on the assize, or to the chancellor, or to the king.⁸

¹ P. 596.

² Rolls Parl. vol. vi. pp. 287, 288.

³ Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. pp. 509, 510.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 522.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 573, 657.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 510, 511.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 512.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 537.

his family; and improved under their government far more than under any prior dynasty. His direct

The power given by Richard to every justice, to bail, having been abused, the concurrence of two justices was made necessary⁹; and the powers of these magistrates were extended to punish for the offence of unlawful assemblies, retainers, and giving liveries and signs¹⁰, and to regulate alehouses.¹¹ After stating that the king peculiarly desired the prosperity and restfulness of the land, a statute was made, directing, that all idle vagabonds, and persons living suspiciously, should be set in the stocks for three days, and put out of the district; and that all beggars should be sent to their last or usual residence, or place of birth. No clerk of an university was to be excused from this law, unless he could produce his chancellor's letters; nor sailor without his captain's, nor any traveller, without a document from the town where he had landed.¹²

All these provisions had the same object in view, that of promoting and maintaining the public peace; and of repressing, in every part, and from every class of the nation, all illegal violences and wrongs. But the great and sagacious blow that was secretly given to the injurious power of the great, was by coinciding with the temporary desire of some, which the king's foresight perceived would continually increase, of disposing of their possessions as they pleased. The great aristocracy of the country had been chiefly made and upheld, by binding the immediate possessor from alienating his land by these strong chains of the feudal entails, with which every estate was fettered, and by the operation of which it descended from heir to heir, little impaired, and often accumulating. Henry's wise plan was, to let the nobility break down their own landed power as much as they chose, by allowing them to dispose of their possessions as they wished. This wise plan had the merit of law giving efficiency to inclination, which is always pleasing, and not, as it is often obliged to do, of imposing disagreeable command. Hence more facility was given to the alienation of landed property; and especially by that statute which made the proceeding, called by lawyers, Fines, that had been invented before to counteract the effect of the feudal entails, an effective and conclusive bar to all hostile claimants, after five years had expired.¹³ This act made future alienations of landed property, under this form of assurance, so binding, as to give that security to future purchasers, which encouraged them to buy; and commerce multiplying the means of purchase, and the necessities of the landed interest disposing them to sell, many a large estate became gradually divided among a number of smaller proprietors, by whom the state was no longer endangered. The wants of the age called for such a legislative provision; and regal prudence gladly adopted it.

It was an important privilege granted to the inferior classes, of admitting the poor to sue in formâ pauperis.¹⁴ This threw open, to the most needy, the gates of legal redress against a rich oppressor. It was no less humane than important to the stability of the throne, to enact, that no person who served the reigning king in war, should be attainted of treason.¹⁵ The extortions of sheriffs and under-sheriffs were repressed.¹⁶ Every proprietor of land might enjoy his sport, but no man was to take pheasants or partridges on another's estate without his leave; nor to take, even on his own ground, eggs of hawks or swans; nor to bear certain English hawks, nor to import foreign hawks.¹⁷ This may be called the foundation of our game laws. The public morals were attended to, in the prohibition of apprentices and artificers from games and diversions that were found to be connected with vice.¹⁸ Usury was discountenanced.¹⁹ Fraudulent deeds of gift, to

⁹ Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. p. 513.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 573.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 569.

¹² Ibid. pp. 569. 656.

¹³ Ibid. p. 547. Persons in the king's service were allowed to make feoffments to the uses of their wills, without fines.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 578.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 568.

¹⁶ Ibid. pp. 579. 654.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 581.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 569.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 574.

male line ceased in queen Elizabeth; but the descendants of his daughter Margaret succeeded in the

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cheat creditors, were made void.²⁰ Delays of final redress by writs of error, were lessened.²¹ To keep the air of populous places pure, butchers were forbidden to kill animals within walled towns.²² An Act passed to encourage an English population in the Isle of Wight²³, in which it is mentioned, that many towns and villages had decayed, and the fields diked and made pastures. No one was to take more farms than one, exceeding ten acres in rent. To check the growing evil of pulling down towns, and laying lands into pasture, by which, in many parts, two or three herdsmen only were living, where 200 persons had pursued their lawful labors; it was enacted, that all owners of houses, with twenty acres of land, should maintain the houses and buildings necessary for tillage²⁴; and an attempt was made to regulate the prices of labor, which was afterwards abandoned.²⁵ Many other provisions were made for the general convenience. Perjury and corruption in officers was severely pursued.²⁶ The fraud of the great, or gentry, who had covenanted with the king to find a certain number of soldiers, taking full pay for a less quantity, and withholding even from these their just wages, was visited by forfeiture and imprisonment.²⁷ From a policy not immediately comprehensible, as larger dealing usually increases and improves production, valuable horses were not to be transported beyond the seas without a license, nor any mare above the price of 6s. 8d.²⁸ Wars becoming less suitable to the taste of the age, the heads of the law, the masters of the rolls, clerks of chancery, the judges, barons of the exchequer, attorney and solicitor-general, were released from the obligation to attend them.²⁹ The qualifications of jurors were diminished to 10s.³⁰ But what seems to strike at the root of all independent use of their important functions, jurors were to be prosecuted by writs of attainr for untrue verdicts, where the value exceeded 40l.³¹ Some gross cases of corrupt use of their powers, must have occasioned an enactment so dangerous. But it was a valuable addition to the effective jurisprudence of the nation, that similar processes might be had in actions on the case, as in trespass and debt.³² What are technically called Actions on the Case, present the most comprehensive means of obtaining redress for personal and pecuniary wrongs, that the English law can provide. To relieve his people from the grievance of their property being taken, as formerly done, for the maintenance of the royal household, he obtained a fixed revenue from assigned funds for his expence, and for his wardrobe.³³

Some regulations were made for the peculiar benefit of the crown and its officers. The steward, treasurer, and comptroller of the king's household, received authority to inquire into offences committed in it; and especially of conspiracies by the king's servants to murder him, his counsellors or great officers.³⁴ The patent grants of the yeomen and grooms of the crown, who did not give attendance, were made revocable at the king's pleasure³⁵. Several legal privileges were granted to those who went abroad in the king's wars³⁶; and he was empowered to make void all grants of land to persons who should neglect to attend him in his wars.³⁷

HENRY'S LAWS ON TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

THE wars and factions of the great and turbulent; the excitement they caused, the necessities they created, the supplies they needed, and the aversion to their dis-

²⁰ Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. p. 514.

²² Ibid. p. 527.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 637.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 578.

³¹ Ibid. pp. 588. 649.

³³ Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 299.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 333.

²¹ Ibid. p. 519.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 542.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 549.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 590.

³² Ibid. p. 693.

³⁴ Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. p. 521.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 550.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 648.

Stewarts. The superior Brunswick line, which has given a stability to our civil and religious liberties,

asters, which increased as these multiplied, made both internal and external trade more popular, beneficial, and important, in the reign of Henry VII. As in Richard's time, we find the nation pursuing its commercial voyages towards the north pole, as far as Iceland; so, under Henry VII., we find them trafficking in the Mediterranean with the Venetians, in the Isle of Candia; and maintaining commercial relations with Italy, Spain, Flanders, France, Germany, and the Hanse Towns; all which places had agents and establishments in England.³⁸ The attention of Henry was directed to favor all mercantile enterprise, as far as the experience and judgment of commercial men then thought expedient; and more laws were made on trade during his reign, than on any other single subject. The true principles of commerce could not indeed, at that time, have been understood; we ascend to these from a practical endurance of evils, which gradually disclose to us our errors, as well as from the enjoyment of the benefits which better systems impart. It is a natural but a slow process of the human mind, to discover on what rules and actions good and evil depend; and all the regulations and conduct of our trade, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were but experiments aiming usually at some immediate good, from which later times were to discern and to deduce those true principles of commerce which it is now the common interest of mankind to establish universally. Our ancestors were but exploring their ground, opening channels, and feeling cautiously their way. They were laboring amid ignorance, prejudice, obscurity, and obstacles of all sorts; and they deserve our applause for what they achieved, rather than our censure for what they mistook, or were unable to command or to rectify.

But Henry appears to have steadily enforced that great principle of our navigation laws, the bringing foreign produce in British ships, which has so powerfully contributed to the superiority of our navy. This rule has made the growth of our naval strength bear always a due proportion to our commerce. Hence, upon the allegation that our navy was decaying, and our mariners idle, it was enacted, that all Gascony wines and Thoulouse wood, should be imported in English ships only; and that the masters and mariners should be subjects of England. It was also directed, that no natives should freight alien ships, if English ones could be had.³⁹

In his regulations of the woollen trade, there appears an anxiety to confine the manufacture of the raw article to English workmen; hence no one was to buy wool before the middle of August, except those who made yarn or cloth of it.⁴⁰ And no foreigner was to carry any out of the country, until it had received that degree of manufacture which is called barbed, rowed, and shorne. The prices of cloth and hats were limited.⁴¹ Thus, our silk manufactures were encouraged, by prohibiting foreigners from bringing in girdles, ribands, laces, called silk or Cologne silk, thrown or wrought.⁴² The citizens of London were authorized to carry all manner of goods to foreign markets.⁴³ The corporation ordinance, that no freeman of the city should go to any market or fair to sell, that all buyers might be compelled to resort to London, was made void.⁴⁴ Oppressive usury, and unlawful bargains, were discouraged.⁴⁵ Denizens were ordered to pay custom and subsidies.⁴⁶ Richard had

³⁸ The parliament, in 1487, levied a capitation tax of 6s. 8d. on every artificer who had not been born in England, or made a denizen, if a householder; and 2s. on all who were not householders, except servants in husbandry; and 20s. on those who were brewers. And from every Venetian, Italian, Genoese, Florentine, Milanese, Catalonian, Albertine, and Lombard merchant, broker, or factor, if he had a house three months, 40s.; and if not a householder, 20s. Rolls Parl. vol. vi. p. 402.

³⁹ Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. p. 535.

⁴¹ Ibid. pp. 533. 554.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid. pp. 506. 664.

⁴⁵ Ibid. pp. 515. 574.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 535.

⁴³ Ibid. p. 518.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 501.

and advanced our national progression and accomplishments, is also, thro her, a branch of Henry's descendants.

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compelled the Italian merchants to sell only in gross, Henry allowed them to retail.⁴⁷ Brokers were punished for unlawful dealing.⁴⁸

To prevent frauds in the weight and working of the gold brought from Venice, Florence, and Genoa, the pound was not to be less than 12 ounces; and the metal was not to be packed differently from its outward show.⁴⁹

To encourage our fishermen, foreigners were forbidden to sell salmon or other fish.⁵⁰ No arts or trade were to prejudice the merchants of the Hanse, who had, in London, their own guildhall.⁵¹ Englishmen were allowed to resort to the marts of Flanders, and to deal there freely, without any other exaction, than one payment of ten marcs.⁵² And to countervail a tax levied by the Venetians, upon wine, an equal imposition was placed on the malmsey, which foreigners brought into England.⁵³

The permission to the chancellor to grant commissions of sewers, was enlarged for 25 years.⁵⁴ Measures and weights of brass were sent to every chief town and borough, to become standards⁵⁵, and none were to sell but by these.⁵⁶ Upholders were punished for stuffing feather beds with improper feathers.⁵⁷ Itinerant pewterers were forbidden, to prevent thieving.⁵⁷ The rule of the river Thames, from Staines to Yenlade, was given to the lord mayor.⁵⁸

The coin became an object of his attention; a new coinage was circulated. The forging of foreign money, that was current in the kingdom, was made treason.⁵⁹ It was deemed of great importance to keep the precious metals forcibly in the country; few being then aware, that bullion is a flowing commodity of trade, like any other article in demand; and, therefore, money was ordered not to be carried out of the country for goods brought into it.⁶⁰ No one was to pay to foreigners, by way of exchange, any gold, coin, plate, or bullion.⁶¹ And by a subsequent law, the exportation of these was limited to the small sum of six shillings and eight pence.⁶²

To secure the payment of the custom duties, merchants were not to carry goods from one port to another, without a certificate from the customs where the goods had been first entered.⁶³

⁴⁷ Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. p. 508.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 515.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 665.

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 526.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 651.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 517.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 516.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 546.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 639.

⁵⁵ Ibid. pp. 551. 570.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 139.

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 546.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 587.

⁵³ Ibid. p. 553.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 582.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 541.

⁶² Ibid. p. 651.

BOOK VI.

THE LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

*Review of the Causes of the Decline of Literature before the Norman Conquest.*BOOK
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THE general intellectual superiority of modern Europe over the ancient world, has originated from the new literature, and new sources of knowledge and improvement, which began to be cultivated after the tenth century. In England, the Norman Conquest forms that middle point where the shade begins to melt into light; every century that succeeded displayed new beams of the advancing sun; the dark ages of Europe disappeared, and all its continent became gradually and permanently enlightened.

But to appreciate justly the illumination we enjoy, and to explore satisfactorily its causes, it will be useful to consider the actual state of the literature of the Roman empire, when our Gothic ancestors overwhelmed it, and the failure of the efforts which they made to revive it. In this review, we shall see that when the Roman and Grecian mind ceased to be the ruling mind of the world, its incurable defects, and the very improvements which it had imparted, had made it necessary to the further progress of mankind, that their intellect should be led into new

paths of thought, to new branches of knowledge, to new modes of expression, new feelings, and new subjects, and therefore that the exclusive sovereignty of the literature of Rome should expire, as well as its political empire. The dark ages of Europe will then appear to have been an awful but salutary period; in which the Gothic mind was prepared to emerge into literary activity under the light and governance of a new and original genius, seeking new regions, appearing in new costumes, exploring new mines of knowledge, exercising itself in new channels of thought, and displaying a sensibility, a strength, a persevering industry, and an universality, which no preceding age had witnessed. England had the distinction of contributing her full proportion to this noble result; and it will be a pleasing subject of our inquiries, to trace the steps and to expose the causes of her intellectual progress.

The middle ages, extending from the fifth century to the fifteenth, present a gloomy period to our imaginations — an interval of desolation and ignorance — so often mentioned and regretted as to have become almost proverbial in the history of our literature. But our ancestors, as well as the other Gothic tribes, were rather its victims than its cause: they came into the Roman world with minds emulous for personal distinction; they sought this by war, while warfare only would give it, and they would have courted reputation from the pen as zealously as from the sword, if the pen would have conferred it. If the love and the cultivation of letters had been as vigorous and as honorable at Rome in the fourth and fifth centuries, as they were in Greece when the Romans mastered Corinth, we cannot reasonably doubt that the Gothic barbarians would have been captivated by the charms of literature, and have willingly co-operated with the conquered to have cherished and

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enlarged it. So Greece, uncultured, imbibed and improved the literature of Egypt; so the rude conquerors from the Tiber, polished themselves from the improvements of the Grecian mind. But when the Ostro-Goths, Heruli, and Lombards, invaded Italy, and the Anglo-Saxons, England, they found the Roman literature in a wretched and decaying state. Admirable as it once had been, the master-intellects who had adorned it, and whose genius and compositions have given to it those fascinations which still delight our taste, and defy, not our competition, but perhaps our superiority, had never been very numerous, and had not been replaced.

They had created all the cultivation of mind which their labors could impart. They were loved, read, remembered, and praised; but no emulation of their works, their genius or their taste, accompanied the study of their immortal remains. They were still solitary stars amid a dreary and vast firmament of life, that was employing itself in unimproving and uncongenial pursuits. Roman literature had not continued its own beauty and utility; it had sunk into inefficiency, frivolity, luxury, and unintellectual habits; and to its degeneracy and decrepitude must be imputed that lamented eclipse of mind and learning which involved our ancestors in that night of ignorance and vacuity for which they are reproached. But this apparent evil was their misfortune, not their fault. They met with no teachers to inform them; no living examples to imitate; no intellectual merit around them to respect or to imbibe; and it was not unnatural that they should neglect or despise what no one near them either valued or pursued. The more we consider all the results which ensued from this neglect, the more abundant reasons we shall perceive to rejoice that it occurred. If it had not taken

place, our present treasures and improvements could not have been attained.

The period of the literary excellence of the Romans had been as brief as sudden. It came upon them like a flood, from their conquest of Greece¹; but it passed as rapidly away. From Ennius to Quintilian, it lasted little more than three centuries, and then declined with greater celerity than it had improved. All that is most valuable in Roman authors, was produced before the middle of the second century of our æra; from that time the empire became more and more barren of intellectual harvests: literature not only degenerated in kind, but fell into a low estimation; and tho its effects were felt in the general education, yet it was peculiarly cultivated by few. So steadily continuous was the decay, that if the Barbarians had not broken up the empire, letters, from the unceasing operation of the debilitating causes that were in action, would have sunk into dotage and inanity: and the great classics whom we now admire and study, would have been the distant beauties of a long-past antiquity to them, as they are now to ourselves.

Some of the more intellectual of the Romans themselves perceived, lamented, and pointed out the causes of the decline, in the beginning of the second century. In the Dialogue on Oratory, ascribed by some to Tacitus, by others to Quintilian, we find their literary deterioration acknowledged, and traced to their social degeneracy: "Who is ignorant that eloquence and the other polite arts have decayed from their ancient glory, not from a dearth of men, but from the dissipation of our youth, the negligence of parents, the

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¹ In Cicero's Oration for Archias, and in his dialogues de Senectute and de Amicitia, which are so valuable for the traits they have preserved of some of the great men of Rome, we have his sentiments on the introduction of literature into Rome from Greece. Cato's learning Greek in his old age, shews the eagerness with which the Romans applied to it. But even Cicero's studies and works imply how new and how rare intellectual cultivation was to the Romans in his days, tho they had then achieved the establishment of their military empire over the world.

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ignorance of teachers, and the oblivion of ancient manners? These evils, first originating in the capital, spread thro Italy, and now overflow all our provinces."² The causes here alluded to are visibly resolvable into the unintellectual taste of the Roman people, which continued unchanged, till the Gothic irruptions and their consequences brought a new mental and literary impulse on the European mind.

In the next century, we have the corruption of the Roman genius, and the scarcity of its valuable produce, exposed and regretted by Longinus. He also traces the evil to moral causes; to those which, in all ages, are the great preventers of human improvement in mind as well as in virtue. In addition to the loss of liberty, he says, "AVARICE, that disease of which the whole world is sick beyond a cure, aided by VOLUPTUOUSNESS, holds us fast in chains of thralldom; or rather, overwhelms life itself, as well as all that live, in the depths of misery: for, love of money is the disease which renders us most abject; and love of pleasure is that which renders us most corrupt."³ Here we find the true source of human deterioration. When the love of sensual enjoyment, and the pursuit of its pecuniary means, become the absorbing inclinations of society, all the vigor and powers of the mind, and all the sensibilities of the heart, wither and disappear. The continuing observations of Longinus illustrate his complaint with all the force of his vivid

² Dial. de Orat. s. 28.—He details the progress of a Roman education in his day. The boy was first committed to a Greek maid-servant, then to some of the vilest of the slaves; and with their tales and errors his young mind was filled. Neither the domestics, nor even his own parents, cared what they did before him, but accustomed him to voluptuousness and licentiousness. Impudence soon followed, and a contempt both of others and of himself; and a passion for players, gladiators, and horses, thus became the prevailing vice of the city and age. Ib. s. 29. The disgusting state of Roman manners, as implied by Petronius, and satirized by Juvenal and Lucian, is an expressive commentary on such an education.

³ Longinus, *περὶ ὑψους*, s. xliv. I cite the English from Dr. Smith's spirited translation, pp. 176. 178.—Fabricius recapitulates the many writings of his that we have lost, in his *Bib. Græca*, vol. iv. pp. 443—448.

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and elevated style.⁴ The historian of the following age, his own work an example of the literary decline, describes the Romans as forsaking all literary study, and cultivating, instead, singing, music, and pantomime. The lower sorts passed their nights at dice, or in taverns, or at theatrical indecencies; and the great mass of all classes wasted their time in criticising horse-races and charioteers. Their emulation lay in contending who should have the loftiest cars, or the most gorgeous apparel, deformed, from their bad taste, with large figures of animals; or in haunting the childless rich, in hope of being named the heir.⁵ We cannot read his picture of the state of literature in the fourth century, without perceiving that the Gothic sword was not wanted to erase it from the Roman mind.⁶ So dead to intellectual excitement had this degraded people become by the sixth century, that they defrauded the public teachers of their stipends for the education of youth, while they were lavish of the revenues on theatrical representations: and it was a Goth who was so struck with the absurdity, as to remark and to censure it, and to restore to the national instructors their just compensations.⁷

This deterioration is usually ascribed to the loss of the Roman liberties; but their departure was

⁴ "When once such corruption infects an age, it gradually spreads and becomes universal. The faculties of the soul will then grow stupid; their spirit will be lost, and good sense and genius must lie in ruins, when the care and study of man is engaged about the mortal, the worthless part of himself, and he has ceased to cultivate virtue, and polish his nobler part, the soul." Longin. s. xliv. The satire of Juvenal has been called coarse; and that of Horace refined: The real difference was, that the manners of Rome, in the days of Horace, were almost virtue in comparison with that animalizing depravity which degraded the time of Juvenal.

⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xiv. c. 6.

⁶ He says, "The few houses before celebrated for serious studies, now abound with the sports of a base sloth, resounding vocal echoes, and the tinkling of lutes. For a philosopher, there is now a singer; and in the place of the orator, is the teacher of ludicrous arts. The libraries are shut, like sepulchres, for ever; hydraulic organs are the fashion instead, and lyres as large as chariots, and the instruments of the actors' gesticulations. The followers of the liberal arts are expelled from the city without mercy, while the mimæ and three thousand dancers are retained in their room." Amm. Marcel. l. xiv. c. vi. pp. 18—24.

⁷ See Athalaric's Letter, Cassiod. Ep. l. ix. ep. xxi. p. 253.

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rather the consequence than the cause of the Roman vices. The freedom of Rome fell with her virtue and moral habits. What the patricians were, who led her armies to those victories which established her republic, we may infer from the fact, that one of her greatest conquerors in Africa, before Scipio, tho a patrician of high rank, possessed but seven acres of land for the support of his family.⁸ In this state, luxury was impossible and unvalued; and the mind was invigorated by its temperate food. But when expensive habits made riches essential, both body and spirit became enervated: and then, imperial despotism, by closing those avenues of distinction and exertion which connect personal vanity and ambition with intellectual exercise and improvement, contributed to increase the literary degradation of the empire.⁹ Mental eminence giving no substantial benefits, but fixing on its possessor the jealous eye of a military despot, ceased to be an object of pursuit. The love of distinction, which clings so close to the human heart, sought its gratification in the safer but degrading competition of accumulating wealth and expensive luxury, or voluntarily debased and suppressed its own energies in sensuality and sloth.¹⁰

Even in Constantinople, which the Goths never

⁸ This was Atilius Regulus. He ploughed his little farm himself, till he was called to head the Roman army. While fighting the Carthaginians, his bailiff died, and he wrote to the senate, praying it to appoint him a successor, that he might return and take care of his patrimony; which he described as consisting of seven acres, at Papinia, near the city; lest, from its lying vacant, he should be disabled from maintaining his wife and children. Val. Max. l. iv. c. vi. p. 389.

⁹ It is finely said by Longinus, "Liberty produces noble sentiments in men of genius. It invigorates their hopes, excites an honorable emulation, and inspires an ambition and thirst of excelling." S. xlv. p. 173.

¹⁰ The history of Rome, from Marius to Domitian, proves the inseparable connexion between private virtue and political liberty. The vices of Rome made it impossible for its freedom to continue. The more profligate a nation becomes, the more tyrannical its government must be, or the society could not exist. If the Roman gentlemen have been truly drawn by the arbiter elegantiarum, Nero and Caligula were more suitable emperors for them than Titus or the Antonines. A nation of wild beasts could be governed only by a wild beast—wickedness by wickedness.

subdued, literature lingered in a wretched state, from the fourth century to the fifteenth, affording some evidence of the condition to which it would have hastened in the West, if Alaric and Odoacer had never conquered the Capitol, and no Lombards had descended from the Alps.

Hence when the Goths told their queen that letters had no connexion with courage, and that boys accustomed to preceptors' rods, would never learn to face the sword and the spear¹¹; the sentiment was less the effusion of their barbarism than of their experience. The Roman civilization having become a debasing effeminacy, it is not surprising that our rude forefathers confounded the principle with its perversion, the corrupt depravation with the original excellence.¹² Even the eclogues of Virgil, who had the finest taste of all the ancient men of letters, are evidence of the incurable vice that was debasing the Roman mind of all classes; of the peasants, among whom it is personified; and of the great men of the Capitol, to whom the descriptions and allusions are addressed, and for whose pleasure and approbation they were written.

The Gothic nations, although ignorant, were not averse to the cultivation of letters. Their great Theodoric, the Ostro-Gothic sovereign of Italy, earnestly encouraged them, and tried, through his minister Cassiodorus, to animate the Italians to the love of study.¹³ His daughter Amalasontha favored

Gothic nations not unwilling to acquire literature.

¹¹ Procopius has transmitted to us this circumstance. Goth. Hist. l. i. p. 144. ed. Grot.

¹² The contempt into which the Roman name had sunk, from the degeneracy of the people, is forcibly implied by the sentiment of Luithprand, in the tenth century. He says, "We Lombards disdained them, and we put upon our enemies no other contumely, than to say, Thou Roman!"

¹³ The king, in many of his epistles composed by Cassiodorus, expresses his regard for literature. He tells Eugenius, that he has chosen him to the questura, "because he was laudably following the studies of literature, that the dignity of letters might become the reward of his honorable labor." Ep. xii. p. 14. He informs the senate, that he has raised a person to the honor of magistracy who was

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them¹⁴; the prince, Athalaric, her son, revived the public schools of literature at Rome¹⁵; and Theodat, the next Gothic sovereign, learnt Greek and Latin, and was fond of Plato.¹⁶ Even the ruder Lombards, who succeeded them in the sovereignty of Italy, became at last susceptible of the influence of literature; for a grammarian is mentioned about 700, whom the Lombard king so much loved, as to give him a staff adorned with gold and silver¹⁷; and when Charlemagne attacked their kingdom, he found a teacher at Pisa, from whom he derived his first knowledge of grammar¹⁸, and another man of letters, to whom we are indebted for the history of the Lombard nation.¹⁹ We may add, that if the Grecian emperors had left either the Goths or Lombards, and especially the former, to possess Italy, undisturbed and undisputed, literature would soon have been raised to a dignified eminence and increasing popularity. But as it was beginning to flourish under the Gothic kings, Justinian, in 536, directed that invasion under Belisarius, from which, for seventeen years, the Goths and Greeks fought furiously for the possession of Italy,

resplendent with literary tuition, that he might wear dignity in name as he possessed it in merit. Ep. xlii. p. 15. For the same reason he appointed another to be the rector decuriarum. Ep. xxi. p. 136.

¹⁴ She was a woman of superior mind.—She restored to the children of Boethius and Symmachus their fathers' possessions; and educated her son in letters, tho her countrymen opposed it. Procopius Goth. Hist. l. i. p. 143. She told the senate of Rome, that letters adorned human nature. L. ix. ep. iii. p. 261.

¹⁵ His edict for this purpose states, that it was infamous that any thing should be taken from the teachers of youth, who should rather be excited to their glorious studies. He proceeds to praise grammar, music, and eloquence. L. ix. ep. xxi. p. 252.

¹⁶ Procopius Goth. Hist. l. i. pp. 145. 154. On this part of the Gothic History, Tiraboschi, and his pleasing abreviator, the abbate Lorenzo Zenoni, in their Storia della Letteratura Italiana, may be advantageously consulted.

¹⁷ Paul. Diac. de Gest. Langob. l. vi. c. vii. Muratori intimates, that the author remarks this as if a notable, and, therefore, rare thing. Ant. Ital. p. 810. The truth is, that Paulus particularizes him, because he was the uncle of his own preceptor. Some time before this rewarded grammarian, the Lombards had an historian named Secundus. Paul. Diac. l. iv. c. xlii. and l. iii. c. xxx.

¹⁸ Muratori.

¹⁹ This was Paulus Diaconus, whose History has survived to us. From his work we derive almost all that we know of the early transactions of this people, as the more ancient narrative of Secundus has perished.

to its great misery and desolation. The Gothic empire was overthrown, and Narses continued the subjection of the country to the Grecian empire, till the Lombards, in 568, were tempted or invited to establish themselves in it. Forty years of continual warfare was waged by the Greeks against them; and this protracted effort of the ambition of the eastern empire, as well as subsequent invasions from the Franks, compelled the Lombards for a long time to make war instead of learning their national pursuit. But these same Lombards were the persons who actually began the restoration of learning in the west of Europe, and soon outdid their Grecian contemporaries.

So far was the Gothic spirit from being uncongenial with intellectual improvement, or adverse to it, that in Spain, in France, in Italy, and elsewhere, as soon as their barbaric conquerors were settled in their acquisitions, and the pressure of external hostilities against them was relaxed, they began to cultivate literature, in every region. In our own islands their readiness to improve was conspicuous. Ireland, though at that time supposed to be the wildest region of the West, yet was so teachable and so emulous of instruction, that in the seventh and eighth centuries she was an example to all Europe for the literary attainments of her natives, and even assisted, under her Columbanus, to support them in Italy.²⁰ The Anglo-Saxons as eagerly imbibed the lessons of the two monks sent from Rome to preside over their clergy, studied Greek literature under their instructions, and furnished a Bede and an Alcuin to be the literary benefactors of Europe.²¹ It was not there-

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²⁰ Bede, l. iii. c. 28., and Usher, Vet. Ep. Hiber. Sylloge, Dubl. 1632. Columbanus, in 612, obtained permission from the Lombard king to found the celebrated abbey of Bobbio, after having established some in France.

²¹ See Muratori, Ant. Ital. p. 814. Our Alcuin was the principal instructor of Charlemagne and his age. One of his Irish assistants in the great task of instruct-

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fore the mental inaptitude of our forefathers or their aversion to study, which kept them illiterate.

But altho the Gothic nations would have eagerly studied literature, if they had found it in a flourishing or valuable state, or if they had enjoyed, like the Romans in Greece, a peaceful occupation of the countries they invaded, yet it was happy for mankind that the intellectual decline of the Roman world was such, as to discourage and prevent their cultivation of that learning, which had lost all its primeval vigor and social utility. The Grecian and Roman literature had become not only ineffective for human improvement, but was in many of its compositions so objectionable, in some of its objects so erroneous, and had been so perverted, as to be deteriorating and impeding the healthful progress of the human mind. I feel that I am treading on dangerous ground, when I speak of the defects and evil consequences of that classical literature, which we are educated to revere in our youth, and to panegyrisse ever afterwards. But the character of this work is meant to be a dispassionate independence of thought; a temperate freedom of inquiry: and though I may often fail to convince, and no doubt shall occasionally err, I hope my remarks will be read with that candor with which I will endeavor to express them.

We have been indebted to the Greeks and Romans for so large a part of our intellectual attainments, that we rarely allow ourselves to consider their works in any other light than their utility: and indeed they

The classical literature had become incompetent to improve the world.

ing France and Italy, was Claudius Scotus, whose Commentary on the Galatians is printed in Biblioth. Magna Patr. vol. i. p. 794.; and whose work on St. Matthew, is in MS. in the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 2. c. 10. and 4. c. 8. Another was Duncant, whose Commentary on Martianus Capella, addressed to his pupils at Rheims, is in MS. in the same library, Bib. Reg. 15. A. 32. And see Heric's letter, in 876, to Charles the Bald, and Joannes Erigena's letter, in Anglo-Sax. vol. iii. p. 362., 7th ed. In an ancient catalogue in the monastery at Pavla, written in the 10th century, is a book in Irish, under the head of "Books given by Dungal precipuus Scotorum." Murat. Ant. Ital. vol. i. p. 821.

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have conduced so much to the mental improvement of mankind, that our gratitude can hardly exaggerate the benefaction. But human genius is usually more adapted to the age in which it appears, than to the times that succeed; its effusions create improvements around it, which diminish its own future value. New genius, with new materials and new views, and acting in new directions, is then wanted. This appears, and benefits, and becomes obsolete in its turn, from the good which it has imparted. Thus Orpheus, Homer, Pindar, Socrates, and Plato, successively arose for the advantage of mankind. In some degree the creatures of the age they adorned, they wrote for its necessities, its taste, and its approbation. Each of them left society better for his appearance, and therefore requiring other teachers to carry on its progression.²² But when, from political or moral changes, the manners and spirit of the succeeding ages prove unfavorable to the evolution of fresh talent, the progress of mind becomes stationary, and soon, receiving no impulse to advance by the rise of further benefactors, the cultivation that has been produced begins then to retrograde and decline, from the operation of its own imperfections, and from the adverse circumstances with which it is surrounded.

The Grecian and Roman literature was an immense accession to the intellectual world—and allied taste and judgment, true history, and moral uses, for ever with it.²³ When I read the monstrous productions

²² The general cultivation of the Grecian mind, as far as their poets could improve it, may be inferred from the intimation of Seneca, that there were slaves so familiar with the revered poetry of Greece, that one was a master of Homer; another of Hesiod; and nine of the lyric writers; all purchased by one affluent Roman (Ep. 17.) and retained in his family. (Ep. 27.) Such men could hardly live in any household without diffusing much of their own taste and information around them.

²³ One of the completest and most favorable instances of a mind formed almost entirely from the Classics, is that of the celebrated Montaigne. His essays are, usually, ingenious pieces of patchwork, selected and put together by a sound and

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of the Hindu literature; the inflated exaggerations of the Persians, and the absurd dreams of the Chaldeans, and other Easterns, and contemplate the confusing obscurity and scanty mind of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, I feel that, with all their imperfections, we can hardly estimate on this comparison, the Greek and Roman classics too highly. But in recollecting their improvements, we must not forget our own. In acknowledging their vast merit, as we ought, with a filial gratitude, we must neither palliate nor deny their visible deficiencies, nor be blind to the justice of their now occupying a subordinate position — always to be studied — always to be remembered — frequently to be consulted — but never to be made again the *magistri vitæ*, or the exclusive acquisition. Both the Grecian and the Roman compositions have, in all their parts, successively benefited the world; but both had some peculiar tendencies, which, though beneficial in their first appearance, yet afterwards became mischievous. These, unfortunately, obtained the ascendancy in education and popular favor, as the moral and political state of the empire declined. They increased the degeneracy which fostered them; till literature itself was ruined by their operation, and became pernicious to human reason, and unworthy of its pursuit. These corrupting agents were, the Grecian sophistry and the Roman rhetoric.

Sophistical
philosophy
of Greece.

When Socrates diverted the Athenian mind from the study of astronomy and natural philosophy, to moral and political disputation, he seemed to be con-

large intellect; from Plutarch, Cicero, Seneca, Horace, and Lucretius. He quotes them as often as the pedant in *Clarissa*, and not only transplants their best thoughts avowedly into his *Essays*, but where their names are not explicitly referred to, his ideas may be frequently traced to their remains. His general merit shews that of his intellectual education. But he has cropped their flowers, and left their weeds untouched; and yet, in his own deficiencies, makes us feel the vastly superior richness of the intellectual harvests, which both his countrymen and England have raised since he lived.

ferring a benefit upon his species; and if his authority and example had only given to ethics and polity a fair proportion of philosophical discussion, the boon which he imparted would have been great. But Socrates loved victory as well as truth; he sought often to confute rather than to instruct; a subtle distinction was as valuable in his eyes, as a sound judgment: he preferred debate to observation, logic to knowledge.²⁴ Hence, without perhaps fully intending it, he excited in the Athenian, and thro that, in the Grecian mind, a love and practice of sophistical ingenuity, which, abandoning the patient study of nature, and the calm decisions of steady judgment, sought only to shine in argument and controversy. His acute method of confuting his adversary, was refined upon with increased effect by Plato²⁵; and Aristotle, transcending both in logical subtlety, invented systems and forms of intellectual debate, which have given weapons to the subtilizing talents of every sect. His works were long buried, but his spirit was in the world, and filled Greece with wranglers, with contending systems, and everlasting controversy. An electrical activity became the character of the Grecian mind; but it was restlessness, without produce. Agitated by eternal debate,

²⁴ Socrates has been delineated by three contemporaries:—Aristophanes, Plato, and Xenophon, and by all dramatically. Each has pursued his own taste in exhibiting the conversation of the philosopher. The satirizing comedian has drawn him a mere sophist; his dialectic disciple, Plato, has exhibited him arguing and refining in a way that approaches much nearer to sophistry than the simpler Xenophon has chosen to pourtray. I doubt if we have the real Socrates from either, unless we take his features from all. Indeed, when we consider that Cicero deduces the Academical Sect, always debating and never deciding, from Socrates—*profecta à Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata à Carneade* (De Nat. Deor. l. i. p. 14.) I cannot but feel, that if Aristophanes caricatured, yet that he saw justly the tendency of the mental habit which Socrates was practising. Lucian also treats Socrates with disrespect; and Maximus Tyrius, in four discourses, strives hard to justify him.

²⁵ It is impossible to reconcile the *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* of Xenophon, which consists of the conversations of Socrates, with the works of Plato, which are all dialogues of the same revered sage, without supposing either that Plato has remembered and imitated his master's most artful manner of disputing, or has refined upon it to exhibit his own genius. When I see in Xenophon, Socrates condescending to teach a courtesan how to practise her trade, I cannot but think that he loved a reputation for ingenuity full as much as moral utility.

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never ending but in scepticism that mocked all moral principle, or in a keener resolution to resume the weapon and refight the battle; the Grecian lost the tact for the appreciation of either moral or physical truth, and both the ability and the wish to acquire it.²⁶

The floating knowlege of his day, that preceding ages had acquired, he imbibed as it passed, for its showy or assailing utility; but he added nothing to its amount; and judgment was dispersed in disputatious pertinacity. Personal distinction by argument becoming the actuating principle of all, and the defeat of a competitor being the favorite object, the mental evil was prolific of moral disorder: and falsehood, faithlessness, and profligacy, became the characteristics of a Grecian.²⁷

When Rome aspired to prevail in the empire of letters, she certainly introduced into them a masculine decision and steadiness of thought, and a solidity of judgment, which promised to correct the volatility and perversions of the Grecian mind. In Cicero and Seneca, in Tacitus and Quintilian, a good sense, a moral wisdom, a sound thoughtfulness appear, which are rarely to be found so continuous, and so little mixed with verbosity and absurdity, in any Grecian writers. But unfortunately, from the nature of the civil institutions of Rome, oratory became the fashionable object of all Roman education. It was indeed, at

²⁶ The three hundred opinions on happiness which the Grecian schools maintained, are a sufficient elucidation of their love of useless and endless disputation. Perhaps the best account, in the fewest words, of the absurd and contradictory opinions of the Greek philosophers, even the greatest, on the awful subject of the Deity; and of their gross self-inconsistencies, even of Aristotle; is in the sketch drawn by Velleius, in Cicero's *de Nat. Deorum*. These opinions he truly calls, *Non philosophorum judicia sed delirantium somnia*. L. i. p. 32. Glasg. ed.

²⁷ Lucian felt the diversity of the Grecian philosophic sects, and their disputes and contradictory lives, to be so absurd, that he is perpetually satirizing them. Maximus Tyrius, who lived about the time of the Antonines, says emphatically—“If you place philosophy in words and names and artifices of phrase; in argument, contention, and sophisms; it is not difficult to find a master. All things with us are full of sophists. This is a flourishing profession, and manifest to every one.” *Dissert.* 37. ed. Heins. p. 218.

first, oratory formed on the largest acquisition of knowledge, that books, instructors, or personal labor, could supply²⁸; it was oratory actuated by the noblest impulses that a free state could create, or a cultivated mind obey.²⁹ But when her republic fell, and her morals vanished, the orator dwindled to the mere rhetorician; the verbal diction became the subject of general pursuit, not the full-fed mind; the trick and the deceit, not conviction and honorable persuasion. The effects were most pernicious. Rhetoric, like sophistry, separated from real principle, is a selfish combatant, that aims at personal display, and prefers victory to justice; it deludes both its author and his audience: it enervates the judgment which uses it, and spoils the mind accustomed to hear it. Aiming to overpower the reason, by exciting the sympathy, it abandons knowledge for phrase, sense for sound, and truth for gesture, declamation, and delusion. In Rome, it delighted in the most lacerating invective.³⁰

²⁸ Cicero, in his *Treatise de Oratore*, is emphatic on this point. Quintilian urges the acquisition of logic, ethics, and natural philosophy, law and history, music and geometry. L. xii. c. 1.

²⁹ Quintilian begins his twelfth book with proving, that virtue is indispensable to the orator. He calls it the quality by which we approach nearest to the nature of Deity itself. L. xii. c. 2.

³⁰ Luther, Salmasius, Milton, Scheoppius, and the literati of the sixteenth century, have been strongly and justly censured for the virulence and asperity they expressed towards their opponents. But their teachers were the classical orators. This defamatory eloquence may claim an ancestry as high and as respectable as Cicero himself, the most polite of the Roman orators and writers! His philippics against Verres, and Antony, and Catiline, almost exhaust the stores of vituperative abuse. But it was so common a weapon of Roman oratory, that even in his oration against Piso, we have these phrases addressed to him—"Thou beast! thou fury! thou hangman! thou lump of mud! thy foetid mouth! thou stupid madman! thou gibbet thief! this cattle! this putrid flesh! that rotten corpse! iniquity in the very folds of his forehead; thou foulest and most inhuman monster! that abject and but half alive man! I will argue with him as with a thief, a sacrilegious robber and a cut-throat. Thou epicurean from the sty, not from the school! This vulture of his province! the gorging glutton, born for his belly. Ye twin whirlpools and rocks of the republic! You bear the everlasting marks of the most filthy turpitude—thou wickedness itself! thou pestilence! thou contamination! thou mannikin of clay and mud! thou darkness! thou dirt! thou pollution!" &c. These are only the personal apostrophes and epithets. The detailed and elaborate abuse, all spoken to the person's face, occupies forty-one copious sections of oratorical declamation, contrasted only with the most lavish egotism on himself. And such was Roman taste, that a public audience could hear all this, as well as a public speaker express it, and that speaker the polished Cicero, the writer of his gentle-

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But when the Grecian sophistry, and its unprincipled spirit, became combined with the Roman modes and style of oratory, the perversion of the human mind reached its height. Controversy became the delight of the studious; Pyrrhonism corrupted their philosophy; and cavil and declamation characterized their literature.³¹ So inveterate was the intellectual mischief, that even the genius of Christianity, which condemned it, sank into its trammels; and a dogmatical, passionate, rhetorical, and polemical theology appeared in Greece, which ruined its judgment and feeling, repeatedly stained its streets with human blood³², and has infected religious discussions ever since. We cannot read the works of the Greek fathers, and of their contemporary Pagan philosophers, and many Latin controversialists, without perceiving that we are not conversing with men of sound judgment, expansive knowledge, moral feeling, or elevated intellect—but, for the most part, with the

manly "Offices," or moral duties. Can we wonder that such orations of such men have seduced others to an imitation; or that they should injure the moral taste of our public addresses, whether from the bar, the pulpit, or the hustings, or in the senate. Human genius has yet to give a specimen of impressive oratory, disdainful to vituperate.

³¹ Indeed how could it be otherwise, in an age when the followers of Epicurus were inculcating atheism and materialism, and discouraging the study of the sciences?—when those of Aristippus were urging sensual pleasures to be the summum bonum—when those of Pyrrho doubted the existence of every thing—and the Academics disputed equally on both sides of every question, this day arguing in favor of justice, and the next day against it, as Carneades did even before Cato—when the Peripatetics used in their syllogistic organum, the means of eternal debate—when the Stoics contended against all—and the Electics increased the Babel confusion of philosophy, by struggling to unite all—and especially, when we find from Quintilian, that these disputants seemed bound to their different sects by a sort of religious obligation, and thought themselves guilty of something criminal if they deserted the persuasion which they had once embraced? Inst. l. xii. c. 2.

³² On the religious and civil factions of Constantinople, and the Grecian hierarchy, see Gibbon's History, in many places. Under the reign of Anastasius, the Grecians, who had treacherously concealed stones and daggers under baskets of fruit, massacred at a solemn festival, 3000 of their Blue adversaries. The Blues retaliated bitterly. In the Nike sedition, in the reign of Justinian, in which both factions engaged, the Blues signalized the fury of their repentance; and it is computed that above 30,000 persons were slain in the merciless and promiscuous carnage of the day. Gibbon Hist. vol. iv. c. 40. pp. 61. 69. Mr. Gibbon loves to describe the controversies and conflicts of the Grecian clergy. His satirical portrait is, in one respect, an accession to the cause of human welfare; for tho' it is but what all parties and ages have practised, yet literary censure, and the feeling that corresponds with it, may in time make such conduct too odious to be reacted.

rhetorician and the sophist; with verbose and declamatory egotists; with men chiefly fertile in the concatenation of words, and in the tactics of phrase; with intellectual gladiators and theatrical exhibitors, to whom debate was the happiest of all employments, and popular applause a necessary sustenance.³³

The rhetorical spirit gave a character of declamation to all the literature of Greece and Rome, after the second century, and shaped and governed their studious education.³⁴ On this principle their minds were taught to think and write; and it is amusing to see Cassiodorus, one of the last of the literary Romans, the chief minister of Theodoric, striving to pen his sovereign's official orders with the elaborate amplifications of the orator.³⁵

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Effects of
these evils.

³³ The logical and metaphysical works of Ammonius, Plotinus, Proclus, Jamblichus, Porphyry, and others of the philosophers, have given me the impression mentioned in the text. The controversial works of the Greek fathers display the same mind and manner on different subjects with additional acrimony. In Mr. Boyd's Selections from some of the most celebrated orations of the Greek fathers, we see their rhetoric in profusion. The feeling of egotism, never concealed, pervades all their discourses. It must have been the national characteristic, or it would not have been so much expressed, and could not have been so patiently endured. In St. Gregory's funeral oration on his brother, we have a specimen how anxious the preacher was, even on this melancholy occasion, to protrude himself on the notice of the audience. See Mr. Boyd's translation, pp. 122, 123, 127, 136, 139—143.

³⁴ Rhetorical sophistry has been so engrafted on the Grecian literature and genius, that in 1826 it was reviving with the reviving literature of modern Greece. Constantine Olkonomos, then professor of philology at Smyrna, found it necessary in the preliminary discourses to his *Τεχνῆς Ρητορικῆς*, printed at Vienna, to caution his pupils against it: "Exercise your intellectual faculties with all the dignity that becomes a man, but avoid those disputations and wranglings in which *the sophists of our day* so greatly delight. The present state of literature in Greece is not so absolutely wretched, as that our youths should abandon themselves entirely to the study of the problems and sophisms of dialectics." Panor. No. 99. p. 1062.

³⁵ The object of the order was, that Symmachus should cause a son, who had attempted parricide, to be brought before him for judgment.—It is introduced with two pages of rhetorical common-place on filial ingratitude, with such imagerical arguments as these: "The whelps of wild beasts follow their parents; the shoots of trees do not quarrel with their stem; the branch of the vine obeys its own stock; and shall man differ with his own source?—The care of the ancestor does not shun the seas themselves, excited by cruel tempests, that he may gain by foreign merchandise what he may leave his children. The birds themselves, seeking food, stain not their nature with ingratitude.—The stork, the herald of the returning year, throwing off the sadness of winter, introducing the hilarity of the vernal season, delivers to us a great example of piety; for when their parents droop the wings from old age, nor can be found fit to seek their own food, they, cherishing the cold limbs of their parents with their wings, refresh their wearied frames with nourish-

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This characterising defect in the Roman literature, seems to have arisen from the extreme desire of personal distinction and notoriety which was the passion and the imperfection of the classical world. It led the Roman generals to their laborious wars, and made a greediness for social admiration: which we may truly call vain-glory, the restless principle of all; and among these of their orators and literary students. Cicero was at times intoxicated by it, and inferior men to the full extent of their moderate capacity sought the delusive gratification. Hence, the applause of others, and superior distinction and personal pre-eminence, and not the love of truth nor any desire of enlarging the possessed knowledge, or of benefiting mankind, were the actuating principles of the chief Latin authors, before the Goths overflowed Europe with their new and dissimilar population.³⁶

The Roman education being thus essentially rhetorical, precluded a taste for science, true judgment, or simplicity. The tropes and figures of rhetoric became an elaborate study. We have treatises on these, with names, distinctions, and niceties, which a

ment, and till the aged bird can be restored to its primeval vigor, their young progeny, with pious vicissitude, return what, when little, they received from their parents." He then goes on to the partridges, and after another long simile from them, at last gives the royal order. Cass. Ep. l. i. ep. 14. p. 44. — Another specimen of the rhetorical statesman follows in the fortieth letter. The king writes to Boethius, that the king of the Franks wished a harper. His minister takes occasion, from this circumstance, to pour out six pages of rhetoric on the use and history of music; and this to Boethius, who had written on the subject. Almost all the state letters are in this style, tho not so profusely.

³⁶ Cicero's oration against Piso avows strongly these feelings. "No one can desire to have an army, or asks for it, but from the desire of a public triumph. It is even the mark of a narrow and mean-spirited mind to despise the honor and dignity of a just triumph. It is the part of a trifling mind that avoids light and splendor, to repudiate due glory, which is the most honorable fruit of true virtue." He makes it a great crime in Piso for declining to have a triumph: and represents popular acclamations and public parade as true glory and the best reward of virtue. But we may see in Plutarch's Treatise on Moral Virtue, and in others of his miscellaneous works, how little its true principles were understood even after the establishment of the Imperial government; and how very insufficient the ethical disputes and writings of the antients were, to form a consistent, intelligent, and useful moral character.

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Kant might envy.³⁷ These verbal discriminations, so useless, because they have never made an orator, and so mischievous, because whenever seriously studied, they tempt students to be as absurd as their teachers, were begun by the Greeks, the great masters of wordy ingenuity.³⁸ The Romans emulously cultivated the specious but ineffectual art; and verbal rhetoric became a favorite subject with their writers³⁹, not the intellectual eloquence of Cicero and Demosthenes, but the minute rhetoric of the narrow-minded critics of words, epithets, particles, cases and sentences.⁴⁰ Though treatises swarmed on this unworthy theme, yet such a favorite was the study, that it was never thought exhausted; and it is perhaps one proof of its general cultivation, that so many works upon it have survived, while nobler

³⁷ Being good Greek, it would be profane to call them barbarous; otherwise the names given by Rutilius Lupus, to his figures of Elocution, might have tempted the application of this epithet—Prosapodosis, Synathroesmus, Paradiastole, Anaclassis, Epiphora, Coenotes, Polypotton, Epanalepsis, Epiploce, Polysyndeton, Ananæon, Brachyepia, Syscevasis, &c. &c.

³⁸ The Greeks were not satisfied until they traced out these oratorical beauties in Homer; and the largest part of the Life of him by Dion. of Halicarnassus is devoted to this fanciful subject. The treatise of Lupus, *De Figuris Sententiarum*, was drawn up from the Greek of his contemporary Gorgias, as that of Aquila was from the Greek Numenius. The works of many of the Grecian rhetors still exist, and have been published by Aldus.

³⁹ Besides the rhetor Lupus, we have Aquila Romanus *de Figuris*, and Julius Rufinianus on the same topic:—and the longer treatise of Curius Fortunatianus, entitled, *Artis Rhetoricæ Scholicæ*. The *Expositio* on Cicero's *Rhetoricon*, by Marius Victorinus, a rhetor of Rome, is also a copious work. The *Institutiones Oratoriæ* of Sulpitius Victor, are the instructions he composed for his son-in-law. Emporius the rhetor entitles his work *de Ethopoëia ac loco Communi*. We have also the *Principia Rhetoricæ* of Aurelius Augustinus—and the *Syntomata Rhetoricæ* of Julius Severianus. To these we may add, Rufinus's hexameter verses *de Compositione et Metris Oratorum*, and Priscian's *de Præexercitamentis Rhetoricæ*, taken from Hermogenes, and Martianus Capella *de Rhetorica Liber*.

⁴⁰ To give an instance. Aquila says, p. 28., The following sentence contains three figures: the isocolon, the homœoptoton, and the diezeugmenon. "The Athenians fortified with colonies that part of Asia which is called Ionia: the Dorians occupied that region of Italy which is named Magna Græcia." The disjunction of two connected sentences, is the ornament they call diezeugmenon. The similarity of cases which appears in the Latin of the above, is the homœoptoton; and the combination of the two sentences, the two equal colons, they call the isocolon.—Yet of such trifling, Aquila says, "These things are the peculiar office of the orator. By this science he raises the little; he expands the contracted; he rapidly gives ornament, force, and weight, to his words and sentences. Nothing can equal this in affecting the minds of the hearers and judges." p. 15.

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authors have perished. Boethius condescended to bestow the efforts of his mind, fit for better things, upon this popular subject; and, rather stimulated than discouraged by the numbers that had preceded, Cassiodorus also furnished the sixth century with his *Rhetoricæ Compendium*.⁴¹ The continuation of such compositions shows how inveterately the love of rhetoric was rooted in the Roman mind.

From this direction of the Roman literature and tuition, rhetoric became a principal object of application among those Gothic nations who made the Roman literature their study and their model. We find Isidore writing on this subject in Spain.⁴² Even our simple-minded Bede employed himself in searching the Sacred Writings for these verbal ornaments, from his anxiety to show that they were not deficient in this popular requisite⁴³; and Alcuin thought it necessary to instruct his imperial friend and patron in this popular art, and has left a dialogue upon it between himself and Charlemagne.⁴⁴

⁴¹ See his Work, vol. ii. p. 454. Yet for a peculiar beauty too much neglected by some of our best writers, I would strongly recommend the study of the *Georgics* and *Æneid* of Virgil, and all the Works of Cicero; I mean that happy selection and combination of words, and rythmical structure of sentence, which combine clearness and exactness of meaning with fewness and simplicity of terms to express it, and yet, which display an energy of spirit, a pictorial beauty, a terse elegance, an easy strength, and a musical harmony of effect; in which no man has exceeded Virgil in poetry, or Cicero, with all his rhetorical amplifications in his polished prose.

⁴² In his *De Arte Rhetorica Liber*, with the feeling of a Christian writer, he also makes the recommendation of Quintilian an essential part of his definition: "Orator est vir bonus dicendi peritus."

⁴³ See his book *De Tropis Sacræ Scripturæ*. He says, The Grecians boasted that they were the inventors of such figures and tropes; but that the world might know that the Bible "ipsa preeminet positione dicendi," he wrote his book. His instance, from some Latin writer, of the Paroimion, is one of the completest and most fantastic specimens of alliteration that I have seen:

"O Tite tute Tate tibi tanta tyranne tulisti."

This equals Aldhelm's prose (*Ang. Sax.* vol. iii. p. 350. 7th ed.), and outdoes even the Welsh bards, who delighted in this caricaturing ornament.

⁴⁴ In this he tells the Emperor, that rhetoric drew mankind, from wandering like wild beasts in the woods, to houses, society, and religion. He pays him a compliment in the true style of his art: "The spark of my small genius can add nothing to the flame-breathing light of thy wisdom."

The
Gothic
nations
imbibe the
rhetorical
spirit.

Rhetoric thus adopted into the education of the barbaric mind, soon materially characterized its literature. In Spain, in the seventh century, we have the work of St. Ildephonso on the Immaculate Virginity, which displays the oratorical style, tinged with polemical arrogance in its full exertion—in all its pompous inanity, and mischievous verbosity, violent, passionate, dictatorial and unmeaning.⁴⁵ Eulogius, in his *Memorialis Sanctorum*, appears to have been formed from the same school. And even a letter written from that country attempts the absurdity of rhetorical diction, and proves how carefully the Roman rhetoricians were studied.⁴⁶ Among our Anglo-Saxons, Aldhelm, so admired as to be praised by Malmsbury above four centuries after his death, has left us an elaborate work written in this spirit, which is remarkable only for being one tissue of extravagant metaphor, of inflated, exaggerated and unprofitable declamation.⁴⁷ The same style, notwith-

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⁴⁵ "What say you, O Jew! what do you propose? what do you meditate? what do you oppose? what do you object? Behold our Virgin—She is thine by stem—thine by race, thine by root, thine by country, thine by people, thine by nation, thine by origin. But from our faith she is ours—ours from belief, ours from assent, ours from reverence, ours from honor, ours from praise, ours from glorification, ours from choice, ours from love, ours from preaching," &c. p. 95. This is harmless nothingness. Other parts of his empty declamation are mischievous: "Hear me, thou Eluidius! attend to me, thou impudent one; hear me, thou immodest one; look at me, dishonest man. Behold me, thou shameless! What, are you disturbing with your indecency? What, unblushing, are you urging? What, deceiver, are you attempting? What art thou attacking without reverence? What, without bashfulness, art thou afflicting?" *Bib. Mag. Pat. t. ix. p. 94.*

⁴⁶ It is from Alvar to Eulogius:—In this he says, "The fiery-haired traveller of the centre, dwells, as soon as he rises, in the eyes of Heaven."—The whole letter is not only rhetorical, but aims to be so—for it talks of the redundant oratory of the Tullian fountain, of the fervent genius of Demosthenes, the rich eloquence of Cicero, and the florid Quintilian; and commends his friend for adding to the divine food the florem rhetoricum. *Bib. Mag. Pat. t. ix. p. 338.*

⁴⁷ This work is entitled *St. Aldhelmi Liber de laudibus Virginitatis*. Every page of it is in the rhetorical style, and is meant to be so as its merit and character, "*de intactæ virginitatis gloria rhetoricamur.*" p. 367. He says, "Having placed the rhetorical foundations, and built up the walls of prose, I will lay on a most firm roof with trochaic tiles and dactylic bricks of metres." p. 368. Every sentence contains a trope and a metaphor. It is made up of sixty chapters of rhetorical figures, the whole meaning of which may be expressed in three words, "Virginity is praiseworthy."

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standing our Alfred's correcting example, repeatedly emerged in Edgar's legal charters, probably penned by St. Dunstan. It abounds in the works of the Anglo-Norman monks, who had formed themselves on Roman literature, even in the twelfth century, when better things had begun to appear.⁴⁸ In other nations, the same taste, the same absurdity appears.⁴⁹ It suited indeed many of the subjects on which it was lavished — the exaggerated lives of saints politically canonized by papal mandate — and the fallacious recommendations of useless relics. The rhetorical style still marks the ecclesiastical literature of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, which is chiefly formed upon the Latin classics and fathers. It is always rhetorical, and it is little else.

The instances alluded to, are adduced as striking specimens of the ill effects that have arisen from the exclusive study of the Roman literature, and from giving education an oratorical direction. But the evil did not rest on particular examples of extravagance. The world might have smiled at such things, and forgotten them: the Greeks might have made half a dozen distinctions of irony, and given their discovery importance by hard names⁵⁰, and have amused themselves with a hundred follies of that sort, if no

Its injurious effects on the human mind.

⁴⁸ Thus in the writers of Becket's Life we have as the praise of a prelate — that he was the morning star of the heavenly firmament, a most glowing carbuncle, the refulgent bow among the clouds, the lily in the flowing waters, the rose in spring, frankincense flaming in the fire, a solid vessel of gold, a lily of purity, a rose of modesty, the viol of celestial conversation, the music of jocund society, the pillar of justice, the infrangible adamant of constancy. *Quadril. l. i. c. 21.* in the old edition; c. 16. in the latter.

⁴⁹ This rhetorical declamation became the character of all the ecclesiastical writings (not scholastic) of the middle ages; not indeed with equal spirit or ingenuity; there is the dull rhetoric as well as the animated. But the rhetorical tone of mind, not reasoning, not comparing, not inquiring, not judging, but merely putting together phrases and common-places; amplifying and declaiming; laboring at style without knowledge, combining words without distinct ideas, repeating the quindecies repetita, and aiming to be oratorical; must strike all who will take the trouble to read the Latin works that preceded the fourteenth century, and many since.

⁵⁰ Rufinianus gravely details these from Numenius: the chleuasmus; or epicortomesis; the charientismus, or scomma; the astelsmus; the diasyrmus; the exuthenismus; and the sarcasmus.

other consequence had followed. But they inoculated the whole literary world with the delusion, as a merit; and fixed on the human mind a rhetorical fashion and tendency, which insured its depravation, and precluded its improvement. Men were laboriously educated to think in these trammels, or rather, to lose all thought and reasoning in recollecting and pursuing these unmeaning niceties of phrase. Nor was any discrimination made as to the merit of such things: the notable Paroimion above quoted from Bede, and all the schemata, tropes and figures, which the Greeks vaunted to be their discoveries, were carefully noted, repeated and recommended with the same general sentences of introductory panegyric, as if all were equally beautiful—all, the intentional produce of genius—all, the sanctioned ornaments of good taste. The consequence could be no other than it was. The literary strove to excel in rhetoric, not in knowlege; the rhetoricians multiplied like dancing masters; science declined; good taste departed. Literature was no longer esteemed for itself; it was cultivated but as vanity or interest required; grosser amusements pleased better; and knowlege was fast expiring in the Roman world when the Goths invaded.

When the love of letters began to rise in the dark ages, this rhetorical literature spread with it; it was no longer confined to judicial causes; it was deemed a necessary accomplishment in all. Oratory supplies us with the grace of words, says Theodoric.⁵¹ It is the science of speaking well, exclaims Alcuin; who makes his emperor reply, "Then explain to us the rules of the rhetorical discipline, for necessity compels us to be exercised in them every day:"—and, having heard his preceptor's lessons, he is taught to

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⁵¹ Cassiod. Ep. p. 83^b.

add, "Who shall dare to say that we have discoursed in vain, if he be an inquirer into the liberal arts or a follower of the excellent virtues!"⁵² So that rhetoric was at last supposed to be the key of knowlege, and the handmaid of morality. Instead of keeping it in a subjected state to promote better purposes, instead of making thought and knowlege, truth and wisdom, feeling and taste, the essentials and components of the mind, and the oratorical ornament but the connected and skilfully adapted grace, the student was trained to think rhetorically, and write rhetorically, and to speak, and where he could, to harangue rhetorically, whatever might be the fact, the subject, or the utility. Personal display and the gaining of an immediate object, or the indulgence of a prominent feeling at any expense of justice or truth, were usually the results and aims of such a state of mind. It cannot discover, and rarely values truth, and too often perplexes and destroys it.

Hence the defects of a rhetorical education are obvious. The mind so instructed and contorted may give new turns to its common-places, may disturb language into new phrases, and declaim with well-sounding volubility on the familiar topics of the academy; but if it act in this direction for ages, it will not add one fact of useful knowlege, nor evolve one natural feeling, nor attain any new improvement. Rhetoric is essentially conversant with words, not with things, and seduces the whole soul into the same path. Like the syllogism of Aristotle, it may enforce what is known; it will discover nothing that is unknown. It will be still but the new rhetorician following the old one in the same trodden circle, disturbing afresh the same dust, and moving round in the same trammels, but never emancipating itself

⁵² Alcuin de Rh. lib. cccxc. and ccccx. apud Ant. Rhet. Capperonerii.

from its bondage, never discovering a new path of intellect, nor able to achieve one original flight. Our Aldhelm is a complete specimen how much rhetorical amplifications can spoil a valuable mind.

The spirit of rhetorical criticism has now happily ceased. We do not now inquire what tropes and figures a poem contains; we do not now hunt, like the Grecian rhetors, for such things as the metalepsis or the antonomasia; for the diasymus, the charientismus or the litotes. Though some authors have tried to make rhetoric easy⁵³ among us; and metrical distributions of figures have been published, containing "a noble fund of tropo-schematological knowlege,"⁵⁴ for the torment of unfortunate school-boys; yet this spirit and these discriminations have never obtained a standard place in English literary criticism, and have never been aimed at by English authors. Declamation, even in public oratory, now excites mistrust and prevents conviction; it sounds to us immediately like the voice of imposition, and we prefer a Cæsar's clear and unassuming simplicity of uncolored fact, to all the gorgeous drapery and rancorous invective of an accusing Cicero, and, I may add, of an impeaching Burke.

The Grecian literature had become as unprofitable. Its philosophers had argued themselves into almost as many theories as there were disputants. Their theologians were prolific of heresies, contentions, and superstitions. Their emperors were polemical partisans; sectarian chieftains; not the impartial sove-

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Grecian
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declines.

⁵³ Mr. John Holmes took this trouble, in 1754, in his *Art of Rhetoric made easy*; wherein he tells us, that he had "sold 6000 of his Latin Grammars; near 4000 of his Greek Grammars with this Treatise; and the rest in due proportion." Pref.

⁵⁴ So says Holmes of Mr. D. Burton's *Figuræ Metricæ*, composed for Durham school, containing 142 Latin hexameters, each with such Gorgon names to poor school-boys as these—*Verba EPANORTHOSIS revocans addensque reformat; APOSIOPESIS reticet, remque innuit omnem; Rem negat APOPHASIS, quam transgreditur PARALEIPSIS.* The rhetorical enthusiast liberally promised to each of his scholars "sixpence, whoever he is, that will learn 'em [these 142 lines] by heart, and repeat 'em to him with understanding." p. 32. Our school-boys of former days must have been made indefatigable blockheads.

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reigns of an enlightened nation. The discussions being always upon words, or being the selfish conflicts of factious violence and acrimonious bigotry, never benefited the intellect. But the Greeks seem to have deceived themselves, by the perfection into which they had wrought their sweet and copious tongue. They mistook novelty of phrase for novelty of idea; they believed that they had started an acute refinement of thought, when they had only made a new distinction and arrangement of a beautiful diction. If we were not captivated by the charms of the language, and of their ancient fame, rather than by the utility of the matter, the reveries of Jacob Behmen would appear as important and as intelligible as many of the metaphysical reasonings of Plotinus, Ammonius, and Proclus. What mind, enlightened by modern science, can value them for any real discrimination of thought, or for the discovery or exposition of any additional knowledge!

The Grecian fathers emulated the sophistry and rhetoric of their philosophical opponents, and a wordy luxuriance of useless subtleties and theatrical declamation was their ambition and their disgrace.⁵⁵ They became admirable combatants; they fought with all the ardor and tactics of fierce and disciplined warriors. But their triumphs were the destruction of their religion; and it became necessary to discipline Christianity, by the introduction of Mahomedanism, in order to preserve it.

Pursuing these considerations to their consequences,

⁵⁵ Rhetoric should not be taught as an art, or the mind will be injured by the tuition. The treatises upon it, from Aristotle to Cassiodorus, should be forgotten. Knowledge is the first requisite; a frequent perusal of those who have been truly and honorably eloquent, the second; the formation of a correct judgment is the third; to these should be added varied and appropriate feeling, a mellifluous and yet powerful diction—a flexible and impressive elocution. The habit of public speaking, to make all these attainments available on the immediate spur of every occasion, will then give a facility and force which no precepts can impart. Pericles and Demosthenes astonished Greece before the rhetors rose. No great man has ever been formed by these rules.

we cannot wonder that the Grecian literature had declined into insignificance in the ninth and tenth centuries.⁵⁶ It is certainly a remarkable fact that both the Grecian and the Roman literature were unable to sustain themselves. They not only became incompetent to improve the world—they could not even continue their own existence. They neither corrected their evil tendencies, nor those of society, nor preserved their real merit. They became neglected and discredited in their own countries, where they had once so vigorously flourished; and when the barbarous nations attempted to transplant them into the Gothic soil, they produced but a feeble vegetation, which soon hastened into decay.⁵⁷

It is manifest that by the time the Gothic tribes overthrew the Roman empire, that sensitive rectitude of intellect or refinement of judgment, which we call good taste, had abandoned the Roman mind. This

⁵⁶ In the ninth century, Bardas *began* to open schools of good letters in Constantinople. Curopalates says of him, that he had "a knowledge of foreign wisdom, which had long declined, and had almost wholly perished. There was then so great a penury of learned men in Greece, that it was necessary to search them out with great diligence, living concealed here and there in corners, and in want. There was no vestige of schools in Athens at that time." Baronius *Annal.* l. p. 180. Yet no barbarians had then occupied the Byzantine capital.

⁵⁷ Great lamentation has been made at the loss of so many of the Greek poets, and great indignation excited by the account which P. Alcyonio, in his *Lib. de Exilio*, has transmitted to us, that the eastern emperors, under the influence of the Grecian clergy, caused many of their ancient Greek poems to be burnt. Among these he particularizes those of Menander, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon, Alexis, Sappho, Grinna, Anacreon, Minnermus, Bion, Aleman, and Alcæus. But the same author expresses the reason to have been on account of their indecencies. We need not therefore refer their perishing to any imperial destruction; because in every country, as its moral taste and judgment improves, all writers of this sort sink naturally into that disuse and oblivion, which our indecent poets and novelists of Charles II. have experienced, and which the similar ones of our own time must submit to. The preservation of such works, especially in a dead language, could have produced no good to mankind. Hence, tho' Aristophanes was so celebrated for his attic style, yet as its peculiar graces can be but faintly perceived by modern students, his works, if familiarly used, would do far more injury by their frequent licentiousness than they would benefit by their diction. The world is always outgrowing such sorts of compositions, and from its own improvement, as well as for its own happiness, neglects them. It is probable that the most useful and least exceptionable of the ancient classics have survived to us. These benefit mankind as far as their utility extends; but it is obvious that if the mind of the world was to be now confined to them, it would fall from its present varied affluence to a state of great comparative poverty.

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invaluable attainment of the cultivated spirit seems to depend neither on rank nor on government; for the low born Horace and Virgil, under the military despotism of Augustus, possessed it in a degree superior to any of the ancients—not, perhaps, even excepting Cicero and Livy. Its deficiency in every subsequent generation appeared not only in literary composition, but also in the fine arts. The glaring superseded the tasteful; color took the lead of beauty; the monstrous had displaced the natural, and the perfect art of ancient painting seemed to have expired⁵⁸; showy purple covered the walls, and the drugs of India lavishly stained them, but no noble picture⁵⁹ delighted the eye of feeling and the cultivated reason. Moral, not political causes, must have produced this deterioration; and the ancients seem to hint at this idea; for Pliny reminds us, that the great Protogenes was contented with a cottage in his garden, and that a pictorial artist was then the common property of the world.⁶⁰ While Petronius desires us not to be surprised that painting had declined, because in his days a heap of gold was thought to be far more beautiful than any thing which Apelles, Phidias, or any such insignificant madmen⁶¹, had created. Neither art nor literature lost any thing by the Roman mind being changed for

⁵⁸ See Vitruvius, l. 7. c. 5. This bad taste was beginning in the days of Tully, for he remarks how much more flowery the new pictures were than the old ones; how much less durably they pleased, and how horrid such an effect would have been deemed in those of the ancient masters. De Nat. l. 3. c. 25.

⁵⁹ Pliny, Nat Hist. l. 35. c. 7. "Nunc et purpuris in parietes migrantibus."—"Nulla nobilis pictura est." Ib.

⁶⁰ Ib. c. 10.

⁶¹ Petr. Satyr. c. 87. How much the love, the pursuit, and the possession of wealth corrupted the human mind, its history after the conquest of Asia fully shews. How different were their forefathers, and how poor! Even Petronius felt the ill effects of the fashionable luxury of Rome on the mind to be so great, as to say, that "he who loves the results of superior art, and would apply his mind to great things, must, like the ancients, study under the habits of a strict frugality, and avoid palaces, suppers, wine, and public theatres; with philosophy he should associate, and exercise himself with the arms of the mighty Demosthenes; then the grand elocution of the unconquered Cicero will be his own; his mind will be full of the stream of genius, and he will pour out his own conceptions from a Pierian breast." l. 1.

the Gothic; tho some interval of time was necessary for the transplanted seed and engrafted buds to grow up to their full beauty in the latter.

Let us now contemplate the revival of classical literature in England, and its intellectual result. This will enable us more completely to ascertain its value; and to mark the utility of the new direction and occupations in which the English and European mind eagerly engaged after the Norman conquest.

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CHAP. II.

*History of the Revival of the Latin Literature in England, after the Norman Conquest.*BOOK
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THE first literature that arose in England, after the Saxon invasion, was the Roman; introduced by the monks, whom Gregory the Great had sent from Italy. A little Greek was added by one of them¹, but it did not lead to the permanent cultivation of Greek literature. The books that were placed and studied in the Anglo-Saxon libraries, were, the Roman classics and fathers²; and the works of the few Anglo-Saxon students who emerged into celebrity, were little else than transcripts, imitations, and revivals of that species of literature which had fallen with the Western empire, and whose fragments were afterwards sought after and collected by its barbaric conquerors.

Its decline.

When Alfred endeavored to direct his countrymen to intellectual cultivation, it was the Roman literature which he presented to their contemplation, in his translations of Boetius and Orosius; and even in Gregory and Bede, who were little else than the Latin fathers reflected and unimproved, except so far as their facts and reasoning were selected from their rhetoric, of which our Bede did not retain, and does not exhibit to us a single ray. This species of letters did not advance the Anglo-Saxon mind. After Alfred's death, it rapidly declined. Dunstan and his

¹ Bede, l. 4. c. 1. The Anglo-Saxon mode of pronouncing the Lord's Prayer in Greek, as given in Hist. Anglo-Sax. vol. iii. p. 344., 7th ed. from a Saxon MS., shows how little the Greek was understood; the words are divided so as to prove that they were repeated by mere parrots, as sounds, the verbal meaning of which was not known.

² See the list in Hist. Anglo-Sax. vol. iii. p. 346.

friends endeavored to revive it, with its rhetorical costume, but in vain. England became, under its tuition, a degenerating people. The Anglo-Saxon vernacular literature could give no intellectual succor; for it was of little value, and was never improved: and at the period of the Norman conquest, all sort of learning had almost vanished out of our Island. Such was the state of its most intellectual body, the ecclesiastic, that we find it declared that "the studies of learning and religion had become obsolete; the clergy, contented with a disorderly literature, could scarcely stammer out the words of their sacraments; it was a miracle to the rest if any of them knew grammar."³ The Anglo-Saxon monks are described to have been stupid and barbarous, living like the laity; following hounds and falcons, racing with horses, shaking the dice, and indulging bacchanalian jovialities where they had the means⁴, and in other places existing in the most sordid poverty.⁵ Even the archbishop and bishops, in the time of the Confessor, are noticed to have been illiterate and sensual men.⁶ And thus the Roman literature was found to be as ineffective to general improvement in England, as it had been in Italy. Tho transplanted among a new people, and patronized by a popular king and a venerated prelate, it never displayed a vigorous or an extensive produce; the national intellect declined under its tuition; and England added another proof of its incompetency alone to regenerate or to fertilize the understanding.

The Normans, fond of pomp, and craving personal distinction⁷, roused the English mind from this intellectual trance, and excited that literary spirit, and

³ Malmsb. l. 3. p. 101.

Ib. pp. 214. 254.

⁵ Thus in the cathedral of Rochester, there were scarcely four canons, and these had "to endure life with a scanty food, casually obtained from meal to meal." Ib. p. 233.⁶ Ib. p. 204. 256.⁷ Ib. p. 256. Normanni famæ in futurum studiosissimi. p. 238.

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commenced that system of education, which, assisted by new sources of instruction, produced a love and cultivation of knowledge that have never since departed from the British isles. The Norman love of fame spread from their warriors to their clergy; the Anglo-Saxon sensuality was corrected, and general emulation produced universal improvement.⁸ But how came the Normans, whose ancestors but 150 years before had been fierce pirates, to be the revivers of literature in England and France? Ignorant themselves, whence came their knowledge and literary taste? From the presence and activity of one individual, himself of barbarous descent—from the celebrated Lanfranc. But Lanfranc was a Lombard—and it is a curious illustration of the fact which we have urged on the attention of our readers, that the barbaric conquests of the declining Roman empire were beneficial to the progression of mankind; that altho the Lombards were the most barbarous of all the Gothic invaders, yet among them the literary studies of Italy first revived, its most celebrated schools were established, and its most cultivated states and most enterprising citizens were formed; and from them and from their cities, Pavia and Pisa, learning was planted under Charlemagne in France, and re-planted, both there and in England, under Lanfranc, and his friends and pupils.

Letters were declining in France, notwithstanding the taste and exertions of the Carlovingian family to

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⁸ The degeneracy of the Anglo-Saxon manners is thus described by Malmesbury: "Clothed in fine garments and heedless of their days of abstinence, the monks laughed at their rule. The nobles devoted to gluttony and voluptuousness, never visited the church; but the matins and the mass were run over to them by a hurrying priest, in their bed chambers, before they rose, themselves not listening. The common people were a prey to the more powerful; their property seized; their bodies dragged away to distant countries; their maid servants were either thrown into the brothel, or sold as slaves. Drinking day and night was the general pursuit; vices, the companions of inebriety, followed, effeminating the manly mind." L. 3. p. 101, 102. He says, that while they wasted their substance at their tables, their houses were poor and mean; unlike the Franks and Normans, who were economical in their family expenses, but loved spacious and magnificent edifices. Ib.

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nationalize the Latin literature within it⁹, when Lanfranc, a Lombard, unknown to fame, and unconscious of his future importance to mankind, was attracted by the military reputation of the Normans to quit his native country, Pavia, and to open a school at an obscure village in their duchy.¹⁰ His humble hopes were shewn in the lowly choice of his residence. The abbey of Bec was the poorest and most insignificant of all the Norman monasteries¹¹; its abbot was one of the rudest and most ignorant of their clergy¹²; and the fraternity were in the greatest state of wretchedness and penury.¹³ But Providence often works its ends by those humble agencies, which most palpably display the operation to be its own. Lanfranc, the poor emigrant schoolmaster, became the acknowledged cause of the revival of the Latin literature, and the liberal arts, in France.¹⁴ He could not have anticipated a destiny so distinguished; but no individual can foresee the quantity of good which his exertions may produce. We cannot now describe Lanfranc's attractive powers, but the fact is recorded, that, after being there three years unknown, his tuition and assiduity excited, even in this miserable

⁹ Guitmund, the pupil of Lanfranc, says, that at this time "liberales artes intra Gallias pene obsoleverant." De Euch. Bib. Mag. Pat. t. vi. p. 215. We must remark to the credit of the ancient abbey of Fleury, that this Benedictine retreat had made great efforts to uphold and diffuse literature in France. About 1013, it had 5000 students under its superintendence, and required every scholar to make an annual contribution of two MSS. to its library. The Republica of Cicero, which afterwards became lost to the world till the Abbé Mai restored it from a palimpsest roll, was in its library. Raym. Troub. vol. ii. p. 129. Introd.

¹⁰ Ord. Vit. p. 519. Lanfranc reached it in 1042. Chron. Bec. p. 2. He was wounded by robbers near the place he settled at.

¹¹ Quo nullum usquam pauperius æstimabatur vel abjectius cœnobium. W. Gemmet. Hist. l. 6. p. 262. He found the abbot building an oven himself. Lanfranc lived here three years omnibus ignotus. W. Gemmet. Hist.

¹² His name was Herluin. He did not learn to read till the age of forty. Gisleb. vita Herl. p. 34.

¹³ Aliquanto tempore in maxima egestate et penuria extitit. Chronicon Becense, p. 1. It is printed at the end of Lanfranc's Works, from an old MS. in the monastery.

¹⁴ Guitmund, ubi sup. Malm. p. 205. The ancient biographer of Lanfranc says, "quem latinitas, in antiquum scientiæ statum ab eo restituta, tota agnoscit magistrum." p. 1. and see Ord. Vit. p. 519.

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place, so great a love of study, and diffused it so widely around, that scholars flocked to him from all parts and of all ranks.¹⁵ We can only explain the phenomenon, by assuming, that it was the divine plan to make this the æra of a new birth of mind; that Lanfranc, from his preceptorial talents, was the instrument best adapted to begin the happy process; that Normandy, from the love of glory of its people, was the fittest spot; and that contingencies were made to occur, which gave effect to his agency. The scholars of Bec became so respected, that we find a pope indebted to Lanfranc for his instruction there, and having the magnanimity, in the hour of his greatness, publicly to avow it.¹⁶ The celebrity of Lanfranc spread at last to the Ducal court; and the conqueror, able from his own vigorous mind to appreciate talents in others, was so interested by Lanfranc's fame, as to invite him to court, and to make him a confidential counsellor.¹⁷ Soon after the invasion of England, William appointed Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury. But dignity and wealth did not dispossess his mind of its literary taste: he exerted himself with unabated zeal, and with proportionate success, to establish in England a knowlege of the Latin language, and the study of its authors; he encouraged the formation of schools, and the progress of the scholars; and he even assisted those of slender means.¹⁸

To have planted in a rude age and country a love

¹⁵ W. Gemm. p. 262. Ord. Vit. says, "Under this master the Normans *first* explored the literary arts. Before him, under the six preceding dukes, scarcely any one of the Normans pursued the liberal studies; nor was there a teacher found, till God, the provider for all, sent Lanfranc to the Norman ground." p. 519.

¹⁶ When Lanfranc went to Rome to receive the pall, he was surprised to see the pope rising respectfully to him as he entered, on his public audience, with this remark, "I do not rise to the archbishop of Canterbury, but to my old master at Bec, in whose school I was instructed." Vita Lanfr. p. 11. This pope, whose gratitude and sensibility so honorably suspended the claims of his rank, was Alexander.

¹⁷ Guill. Pictav. p. 194. There is reason to believe that the famous Gregory VII. studied under Lanfranc. Murat. Ant. Ital. p. 897.

¹⁸ Malmsb. p. 214.

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of literature, is a benefaction, which entitles the individual who has accomplished it to gratitude and celebrity. But when, from Lanfranc's deserved reputation for this success, we turn to his works, we see in them no striking correspondence between his attainments and his utility. His compositions exhibit no uncommon intellect, and great poverty of knowledge, though united with good intention and sincere piety.¹⁹ They have however the great merit of being entirely free from the ancient rhetoric. They are so plain and unadorned as to be dull and uninteresting to a modern reader; but this barren simplicity constituted their peculiar utility; their mental affluence is not great, but it is thought unpainted and therefore unspoiled; it is humble reasoning without artificial declamation, and therefore, as far as it operated, it tended to produce a sound mind and sedate judgment; and by these, to preserve the Anglo-Norman mind from the tinsel and frippery with which so many of the works of both the Greek and Latin fathers are encumbered and made often injurious and commonly mischievous.²⁰ But he spread, by his exhortations and example, a desire to attain what was then attainable in letters; and to raise the ignorant Norman and English mind to the level of the Roman, was to begin its intellectual evolution, and to prepare it for the more powerful and efficient agencies that were advancing to produce this.²¹

¹⁹ They consist of, his treatise in Defence of Transubstantiation, against Berengarius; a neat arrangement of common arguments for a mysterious Opinion; and Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, which are plain in their style, and not important in their matter. His Rule of St. Benedict, compiled for his monasteries, is clear and precise. His letters are those of a man of business and decision. Lanfranci Opera, Paris, 1648.

²⁰ I cannot read Masillon, without feeling the mischief of the study of the ancient rhetorical fathers, nor without lamenting that they should have so much spoiled a mind of great powers. The Spanish and Italian preachers create the same impression, and make us doubly value a Xenophon, a Fenelon, and a Paley. The mind of rhetoric, the mind of mere logic, and the mind of rich good sense, are quite distinct acquisitions.

²¹ His contemporary Veran, in the abbey of Fleury, from 1080 to 1095, in-

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Lanfranc was succeeded in his school at Bec, and afterwards in his archiepiscopal see, by Anselm, a man following his own natural track, but far superior to himself in cultivated talent, in force of mind, and in literary composition. He has even had the honor of being thought to have furnished Descartes with one of the most celebrated reasonings of his metaphysical ingenuity²²; but he was improved from sources which Lanfranc had either not resorted to, or only began to know.

The most informed ecclesiastics on the Continent were invited from all parts into England, and were placed in its great ecclesiastical dignities, to the rapid improvement of the country.²³ Every where the spirit of learning and better manners, and a taste for noble architecture, were introduced. The fine arts are naturally connected with mental advancement; the pleasures of the eye and ear have been justly remarked to be intellectual gratifications; and therefore painting, sculpture, architecture, and music, will always be the delights of cultivated understanding.²⁴

creased the library of that monastery; and from the following order soon afterwards of Machaire, one of his successors, we see that the MSS. of libraries then needed as much care and reparations as houses and buildings, and also a cause why so many have disappeared. "Seeing that the MSS. of our library are perishing from the effects of age, and by the attacks of worms and moths; desiring to remedy this evil, and wishing to have new MSS. or new parchments for re-copying them bought, I have, with the consent and at the request of all the monastery, ordered that myself and all succeeding priors, should pay a yearly contribution on St. Benedict's day in every winter, for this necessary, useful, and laudable purpose." Joan. a Bosco, Flor. Vet. Bibl. p. 302. Raym. p. 130.

²² Leibnitz thought that Descartes derived the idea of his well-known reasoning, "I think; therefore I exist"—from some expression of Anselm, in his Monologion.

²³ The canon of Bayeux, made archbishop of York, is highly extolled for his literature. Malm. p. 273.—John of Tours established at Bath a congregation of monks, distinguished for knowlege. Ib. p. 254.—A Norman bishop filled the church at Dorset with canons of the same literary taste. Ib. p. 290.—The monk of St. Bertin, who accompanied the bishop of Salisbury to England, contributed largely to the diffusion of knowlege in his diocese. Ib. p. 130.—Another Norman bishop is mentioned, who was fond of astronomy. Ib. p. 286.—The archbishop who succeeded Anselm, was also much attached to learning. Ib. p. 230.—So the Norman bishop of Rochester increased the condition of this cathedral magnifice. p. 233.

²⁴ Thus Malmesbury declares, that the Normans loved great buildings; and that after the Norman conquest, churches arose in the villages, and monasteries in the cities in a new style of building. The kingdom, by the new customs, began so to

The Anglo-Saxons felt the powerful influence of the two great principles that were actuating the Norman character—the love of exterior pomp, in preference to animal pleasures, and the desire of reputation. Hence the wealth which the Anglo-Saxons were consuming in the debasing luxuries of the appetite, the Anglo-Normans applied to the erection of great public edifices; the support of schools; the acquisition of books; and to the display of that stately magnificence, which, tho' productive of pride and ambition, yet was more favorable to human improvement than corrupting sensuality. Their love of fame counteracted the ill effects of their love of pomp, by darting soon at intellectual objects; and their moral virtues²⁵ concurred with their spirit of emulation and ardent piety, to create by degrees a high principle of personal honor, and a general increase of social probity and individual worth, which gave stability and force to the national progression.

One impressive description has survived to us, of the great intellectual activity and usefulness of the Norman clergy, to plant in England the literature they had just imbibed.

On Ingulf's death, Joffred was invited from Normandy, and appointed abbot of Croyland. When he settled in the monastery, he sent to its farm near Cambridge four Norman monks, who were well instructed in what was then called philosophy and science. With all the zeal, and in the manner of our modern itinerant preachers, they hired a public barn

A striking instance of this desire.

flourish, that every opulent man thought the day had been lost, which some act of splendid magnificence had not distinguished. L. 3. p. 102.

²⁵ We have already noticed the virtues of the Norman character: Malmesbury adds these traits—"They are emulous of their equals, and strive to surpass their superiors: They are faithful to their masters, but abandon them on the least offence: They punish perfidy with death, but commute the sentence for money: The most kind-hearted of all men, they treat strangers with the same respect as themselves. They marry with their inferiors. Since their coming into England, they have raised religion as it were from the dead." L. 3. p. 102.

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at Cambridge, and went thither daily and taught what they knew. In a short time, a great concourse of pupils gathered round them. In the second year of their exertions, the accumulation of scholars from all the country round, as well as from the town, was so great, that the largest house, barn, or even church, was insufficient to contain them. To gratify the extensive demand for their instruction, they separated their labors. In the first part of the morning, one of the friars, who was distinguished as a grammarian, taught the Latin grammar to the younger part of the community; at a later hour, another, who was esteemed an acute sophist, instructed the more advanced in the logic of Aristotle, according to the comments of Porphyry and Averroes; a third friar lectured on rhetoric, from Cicero and Quintilian; the fourth, on Sundays and feast-days, preached to the people in various churches; and in this duty Joffred himself frequently co-operated.²⁶

In this unadorned account, we have a striking proof of the attachment of mankind to intellectual improvement, and their eagerness to embrace every opportunity of acquiring it. The soil is ever ready; where it continues unproductive it is only that the laborers are wanting.

In the second year of their tuition, we find these five friars, under all the disadvantages of a foreign language, of great national prejudice against them, and of addressing an uncultivated nation²⁷, yet succeeding so prosperously in spreading literature around them, that not even the public buildings were large enough to contain the scholars who besought their

²⁶ Hist. Croyland, Gale Script. vol. i. p. 114.

²⁷ Such was the state of England in the eyes of Lanfranc, at this time, that among the reasons which he gives to the Pope for declining at first the mitre of Canterbury, were, not only our speaking an unknown language, but our being a *barbarous* nation. Op. Lanfr. Ep. 1. p. 299.—So Guitmund, as before quoted in p. 88. Barbarous in the estimation of a Lombard and a Norman! But even civilization in its degeneracy deserves the epithet.

instruction. If foreign countries under our own government pine still in darkness and base superstitions, it is not from their want of any susceptibility of improvement; it must be our prejudices, and not theirs, which continue their inferiority. No obstacle can be deemed insurmountable by the philanthropic philosopher, who recollects the nations that have been ameliorated, and the gratitude with which they have hailed their own improvement and its authors.

One of the first fruits of this revival of literature in England, was the universal establishment of schools. To every cathedral, and almost to every monastery, a school was appended. It is a pleasing feature of the human character, that we are desirous of imparting to others the knowledge we acquire. Few persons of any note appear to us among the clergy, during the century after the conquest, who did not during some part of their lives occupy themselves in instructing others. Such efforts must have been the produce of genuine benevolence, because, of all intellectual toil, the instruction of youth exacts the greatest labor, and returns the least immediate gratification. Even the Popes were active in exciting the cultivation of knowledge: they deserve the credit of having led the way, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in causing the establishment of schools, the formation of libraries, and in directing of the clerical mind to the most useful studies. The commanding efficacy of their persevering recommendations on this momentous subject, affords no small atonement for the misdirection of their influence in their political struggles.²⁸

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Schools
every
where es-
tablished.

²⁸ Gregory VII. in 1038, ordered that all the bishops should cause the artes literarum to be taught in their churches. Murat. Ant. Ital. p. 874. And in 1179, in the general council in the Lateran church at Rome, it was declared, "That the church, like a pious mother, ought to provide for the needy, as well those things which are necessary for the body, as those which tend to the progress of the mind: and, lest the opportunity of reading and improvement should be withheld from the poor, who had no paternal wealth to assist them, it directs, that in every cathedral a competent maintenance should be allowed to a master, who should teach the eccle-

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ENGLAND.Pilgrim-
ages thro
Greece ;

Councils held under their legates, even in the thirteenth century, continued to patronise schools.²⁹ It is true that they were ecclesiastical schools, and that extrinsic study was watched with some suspicion³⁰; but all assisted to increase the national education; and the general improvement in every branch of learning and knowlege attests the efficacy of their encouragement and exertions.

The habit of pilgrimage, and afterwards of the crusades, increased the taste for study. It was impossible for so many, from all ranks and nations in Europe, to visit the Grecian and Arab states, without some conviction of the benefit of superior knowlege, and a general desire to acquire and impart the improvement which they beheld. From the account left by Luithprand, of the wonders he saw at Constantinople—of the metallic tree, on whose brazen branches gilt birds were made to sing—of the throne supported by gilded lions, who roared at his approach—of the other shows and tricks which he witnessed, and of the horse-laugh with which his astonishment was received by the conceited courtiers³¹—it would seem that the saucy Greeks amused themselves with making the western barbarians stare. These specimens of their mechanical skill may have first interested a rude stranger's notice; but their tasteful architecture, their elegant sculptures, their fine manuscripts, their celebrated fluency of speech, and the fame of the poets and philosophers who once adorned their name, must have powerfully impressed the at-

slastics of that church, and also poor scholars, gratts; and that no money should by any means be exacted for licences to teach." Ann. Hoveden, p. 589.

²⁹ Thus the council of Paris held in 1212, under a cardinal legate, prohibited the exaction of any thing for licence to teach schooling. It blamed monks who swore not to lend out any books, and ordered the bishops to have reading at their tables at the beginning and end of meals. Dupin, Eccl. Hist. 13th cent. c. 6.

³⁰ The 20th article of this council forbad those admitted into a monastery to go out to study, and ordered the absent to return within two months. Dupin, 13th cent.

³¹ Luithprand, l. 6. c. 2 & 3.

tion of many; and have created that feeling of deficiency and that desire of emulation which are the certain parents of improvement.³² A nation that has been highly civilized, will display even in its degeneracy some features of its nobler state, which will make the uncultivated mind sensible of its inferiority, and anxious to remove it. Greece has thus acted upon every nation, but one, with which it has been connected; it has kindled mental emulation among all people who have become acquainted with the monuments of its arts and literature, except among the Turks; they only have the glory or the disgrace of having for ages deafened themselves to its syren songs—they only have remained sternly impenetrable to those attractions which have been found every where else so seductive and so beneficial.³³

A visible progress appeared in England after these pilgrimages had become common, increasing, as the crusades increased the intercourse with Constantinople and the East. So great indeed became the enthusiasm for learning, among the Anglo-Normans, that besides the cathedral and conventual schools, others arose in many parts of the country³⁴; and as soon as the improvement of the scholars had exhausted the knowledge of their instructors, they became emulous of

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increase
the ardor
for study.

³² We see this effect in some men, whose names have escaped the ravages of time. One Johannes Italus, who went to Constantinople in 1070, is praised by the princess Anna Commena for his knowledge of *Greek* literature, and all the arts. Two others are also mentioned about the same time for their Greek learning; Andreas Sacerdos, "in Græcis et Latinis sermonibus virilis;" and Ambrosius Beffius, "in Latinis literis et Græcis eruditus." Murat. Hist. Ital. p. 874, 875.

³³ Goddess of Wisdom! here thy temple was,
And is, despite of war and wasting fire;—
But worse than steel, and flame, and ages slow,
Is the dread sceptre and dominion dire
Of men, who never felt the sacred glow
That thoughts of thee and thine on polish'd breasts bestow.

Childe Harold, cant. 2.

³⁴ Stephanides mentions three principal schools of celebrity in London, in Becket's youth, p. 4. And that many were elsewhere we may infer, from the order of the Synod of Westminster, in 1138, That if the masters of schools permitted others to hold such seminaries, they should not exact any profit from them. Chron. Gervas, p. 1348. ed. Twysd.—Ingulf says he studied at Westminster and Oxford, p. 73.

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patronage.

travelling to other countries, wherever teachers of celebrity were established, or new subjects of study appeared.³⁵

The first students were the clergy; but the passion for literature spread soon beyond them. The wisdom of the Conqueror procured for his son Henry the best education of the day. This prince deserved his surname of Fine-scholar, for he became so fond of letters, that neither wars nor the cares of state could drive them from his mind.³⁶ His first queen, Mathilda, cultivated them³⁷; and the books addressed to the "bel Alice," his second, attest her attainments.³⁸ His natural son, the count of Gloucester, so distinguished for his struggles in behalf of his sister, against Stephen, was ardent both as a student and a patron. His friend Malmsbury says, that he made his studies a part of his glory; that he befriended and conversed with men of letters, even the poor and obscure³⁹, that he so earnestly cultivated his intellectual taste, that even when surrounded with the most disquieting occupations, he always seized some hours in which he read to himself or heard others read.⁴⁰ Patronage became fashionable. Osmond, the bishop of Sherborn, not only collected a large library, but he received with great liberality every ecclesiastic that was distinguished for learning, and persuaded him to reside with him.⁴¹

Church
MSS. mul-
tiplied by
copies.

Many persons contributed to the general progress, by assiduously forming libraries⁴²; and the spirit arose in the monasteries, of educating the younger

³⁵ Becket went to Bologne to study the civil law. Steph. p. 12. Many Englishmen went to Paris, when the teachers there became eminent. Leland, in his de Script. Brit. vol. i. gives several instances. We have the verses of one scholar of this time, still extant, recommending his friend to visit Paris.

³⁶ Malmsb. p. 155.

³⁷ Ib. p. 164.

³⁸ See Philippe du Than, mentioned hereafter.

³⁹ Malmsb. p. 6.

⁴⁰ Ib. p. 174.

⁴¹ Ib. p. 250.

⁴² Thus the abbots mentioned by Matt. Paris, Hist. Abb. Alb. p. 64.—Croyland library, at the time of its fire in 1091, had 300 volumina originalia, and above 400 minora volumina. Ing. p. 98.

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monks to the habit of neat and correct writing, that the copies of authors' works might be multiplied. Without this happy practice, the progress of literature must have been confined to a few individuals, because the cost of books was enormous; and their use in the great libraries was much restricted, on account of their value. Even the prelates were not weary of transcribing.⁴³ As the transcripts multiplied, the permission to inspect them was more liberally conceded, and their diffusion extended.⁴⁴ We have an instance of an individual's patriotic exertion in this respect, in Simon of St. Albans, who from his own taste maintained liberally two or three select writers in his chamber, where he prepared, says the authority, an invaluable plenty of the best books. He made it a rule in his monastery that every future abbot should always keep a good writer.⁴⁵ The scriptorial taste of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is manifested by the general beauty of the writing of their manuscripts which have survived to us.

The seeds of knowledge, thus liberally sown after the middle of the eleventh century, sprang up to a fertile harvest in the next, and especially after vernacular compositions appeared. The great not only patronised the students, but excited them to exert their talents in composition. Thus the count of Gloucester desired Malmsbury to write his history⁴⁶; and the bishop of Lincoln induced Henry of Huntingdon to compile his Annals.⁴⁷ Literary pursuits

Ignorance
became
discredit-
able.

⁴³ Thus the bishop of Sherborn, nec scribere nec scriptos legare fastideret. Malm. p. 250.—Hugo Candidus has left us a very respectable list of the books which Benedict, the abbot of Peterborough, had written, who was chosen 1177. Hist. p. 99.

⁴⁴ Ingulf gives us a specimen of their rules on this point: "We forbid, under the penalty of excommunication, the lending of our books, as well the smaller without pictures, as the larger with pictures, to distant schools, without the abbot's leave, and his certain knowledge within what time they would be restored. As to the smaller books, as Psalteries, Donatus, Cato, et similia, poetici ac quaternus de cantu, adapted to the boys, and the relations of the monks, &c. we forbid them to be lent for above one day, without leave of the prior." pp. 104, 105.

⁴⁶ Matt. Paris, Abb. Alb. p. 93. ⁴⁷ Malm. p. 174. ⁴⁷ Hen. Hunt. p. 296.

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becoming a source of distinction and preferment, all ranks caught the flame. And when the vernacular literature, which we are about to notice, became diffused, knowledge no longer pined in solitary gloom within the cells of a cloister or the walls of a school; it was invited to adorn the hall of the baron, the chamber of the lady, and the court of the prince. The sturdy knight began to find his iron mail and trophied lance an insufficient distinction. To win the smile he valued, and to maintain the reputation he had acquired, he found it necessary to emulate some of the studies of the churchman. Even the ladies of the great not only learnt to read and judge, but some females also to write.⁴⁸ After the twelfth century, ignorance became discreditable, the mark of a barbarous country, a vulgar origin, or a degraded taste. Pope Adrian, an Englishman, and the only Englishman that has reached the papal chair, found the deficiencies of his mind a bar to his preferment, for he was rejected at St. Albans, for want of sufficient learning. His becoming pride felt the shame of the rebuke; he went to Paris, and labored indefatigably till he excelled his fellow students.⁴⁹

First produce of the Anglo-Norman literature.

But what was the first produce of this studious enthusiasm? The knowledge of the Latin language became general in the monasteries; the Latin classics were familiarized to the Anglo-Norman mind; Latin versifiers abounded; and the knowledge of ancient Rome was transplanted into Britain.

Latin language attained.

To have attained these instruments of improvement, was to have made an important advance. The Latin language is now as much of ornament as utility; but it was then the only key to intellectual instruction. The vernacular languages of Europe at that

⁴⁸ Heloisa, in her letters to Abelard, displays great cultivation of mind. Marie, in her lays, equals any of her contemporaries, in the easy flow of her versification, and the spirit of some of her descriptions.

⁴⁹ Matt. Paris, Alb. Abb. p. 66.

time contained, besides some necessary but rude legislation, and a few wild tales or wilder traditions, little else than their native poetry—an artificial chain of sounds, with imperfect melody, penurious meaning, barbarous feelings, and rarely with any perceptible utility. All that it was ameliorating or valuable to know, was in Latin or Greek; and as, by a happy prejudice, permitted to continue by Providence for its usefulness, the religious services of the church were kept in the Latin language, the clergy of every Christian country were compelled to acquire it, for it was found that if they did not, they ridiculously mispronounced it.⁵⁰ Thus made general from technical necessity, it was found convenient as an universal language, in which the students and writers of every part of Europe could communicate with each other; it became the language of their correspondence, as well as of their compositions; and from the unceasing importance of the acquisition, grammar, or the art of understanding and writing Latin correctly, was the earliest and the most common study of all the schools we have alluded to. Priscian and Donatus were the masters resorted to; and from this custom, the merry priest Walter Mapes derives the image by which he personifies grammar, in his satire on misused learning: “Here is Priscian giving stripes to the hands.”⁵¹ The

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⁵⁰ As in the well-known *mumpsimus* for *sumpsimus*. Even a pope could be so ignorant of Latin, as to write—“eorumque novillissimis suivoles—una cum indiculum—una cum omnes benebentani.” This occurs in a letter of Adrian I. Murat. Ant. Ital. p. 811.

⁵¹ This poem is called the *Apocalypsis Golyæ Episcopi*. It is a MS. in the British Museum, Harl. Lib. No. 978. He fancies that, as he is lying in a grove, he sees the form of Pythagoras standing before him, but bearing all the sciences about him, in this strange guise—

In fronte micuit ars Astrologica;
Dentium seriem regit Grammatica;
In lingua pulchrius vernat Rhetorica;
Concussis æstuat in labiis Logica;
In Arithmetica digitis socia;
In cava Musica ludit articula;
Pallens in oculis stat Geometrica;—
In tergo scriptæ sunt Artes Mechanicæ.

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castigation, however general, was not always availing, for even Priscian, with all the activity of his ferula, could not make some minds recollect either the cases or the conjugations.⁵² But a very high degree not only of precision, but even of elegance, was attained by a few. The fabulous history of Jeffry displayed a command of Latin style, which, aided by its subject, gave it a rapid circulation over Europe. The miscellaneous Essays of John of Salisbury deserve and have received, even from distant nations, a lavish commendation.⁵³ William of Malmsbury, with his eye fixed on the Roman historians, has left us a work, which, tho no rival of his avowed models, nor equal in style to that of Saxo-Grammaticus, almost his contemporary, yet is superior in composition to the annalists of his age, and to any preceding historian since the classical authors.⁵⁴ Anselm has also a lucid neatness of diction, which even now may be read with pleasure and advantage.⁵⁵

Latin Ver-
sifiers.

The reputation of good poetry is so great, that adventurers for the Parnassian laurel are never wanting. To write Latin verses became a favorite employment with the monks. Almost every author was ambitious to excel in this harmless toil. It would be as absurd to dignify their compositions, as our college exercises, with the name of poetry; they were merely specimens of their attainments of the Latin syntax and

⁵² Giraldus Cambrensis furnishes us with an instance of this sort, in the old hermit his friend, who would say *Noli*, for *nolo*; *Vana*, for *vanum*; and the infinitive active for the infinitive passive. *Giraldus de se gestis*. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 497.

⁵³ His chief works are the *De nugis Curialium*, and the *Metalogicon*. *Stephanus* often quotes him, in his notes on Saxo, and with these eulogiums:—*aureus scriptor—elegantior ut omnia—auctor cum veterum quopiam comparandus*. p. 151. and p. 2.

⁵⁴ His *de Gestis Regum Anglorum* extends from Hengist to Henry I. in five books. His *Historiæ Novellæ*, in two more, pursues our history to the escape of the empress Matilda from Oxford. He wrote five others on the prelates of England.

⁵⁵ His *Monologium*, or *Metaphysical Contemplations on the Essence of the Deity*, written at the request of his friends, who admired his speculations; and his *Proslologion*, a chain of reasoning composed on the solicitations of others, who wished that some one argument might be found to prove the divine existence; are interesting treatises, which do credit to his Latin diction.

Latin prosody. But the practice ensured the preservation and the study of the great classical authors, and was perpetually operating to create a good poetical taste. Joseph of Exeter indeed surprises us by a versification in his poem on the Trojan War, which reads almost classical⁵⁶; and Jeffry of Monmouth attained a smoothness and fluency in his poetical diction, which Milton has condescended to notice.⁵⁷ The jocose poetry of Walter Mapes is also free and voluble, and sometimes happy, tho he attempts to bend the majesty of the Roman diction to the rhymes and cadence of our popular poetry. His chief merits were, good sense, good humor, and some useful satire. These vital qualities tempt us to forget his bacchanalian jovialities.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ It contains, in six books, 3636 good hexameters, but not always good taste, as witness—

Nox fera, nox vera, nox noxia, turbida tristis,
Insidiosa, ferox, tragicis ululanda cothurnis,
Aut satyra rodenda gravi.—L. 6. v. 760.

It is printed at the end of the Dictys Cretensis, and Dares Phrygius, in the edition of Amsterdam 1702. He also wrote a poem on the crusades, called the Antiocheis, of which only a few lines on Arthur have been preserved.

⁵⁷ Milton, in his History of England, says of the verses which Jeffry inserted in his History, "They are much better than for his age, unless perhaps Joseph of Exeter, the only smooth poet of the times, befriended him." Milton seems not to have known Jeffry's poem on the life of Merlin, which is in MS. in the British Museum. Cotton Lib. Vespasian E 4. The passages quoted from this MS. in the vindication of the ancient British poets, will be found smooth and fluent. Mr. Ellis has given a copious account of its contents, in his Specimen of ancient Romances, vol. 1.

⁵⁸ Camden has printed, in his Remains, Mapes' verses on Wine, and on the lives of the Clergy. In the British Museum, both in the Harleian and King's Library, are many of his MS. poems. His mirth is not always pure, but his satire is usually good humored, and the free spirit of his muse announces the improving spirit of his country.—His critique on the ancient authors is worth preserving:

Hic Priscianus est dans palmis verbera
Est Aristoteles verberans aëra.
Verborum Tullius demulcet aspera.
Fert Ptolomeus se totum in sidera.
Tractat Boetius innumerabilia.
Metitur Euclides locorum spatia.
Frequens Pythagoras pulsat fabrilla.
Traxit a malleis vocum primordia.
Lucanum video ducem bellantium.
Formantem aëreas muscas Virgilium.
Pascentem fabulis turbas Ovidium.
Nudantem satiros dicaces Perseum.

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Other authors among us displayed no inconsiderable power of arranging their dactyles and spondees into plausible imitations of the classical metres. To notice all, when the crowd was so great, would be absurd; it will be sufficient to mention two, from the importance of their subjects. One was Geoffrey Vinesauf, the friend, companion, and encomiast of our Richard I., who attempted to teach his contemporaries the art of poetry, or criticism, in Latin verse.⁵⁹ He treats on invention and memory, on the ornaments of the style, and the disposition of the thoughts; he explains the tropes and figures of poetry, and dilates on the description, the prosopopeia and the apostrophe. He is even bold enough to attempt by his own example to strengthen all his laws; tho his lamentation on his king, and its apostrophe to Friday, the day on which Richard fell, may induce us to prefer his criticism to his poetry.⁶⁰

The Anti-Claudianus of Alanus de Insulis⁶¹, who is perhaps better known as the commentator on our Merlin, than as a poet, treats on the seven arts and sciences, and morals, with great fluency of versification, and some good precepts. He was certainly a man of talent, and has left another singular work in his "Doctrinale Altum." This is also called his "Parabolarum." It is a series of moral aphorisms, in six books.⁶² Each remark is preceded by some

Alan's Pa-
rabolarum.

Incomparabilis est Status statio.

Cujus detinuit res comparatio.

Saltat Terentius plebeius ystro.—Harl. MS. 978.

⁵⁹ It is entitled, *De Arte Dictandi, or De Nova Poetica*. It is in the British Museum, Cott. MS. Cleop. B. 6. pp. 1—30.; where it is followed by another work on prose, intermixed with verse, on the same subject.—His History of Richard's expedition to Palestine has been already noticed.

⁶⁰ O Veneris lacrimosa dies ! O sidus amarum !
Illa dies tua nox fuit, et Venus illa Venenum,
Illa dedit vulnus !

Bromton Chron. 1280.

⁶¹ It is in the Cot. MS. above mentioned, Cleop. B. 6.—It is not clear whether this Alan was an Englishman or not. An account of his life and writings may be read in Tanner's very useful *Bibliotheca Monastica*, p. 16.

⁶² Of the two copies I have seen, one was printed at Daventry in 1494, and the other, without a date, at Cologne, with a prose commentary.

natural image or simile, not unlike the *Corwynion* of the old Welsh bard, *Llywarch Hen*. The first book gives two lines to the remark and its imagetical introduction; and these, in every succeeding book, are expanded by two additional lines above the number of those preceding. As I have never seen the work quoted, the notes will contain some specimens of the four first books.⁶³ But if these and innumerable others,

⁶³ The Parables in the first book are an hexameter and a pentameter; as,—

*Clarior est solito post maxima nubila Phœbus.
Post inimicitias clarior esset amor.*

*Loricam duram possunt penetrare sagittæ.
Sic cor derisum et mala verba meum.*

*Fragrantes vicina rosas curtica perurit.
Et justos semper turbat iniquus homo.*

*Ictibus undarum rupes immota resistit.
Et bonus, assiduus fluctibus, omnis homo.*

*Non possum cohibere canem quoniam latrat ubique :
Nec queo mendaci claudere labra viro.*

In the second book each reflection is increased to four lines, thus :—

*Non possunt habitare simul contraria, cum sint
Mors et vita. Procul decedet hæc ab ea.
Sic duo sunt quæ non possunt intrare cor unum,
Vanus amor mundi, verus amorque Dei.*

*Apparet et fantasma viris; sed rursus ab illis
Vertitur in nihilum, quod fuit ante nihil,
Sic adest et abest fugitivi gloria census :
Non prius adventat quod quasi fumus eat.*

In the third book six lines are devoted to each thought, as this judicious one on flogging :—

*Diversis diversa valent medicamina morbis :
Ut variant morbi, sic variantur ea.
Non uno doctrina modo se mentibus infert.
His timor, his monitus, his adhibetur amor.
Quadrupes adquare nequis, dum percutis illos.
Nec cogit pueros Virga studere rudes.*

Another attempts Satire :

*Ridiculus mus est qui muribus imperat, et qui
Tanquam rex horum sic dominatur eis.
Non minor est risus de servo, quando levatur
In dominum : quando voce, manu ferit.
Asperius nihil est humili; dum surgit in altum
Pingitur in celso, Simia, sede sedens.*

The fourth book exhibits his Parables, expressed in eight lines. The following is very pretty :

*Non omnis socius fidus est. Non omne fidele
Pectus. Non omni me sociare volo.*

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who tried the Cynthian lyre, have not increased our catalogue of good Latin poetry, they certainly improved and stimulated the intellect of their contemporaries, and circulated an attachment to the ancient classics, by which the general taste was benefited when other studies came into fashion.

It would exceed both the limit and object of this Work, to detail, in regular catalogue, the ecclesiastical writers who filled the middle ages with Latin verse or prose.⁶⁴ That respectable mediocrity of mind, which the Latin literature is well adapted to produce, was the attainment of the best. From this moderate level others descended, in varying degrees, to the humblest dulness. In reading a few, you exhaust the scanty ideas of all, and you desire to read no more. But this was not the fault of their talent, but of their instruction; their minds were new soil, fit for the most vigorous vegetation; but the Latin literature that was transplanted into them, was composed of the flowering, not the fruitful plants. Our ancestors produced as much from it as the later Romans had done; its unprolific nature forbade a better harvest.

Estimation
of their
intellectual
utility.

In characterising our writers of the middle age as dull and unimproving now, I do not wish to be understood to depreciate their contemporary utility; in the commencement of mental culture, such literature must

Cui socius volet esse meus, non alter et idem
Fiat ego: qui non est satis alter ego
Non teneo socium. Qui scit quod nescio, vel qui
Id, quod non habeo, me preter illud habet.
Cum socio socius deliberat omniâ doctus
Cum sibi concordant consona corda duo.

In the fifth book each idea has ten lines devoted to it; and in the sixth, twelve.

⁶⁴ Some of these will be noticed in our subsequent observations on the rhymed Latin poetry. Leland, Tanner, Ball, Pitts, Fabricius, and Leyser, will give abundant information. The greater number of the versifiers were satisfied with their hexameters and pentameters without rhyme. I observe that very few endeavored to imitate Horace.—The British Museum contains, in hexameters and pentameters, The *Monita Moralia* of Nigellus Wireker, addressed to the Chancellor of Richard I. MS. Cott. Julius, A 7.—Also a poem of 2720 flowing lines, on the Life of St. Alban, with much Scripture history intermixed, written by Robert of Dunstable, about 1150. MS. Cott. Julius, D 3.

occur, and it does not occur unprofitably. The literary improvements of every country slowly and gradually accumulate; myriads of minds must labor, and a great proportion must give diction and publicity to the fruits of their secret toil, before a large population can be visibly benefited. To suit the various circumstances and tempers of mankind, numerous must be the paths of the studious, and very diversified their produce. No laborer in this great field is useless or unimportant; the meanest effort will find some individual, whose humble capacity is assisted by the tribute; and till inferior cultivators have brought the soil into a state fit for a nobler harvest, the sublimer intellects cannot appear, or would operate, if they did, with inconsiderable effect. Hence, altho our early history presents to us a crowd of Latin students, whose writings we have long consigned to oblivion, and whose names we disturb only to deride; yet they have all been, in various degrees, benefactors to society: they were the laborious teachers of absolute ignorance, which their tuition removed; and it is the success of their labors in improving their countrymen, which has made their services forgotten.

The most valuable parts of the Anglo-Norman Latin literature were the annals, chronicles, and histories, composed by the monks; works that have been so invariably associated with our contempt, that it may be thought absurd to praise them here. To graces of style they have certainly no pretensions; if they had, they might, like Saxo-Grammaticus, have been historically worthless. With the charms of order, the powers of forcible description, the use of profound reflection, or the art of intellectual criticism, their authors were entirely unacquainted. The superstitious legend they delighted to detail, for they sincerely believed it; they never omitted a rumored prodigy, and were ever ready to exaggerate an extraordinary natural

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chronicles
of the
Anglo-
Norman
monks.

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phenomenon. With these defects, what then was their value? The simple habit of plainly annalizing the main facts of history that occurred. Such a series of regular chronology and true incident; such faithful, clear and ample materials for authentic history, had scarcely appeared before: nothing could be more contemptible as compositions; nothing could be more satisfactory as authorities. Their simplicity was advantageous to their veracity; and when the monastic habit of composing them ceased, their place was but poorly supplied by the loquacious lay-chroniclers, whose works, half romances at least in their dress, succeeded. It is easy to separate the legends of the monkish writers from their facts; and perhaps the modern use of certain and correct chronology may be ascribed to their precise habit, of always dating the years of the events which they record.⁶⁵

Limited
utility of
the Roman
classics;

But the Latin literature which was cultivated after Lanfranc, was rather useful in beginning a literary

⁶⁵ Some of the principal monkish annalists are,—

| | |
|---|------------|
| Ingulf, who ends - - - - | A. D. 1091 |
| Petrus Blessensis, who continues to - - | 1118 |
| Florence of Worcester - - - - | 1117 |
| Continued to - - - - | 1141 |
| Henry of Huntingdon - - - - | 1154 |
| Simeon of Durham - - - - | 1130 |
| Hoveden - - - - | 1202 |
| Eadmer - - - - | 1122 |
| Matthew Paris - - - - | 1259 |
| Rishanger's Continuation to - - - - | 1273 |
| Gervase - - - - | 1200 |
| William of Malmesbury - - - - | 1143 |
| Alured of Beverly - - - - | 1129 |
| Bromton, about - - - - | 1200 |
| Cron. Petri-burgi - - - - | 1259 |
| Continued, by Rob. Boston, to - - - - | 1368 |
| William of Newborough - - - - | 1197 |
| Ralph de diceto, about - - - - | 1200 |
| Benedict Abbas - - - - | 1192 |
| Thomas Wikes - - - - | 1304 |
| Annals of Waverly - - - - | 1291 |
| Matthew of Westminster - - - - | 1307 |

As in every monastery there was some curious mind, fond of noting the great incidents of his day, every country in Europe has such chronicles. But I think, with Dr. Henry, that, upon the whole, our annalists are superior to those of any other nation, at this period.

taste in England, and in forming those men who deviated afterwards into other studies, than for its own intrinsic and productive affluence. However valuable the best Latin classics will be to all ages, for their taste, their chastened beauties of style, their eloquence, and their occasional good sense, they do not impart, because they do not contain, any large funds of knowledge, great originality of thought, or important associations of ideas: they are but the best Grecian classics re-appearing, with augmented judgment and some variety of features, in a new language. Science the Romans never valued, nor much understood. Mathematical studies, the proudest part of Grecian knowledge, were never popular in Greece itself, and scarcely visited Italy.⁶⁶ All the natural history and philosophy which could be collected within the precincts of the Roman empire, in its largest circle, and from the labors of anterior time, Pliny embodied in his work. His countrymen never increased his store, and scanty is its amount! And it was applied both by Pliny and Lucretius, and by those who afterwards studied it from them, to establish the system of Epicurus, which pushed the Divine Creator out of nature.⁶⁷ The Latin poets

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⁶⁶ Theodoric, in his letter to Boethius, commends him, because, by *his* translations, the Italians could read Pythagoras on Music, Ptolemy on Astronomy, Euclid on Geometry, Nichomachus on Arithmetic, and Archimedes on Mechanics. He adds, "Whatever disciplinæ or arts, fruitful Greece has produced, by you, uno auctore, Rome has received into her vernacular language." Yet Boethius did not live till the sixth century.

⁶⁷ It is a remarkable fact, which we learn from Quintilian (1. 12.) that Epicurus directed his disciples to avoid the study of the sciences. This injunction was fatal to their intellectual progress, as indeed all his leading doctrines were. Hence, tho he was temperate, his followers, pursuing his principles to their natural consequences, became mere sensualists. Lactantius says, that his sect became far more popular than others. Div. Inst. l. 3. c. 17. Yet during his lifetime he was unknown and almost unattended. Seneca, ep. 79. It is Lucretius that so extravagantly extols him, for having been the first to assert that no part of the world was created, and for trying so feebly to explain its origin without a Deity: and who first made him popular in Rome, by writing his poem in praise of his system, at the critical moment when the mercenary luxury, pride, ambition, and individual selfishness of degenerating Romans made them eager to believe that there was no superior power in the universe to control their conduct, or to make them responsible for it.

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that convey useful instruction to posterity, are not more numerous than their dramatists. Their historians, together with Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, and Epictetus, exhibit the intellects most serviceable to future ages; but even these, like the Latin fathers, with their superior topics, are not affluent in extensive knowlege, and are insufficient to create a vigorous original mind. It is one thing to please a cultivated taste, it is another thing to instruct, enlarge and advance. The scholar will feast on the Virgilian graces; but they alone would leave the young student almost as barren and as ignorant as they found him; his mental growth demands more substantial and more affluent, tho coarser, nutriment; and if he be confined to the diet of the Roman classics, he will not be more informed nor more productive than the authors we are considering.

and of
their
ancient
imitators.

Hence, when the Anglo-Saxons, Normans, Franks, and other Gothic nations, had transplanted into their own, all the Roman mind which its writers had perpetuated; tho their scholars, thus far accomplished, learned to write Latin, often with elegance and correct prosody, and acquired from it a cultivation which made them like moons in a benighted age, yet their borrowed light spread but feebly around them, and was not transmissible to future times. Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, Erigena, Lanfranc, Anselm, Iscanus, Jeffry, Becket, John of Salisbury, and many others of a similar class, altho displaying the utmost improvement of mind, which an education formed on the Roman literature could impart, and not inferior in native talent to any Roman writer of the later periods of the empire; yet are so inferior to our ideas of excellence, and so deficient in our accumulated knowlege, that their best compositions we think of with disdain, and never deign to unfold.

The tri-
vium and

The trivium and quadrivium — the terms within

which the sciences of the middle age were comprised — awake our contempt the moment they occur, because they recall the image of barbarous ages, and seem to be the drivelling pedantry of barbarian ignorance. But let our ancestors have their proper merit: altho to us they are pigmies, they were not so to their predecessors. The studies implied by these two monastic vocables, and in the two jargon hexameters that define the subjects they comprised⁶⁸ conveyed all that the Romans knew, cultivated or taught. They comprised the whole encyclopedia of the ancient knowlege. The books from which they were learnt, were the best treatises which the Roman empire possessed upon them. Confined indeed was the knowlege they conveyed; and our emulous forefathers were but feeble thinkers, when they had mastered them all; but in possessing themselves of these, they acquired the knowlege which their Roman teachers had enjoyed. When they had finished the circuit of the trivium and quadrivium, they had transferred all the intellect of the Roman empire into their own; and if knowlege be the criterion of their merit, the good scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were not inferior to those of Rome after the age of Tacitus and Quintilian. In taste and elegance, and polished genius, it would be absurd to compare them with the ornaments of the Augustan age; but these authors were in the third century beyond the approach of their own countrymen; and it is therefore no disgrace to the middle ages, that their inferiority was not dissimilar.

The truth seems to be, that the classical minds whom we are accustomed to venerate, were not formed merely from the literature that preceded them, but from the general intellect, business, conversation,

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quadri-
vium.

Improved
intellect
not formed
by study
only.

⁶⁸ Gramm. loquitur; Dia. vera docet; Rhet. verba colorat;
Mus. canit; Ar. numerat; Geo. ponderat; Ast. colit astra.

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and pursuits of their day. It is a mistake to imagine that a man of great intellectual eminence is made only from his library; he is the creature of the improved society about him, which reflects upon him the rays of a thousand minds, and pours into him information from a thousand quarters; every hour his understanding, if it have the capacity, is insensibly directed, enriched and exercised, by the knowledge and talent that is every where breathing, acting and conferring around him; his mind expands, without his own consciousness of its enlargement; his ideas multiply independently of his will; his judgment rectifies; his moral or political wisdom increase with his experience; and he becomes at last a model imperceptibly benefiting others, as he has been benefited himself.

Literature
declines
when
society de-
generates.

Thus Cicero, Tacitus, and Thucydides, were formed, as well as Scipio, Epaminondas, and Cæsar. But as soon as moral and political degeneracy had withered the Roman mind, and voluptuousness had corrupted it, the intellectual tone and affluence of their improved society ceased.⁶⁹ Instead of that cultivated and active talent, which, from the Letters of Tully, we see that at least some high-minded Romans once possessed, a debased, sordid, sensual, illiterate mind appeared, valuing nothing but a babbling rhetoric, which might from an age of imbecility procure food for its vanity, or minister to its selfishness. Such a state of intellect and literature, our Gothic ancestors found in the Roman provinces, which they subdued; and tho they at last collected into their libraries the works of the nobler minds of this deteriorated race, yet the books without the living education benefited little;

⁶⁹ Cicero, in a fine passage, which lord Bacon has cited, distinguishes the ancient Romans as transcending all other nations in their steady love of religion; and Polybius ascribes the great corruption of Roman manners to their increasing disbelief of a future state.

and unless new revolutions had disclosed new sources of improvement, and created a new spirit of activity, cultivation, discussion and thought, the human mind would still have remained as dwarfed and barren, as monotonous and feeble, as it was in all the writers of the middle ages, who drank only at the fountains of the Latin Muses.⁷⁰

But the Roman literature, whatever be the amount of its intrinsic merits, was manifestly insufficient for the progress of the human intellect, from two other circumstances—its limited diffusion, and its tendency to prevent originality of thought.

As the Latin language was not the common language of society in England, its instructive operation was confined to the monastic and clerical body. It gave no improvement to the nobleman, the knight, the yeoman, the merchant, the vassal, or the burgher, who could not understand it⁷¹; their ignorance remained undiminished. Amid all the seminaries of study, they could know no more than their spiritual guides chose to impart; and how scanty the dole of knowledge from the papal hierarchy to the populace, has always been, not only the middle ages, but our own times attest. If, then, the Latin literature had continued to be the only study in England, the ecclesiastical bodies would have been so many Christian druids; so many British brahmins; the only informed portion of an ignorant community; whom they would

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Latin literature not fitted for popular instruction.

⁷⁰ That England is not indebted to the Latin writers for its mathematical knowledge, we may see from John of Salisbury. He says, that in his time, the twelfth century, "Geometry is very little attended to amongst us, and is only studied by some people in Spain, Egypt, and Arabia, for the sake of astronomy." *Metalog.* l. 4. c. 6.

⁷¹ That the nobility were unacquainted with Latin in the time of Henry II., we find from the speech of the earl of Arundel to the Pope. He was one of the commissioners sent by Henry, with some other great barons, and several prelates, to the pontiff. His mission would imply that the most informed nobles had been selected. The bishops made their address in Latin. The earl then began in English, "My lord! what the bishops have spoken to you, we illiterate laymen do not at all understand: We will therefore tell you for ourselves, why we are sent."—*Vita Becket.* l. 2. c. 9. p. 74.

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Unfavor-
able to the
rise of
original
genius.

learn to despise, from not condescending to enlighten; whom, too anxious to govern, they would have debilitated and degraded.

But the most injurious effect, from the exclusive or too long-continued study of the Latin literature, was its tendency to preclude the evolution of genius, and the formation of original thought.

It has been remarked, in the history of literature, that great excellence has been usually followed by decline. No second Augustan age is found to occur. A Virgil emerges, and, as if his genius cast on his countrymen an everlasting spell, no future Virgil appears — no second Homer, or Euripides, — no succeeding Pindar, Horace, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Tacitus, or Cicero. The fact is remarkable; but it is to be accounted for, not by a deficiency in the birth of talent, but from its subsequent destruction by injudicious education.

It is in literature as in painting: if we study departed excellence too intently, we only imitate; we extinguish genius, and sink below our models. If we make ourselves but copyists, we become inferior to those we copy. The exclusive or continual contemplation of preceding merit, contracts our faculties within, and greatly within, its peculiar circle, and makes even that degree of excellence unattainable, which we admire and feed upon: we become mimics, instead of being competitors; mannerists, instead of originals: we are enslaved by a despotism from which we ought to have revolted.

Whence arises this strange, but oft-experienced result? From the operation of the laws of habit. The peace and comfort and discipline of the world, depend upon our susceptibility to their influence; but this influence is often a tyranny that deteriorates. The length of application necessary to possess ourselves of the merit to which we devote our studies,

tends to limit our progress, to chain our excursive-ness, and to mould our faculties and their produce into an involuntary and dependent imitation of the models on which our attention is so continuously exercised. If when the limbs are most flexible, we are made to walk perpetually in a certain posture, the attitude will be our gait for the rest of our lives. While our ancestors studied no authors but the Roman, the literary mind of England became Romanized, and nothing more. No original genius appeared. Our literature was a debased recoinage of the Latin, as in Jeffry of Monmouth, Joseph of Exeter, John of Salisbury, Malmsbury, and the other writers, whose Latin compositions crowd the catalogues of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

If there be no originality, there can be no improvement. If there be no deviation from existing habits, there can be no progression. To be original, is to escape from intellectual bondage and sterility, and to acquire a possibility of being superior. Novelty is an avenue to greater excellence: the enterprise may be unproductive, but it has the chance of success. Originality is not indeed always useful; it may lead to error and vice, as well as to truth and virtue; or rather, as wisdom is more rare than folly, the eccentricities of the human mind will be oftener connected with mistake than with utility. But error leads ultimately to truth; and is the penalty which human weakness must pay to attain it. No false opinion can arise, but the vindictive feeling of existing habits is zealous to correct it. Providence allows licentiousness and despotism, prejudice and absurdity to conflict with each other, till they expire from their mutual wounds. Moderation then prevails from its necessity. The judgment of society extracts from the opposing sentiments the good which they possess, and consigns the evil to oblivion. But the discussion

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puts the mind into activity, and the result carries human knowledge one step forward; the reason is roused to look beyond its stationary habits, and new perceptions of truth always follow new exertions and new prospects. It is true, that in aiming to add new, original views to the human mind, more writers insert into it new errors, than new truths. Men are eager to dart from the known to the unknown; and to persuade themselves that they are the Columbuses who are destined to explore and to reveal what has been hidden to others. Hence new delusions and new mischiefs will multiply around us by those who fail; even while great discoveries are attained by the better reasoning or more fortunate inquirers. Yet still the individuals are injured by what deludes, the general progress of society is advanced by the increasing spirit of investigation and improvement.

The GREEK literature had but small influence in England during the middle ages, because it was very little known or cultivated. Yet some few attended to it. In 1242, a Grecian priest had obtained a benefice at St. Albans, and his society produced or accelerated the study of it by our valuable bishop Grostête, who, by his assistance, translated the Testament of the twelve patriarchs from Greek into Latin.⁷² But the papal differences with the Greek patriarch, and some points in the opinions and ritual of the Greek church, kept the clergy of Europe from cultivating connexions with Greece, and from learning its language.⁷³ Hence the riches of its literature remained unknown, and, because unknown, unva-

⁷² In the British Museum there is a MS. of this translation, Bib. Reg. 4. D 7., in the hand-writing of Matthew Paris, who has noted that in 1242, the prelate made the translation, assisted by "Clerico Newlao, ab Ecclesiæ, B. Albani beneficiato, natione, et educatione Græcus." MS. ib.

⁷³ M. Paris states that in 1237, the insolentia of the Greeks so exasperated the Pope and all the church, that it was the opinion and wish of many that an army of crusaders should have been directed against them. p. 437.

lued; till the aggressions of the Turks on this long declining nation, which had for some time become unworthy of its ancestors, roused a new sympathy in the western world in their concerns, fate and fugitives, which at length made the Grecian classics and fathers a very general study.⁷⁴

At the time of the Norman conquest, originality of mind, of reasoning, and feeling, was become indispensable to human advancement; the mind was in chains and ignorance, and wanted both light and emancipation. By an admirable process, what was so much needed, was successively attained.

But the Latin literature most usefully preceded and accompanied the new improvements. These indeed could not have been acquired without it; and when disclosed, were beneficially pursued, watched, directed, and disciplined by it. It would be absurd to forget or deny our first benefactors.

⁷⁴ When in the year 1787 I wrote the following lines, which were published as part of the "Hermitage," in 1809, I had no expectation that I should have lived to have witnessed a revival of the ancient spirit, nor in this year 1829, to have seen accomplished the actual independence of Greece. It was in noticing the blessings of constitutional liberty to England, that I added this despairing passage :

Long has her spirit made our favor'd isle
 With valor, reason, arts, and virtue smile.
 In ancient days, far richer than the fleece,
 She charm'd the regions of immortal GREECE.
 Alas, how fall'n ! where now the Attic fire ?
 The Spartan firmness, and Ionia's lyre ?
 Dumb is that eloquence whose wond'rous flow,
 High-cultur'd Athens ! aw'd thy tyrant foe.
 Fall'n are thy warriors ! fall'n thy pride of name !
 Fall'n is thy freedom, and with that thy fame !

No more in marble breathes the sculptur'd life ;
 No wizard artist paints the patriot strife ;
 No Homer chants the battle's proud array ;
 No patriot heroes emulate the lay :
 No sages moralize thy youthful hearts ;
 No genius from thy tomb, reviving, starts.
 In slavish ignorance thy myriads trail,
 Hear of their sires, and wonder at the tale :
 Bask in the sun that warms their blood in vain,
 Or crouch in fear before the turban'd train.
 Oh ! till again thy sun of freedom rise,
 And independence call to high emprise ;
 No more thy children will awake the lyre,
 Nor teach the world again to rival and admire.

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Vernacular
literature
wanted,
for the
national
improve-
ment.

The great intellectual want, after the Norman conquest, was that of an original vernacular literature, which would interest and educate the general mind of the community; awaken its moral sympathies by narrative, fiction, and useful poetry; instruct it by intelligible pictures of life and manners; bring the natural feelings into activity; and guide the human judgment to just determinations, and due appreciations of probity, decorum, honor, and the family charities of life, and that would connect acquired knowledge with the existing world. It was the complaint of our great Alfred, that the learned Anglo-Saxons who had preceded him, would not translate the books they possessed, into their own language; and from this reason, when they died, they left the nation as ignorant as they found it.⁷⁵ The learned Anglo-Normans were as unsocial; they mastered their Latin treasures, but they never made them the property of the public. That public, therefore, continued in Egyptian darkness, although its cathedrals and monasteries were illuminated.⁷⁶ An attractive vernacular literature was the only vehicle of knowledge that the courtier, the lady, or the world at large, could comprehend. Popular instruction being thus wanted for popular improvement, vernacular composition, which all could understand, relish, study and imitate, in which the natural feelings could easily express themselves, and in which genius would find topics and modes of originality, which the scholastic trammels suppressed — was that species of literature which was most essential to the evolution and the fertilization of the national mind. Poetry has the

⁷⁵ See Hist. Angl. Sax. vol. ii.

⁷⁶ The same has been remarked of Germany, as Duclos quotes from J. Wablius, whose words I will add, "Accessit avaritia, sive ambitio monachorum ac sacerdotum, qui cum curam disciplinarum atque artium, pessimo eorum sæculorum fato, inter claustra sua compegiissent, studio et industria difficultatem horroremque linguæ alebant, ut absterritis a studio nobilibus, ipsi soli in aulis principum, eruditionis præmia et honores venditarent." Mem. Ac. vol. xxvi. p. 279.

honor of having first produced it in England. The itinerant minstrels were the causing instruments, and a part of the lettered clergy the first effective agents, to introduce and diffuse it.⁷⁷

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⁷⁷ On the Anglo-Norman authors, who wrote in Latin, Tanner's *Bibliotheca Monastica*, which makes Leland its text, exhibits a copious catalogue alphabetically arranged, and ample notices of their works. The works of Bale and Pitts, on our ancient authors, contain the earlier compilations. Dr. Henry's chapters, on the learning and the arts, are worth reading. For a more enlarged view of the literature of Europe during the middle ages, Brucker, Muratori, and Tiraboschi, are of great value. Landi's neat work, drawn from the latter, preserves the principal circumstances in an intelligent style. The Italian Compendium, by the abbate L. Zenoni, presents Tiraboschi to us with much taste and judgment; but it has no references. Mr. Berrington's *History of the Literature of the Middle Ages*, may be also read with pleasure, tho it wants a philosophical feeling. Guingene's *Histoire Littéraire d'Italie*, and Sismondi's *Works*, will amply reward perusal. The French literati are now publishing new works every year, on their ancient literature. Among these, MM. Roquefort, Renouard, Auguis, La Rue, and La Ravalliere, Depping, Prevost, and Meon, have recently distinguished themselves.

CHAP. III.

*History of the Anglo-Norman Jongleurs and Minstrels.*BOOK
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IN tracing the history of the vernacular poetry of England, it will be useful first to consider the earliest state of those men who began the cultivation of this delightful art.

In civilized ages, the poet, the musician, the singer and the actor, are distinct characters; in the ruder periods of nations, they have been usually united. The aoidoi and rhapsodoi of ancient Greece, the bards of Wales, the harpers and gleemen of the Saxons, the northern scalds, and the citharœdi of the Romans, were itinerant performers, who combined the arts of poetry, music, singing and gesticulation.¹

After the Norman conquest, the same class of men, with the same union of talents and performances, were frequent in England and Normandy, and long continued to be popular, under various denominations.² It is probable, that as their numbers multiplied with the increasing population which favored them, some division of these variously-qualified individuals into distinct classes gradually took place. The composer would be more rare than the performer, and the musician would become separated from the poet. These distinctions would be greater when part of their fraternities chose to exhibit as jesters and merry-andrews. In time, every means of popular excite-

¹ Cassiodorus mentions a citharœdus, "learned in his art, who could delight with his face and hands as well as by his voice." Var. l. 2. ep. 41. p. 64.

² Their Latin names are various—most commonly, histriones, joculatores, scurræ, miml. But John of Salisbury adds, saliares, balatrones, æmiliani, gladiatores, palestritæ, gignadii, præstigiatores, malefici. De nugis Curial. l. 1. c. 8.

ment that could obtain gifts or good cheer, and could be, in any way, connected with minstrelsy, was, to its great abuse and degradation, successively connected with it, till the profession became disreputable by its mercenary immoralities.

In one of our earliest Anglo-Norman poems, we find them spoken of as chantur, fableier, jangleres, and menistre; and their art is called janglerie.³ This author, tho a rhymer himself, yet being an ecclesiastic, he calls his itinerant brethren, "the antichrist, perverting the age by their merry jangles."⁴ He accuses them of getting the love of princes, and making them and prelates go astray.⁵ He even classes these jangleors with liars, and declares that they will never acquire honor⁶, and that they wilfully sport with moral obligations and good sense.⁷

Another rhyming moralist, who has left us one of our ancient Anglo-Norman poems, contemplates them with an eye as intolerant, even while practising him-

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JONGLEURS
AND MIN-
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³ Sanson de Nanteuil, in his Rhymes on the Proverbs of Solomon, in the British Museum, Harl. No. 4388., censures those who

- - - - aiment seculer
de lecheries de moiller
d'oïr chantur et fableier—
- - - -
et bevient vin de felonie
d'oïr fables et janglerie.

The MS. from the autograph in one page, "Jacobus rex Anglie," appears to have belonged to our James I.

⁴ Come li menistre antecrist sunt
Ki per jangleis le secle veintrunt
de deu les partirunt anceis
par lur facunde e lor jangleis.—Ib.

⁵ Co redit de home jangleor
Ke de princes depart l'amur.
Princes sunt evesques noté
Et prelat d'eglise ordené—
Jangleres heom les fait irrer.—Ib.

⁶ Jangleres hom ne menteor
Ne creistrunt ja a nul enor.—Ib.

⁷ Raisun e dreit part ne pot plus
li heom ki de jangler ad us
Jugement ne pot plus garder
Kar tot li tolt sen sor parler
Dreit torne a tort par janglerie
Et tort a dreit par felonie.—Ib.

self the most important branch of their art, and which their popular use must have contributed so much to improve, especially in its rhymes and rhythm. This author, forgetting their intellectual relationship to himself, seems to associate them in his mind with living devils, and forbids us to make or to attend to their romauns and fables.⁸ By the phrases with which he connects them, he afterwards puts their juggler as attempting enchantment, and resembling sorcery and necromancy.⁹ He gives them various names: at one time, he speaks of luturs, and describes them as making lutes and motuns, and playing with swords¹⁰; at another time he calls them jogleours, menestrans, ribaus, and chuffurs; fools, to whom it was folly to be liberal.¹¹ His phrases to express their performances also vary; he sometimes calls it making minstralcie and noiser.¹² He notices other diversions

⁸ Wilham de Wadigtoun, in his *Manuel da Peche*, MS. Harl. Lib. No. 4657. and 337.

Pechur sunt ceus chatifs
Bien le sachez a debles vifs
Romauns fables e chanceurs
Roteries e autres folurs
fere ne oir a teus jurs
Ne deit nule cum funt plusurs.

⁹ En sorceres ne an sorcerie
Gardez vous ke vous ne creez mie—
Cunter lur sorceries
E menuement lur folies
Coe ne serroit fors jangler—
Si vous unkes par folie
Entre meistres de negromancie
Ov feistis al deble facie
Ov enchantement par folie
Ov a gent de cele mester
Ren donastes pur lur jangler.—Ib.

¹⁰ Sachent pur veir les luturs
Ky lutes funt a teus jours
Motuns mectent ov espée pendent.—Ib.

¹¹ Si par foll argesce ren donastes
A fous malement le emplaiastes
Coe est a dire al jogleours
Menestrans, ribaus ou chuffurs.—Ib.

¹² Sa menestralcie yloke feseit
Cum en autre lus fere soleit—
le menestral oi noiser.

connected with their mirth; but he condemns and proscribes them all¹³, especially if performed in churches or church-yards.¹⁴

In the free translation of this work, in 1303, by Robert of Brunne, we find a more liberal feeling implied. He condemns the singing and dancing; but it is when practised in church-yards, or on holy days¹⁵: it is the accompanying the jogelours hasadoure or roture to the tavern, the devil's knife, which he blames.¹⁶ In mentioning minstrels, he takes an opportunity of noticing how much the famous bishop Grosstête loved to hear the harp; that night and days he had solace of notes and lays; and that he taught that the virtue of the harp was such as to destroy even the power of Satan.¹⁷ These alterations shew,

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¹³ Muses e teles musardies
Trepes, daunces, e teles folies—
Si funt cettes li menestral.—MS. Harl. No. 4657.

¹⁴ Karoles ne lutes ne deit nul fere
En seint eglise ky me vont crere
Kar en cimitere karoler
Et outrage grant ou luter.—MS. Harl. No. 4637.

¹⁵ Roberd de Brunne dates his "English Rhyme" in 1303.

Gyf you make karol or play
You halewyst not thyn halyday—

Karolles, wrastlynges or somour games
Whosoever haunteth any swyche shames
Yn cherche other yn cherchgerd—

MS. Harl. No. 1701.

¹⁶ Gyf thou eithyr wyth jogeloure
With hasadoure or wyth roture
hauntyst taverne or were to any pere
to play at the ches or at the tablere—
Taverne ys the devylys knife
Hyt sleth the or soule or lyfe.—Ib.

¹⁷ He loved much to here the harpe
for mannys wytte hyt makyth sharpe
Neyr hys chaumbre besyde hys stody
His harpers chaumbre was fast therby
Many tymes be nygtys and dayys
He had solace of notes and layys
One asked hym onys resun why
He hadde delyte in mynstralsy
He answered hym on thys manere
Why he helde the harper so dere
The vertu of the harpe thurgh skylle and rygt
Wyl destoye the fendes mygt.—Ib.

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that the taste of the age had learnt to estimate poetry and music more justly, and to discriminate between their merit and the consequences of their abuse.

Our old satirist, who assumes the name of Piers Plouhman, is not so charitable. He treats with visible contempt the “japers and juglers, and janglers of gests.” He describes them as haunters of taverns and common alehouses, amusing the lower classes with “myrth of mynstrelsy and losels tales.” He brands them as tutors of “idleness, and the devil’s descours,” who make their hearers, “for love of tales, in taverns to drink.” He angrily declares, that “he is worse than Judas, that giveth a japer silver.”¹⁸

The same venerable author gives us full information of the “mynstrales” in his day. They are noticed as playing on the tabret, the trumpet, the fiddle, the pipe, and the harp; as singing with the giterne, dancing, leaping, and telling fair gestes.¹⁹ They knew how to make mirth. They invented foul fantasies²⁰, played the fool, told lies, and made men laugh.²¹ They were rewarded with robes and furred gowns, mantles and money.²² The love of lords and ladies presented them with gifts and gold.²³ Yet the

¹⁸ See the Visions of Piers Plouhman.

¹⁹ Ich can nat tabre ne trompe ne telle faire gestes—
ne fithelyn at festes, ne harpen ;
Japen ne jagelyn, ne gentelliche pipe ;
nother sailen ne sautrien ne singe with the giterne.—Ib. p. 253.

²⁰ And sommes murthe to make as mynstrals conneth,
That wollen neyther swynke ne swete bote swery grete othes,
And fynde up foul fantesyes and foles hem maken,
And haven witte at wylle to worche yf they wold.—Ib. p. 3.

²¹ Thuse thre manere mynstrales maken a man to lauke
In hus deth.—Ib.

²² Ich am a mynstrale—
And fewe robes ich fange other forrede gounes.
Wolde ich lye and do men lauke, thenne lachen ich sholde
Mantels other moneye among lords minstrales.—Ib. p. 253.

²³ And alle manere mynstrales men wot wel the sothe—
For the lordes love and ladies that thei with lengen—
Gyven hem gyftes and gold.—Ib. p. 154.

satirist unsparingly declares, that he who gave to them, sacrificed to devils.²⁴

It seems clear, from the accounts transmitted to us concerning them, that they were not undeservedly reprehended. Their obscene practices, and the profligate effect of their tales, are mentioned by John of Salisbury²⁵; and as some of their contes have come down to us, we can have no difficulty in perceiving that while they were popular, the manners of society must have been gross and immoral. Hence, altho the more dissolute of the ecclesiastical body encouraged and rewarded them²⁶, the sounder part of society pursued them with prohibitions and invectives, till they were at last driven from the more respectable walks of life to the lower orders. Their irregularities became then more rude and offensive, till their order expired amid the general contempt of an improving nation.

They were however once so esteemed, that we read both of the king's minstrels and the queen's minstrels²⁷, and they had the dignity among the fraternity called the King of the Minstrels.²⁸ But their success increased their depreciation; for it excited others to pursue the casual pleasures of a vagrant life under the pretence of minstrelsy—a practice that became so mischievous, as to occasion an order from Edward II.

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²⁴ Qui histrionibus dat, demonibus sacrificat.—Piers Plouhman, p. 154.

²⁵ "Adeo error invaluit, ut a præclaris domibus non arceantur, etiam illi qui obscenâ partibus corporis, oculis omnium, eam ingerunt turpitudinem quam erubescat videre vel cynicus."—De nug. Cur. l. 1. c. 8.

²⁶ We have a remarkable instance of this, cited by M. Duclos in his *Memoire sur les jeux sceniques*. Hist. Ac. Insc. t. 26. p. 363. The Statutes of the count of Thoulouse in 1233, state, that the monks at certain seasons of the year sold their wine *within* their monastery, and for a small sum admitted or introduced personas turpes, inhonestas, viz. jocolatores, histriones, talorum lusores, et publicas meretrices, quod arctius prohibemus. See Du Chesne, vol. v. p. 819.

²⁷ P. Plouhman says—

Clerkus and knyghtes wolcometh kynges mynstrales
For love of here lordes lithen hem at feastes.

In the reign of Edward I. we find Guillos de Psalteron called a minstrel of the queen. Rot. Gard. p. 7.

²⁸ He is mentioned in the 5 Edward I. in the MS. Cott. Vesp. c. 16.

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that none should resort to the mansions of the prelates, earls, and barons, unless they were actually minstrels.²⁹

The minstrels usually travelled in companies, singing every variety of lays, practising on all instruments of sound that were then known³⁰; and exerting all the methods that fancy, frolic, and depravity had invented to excite the attention, interest the feelings, and stimulate the liberality of the different classes of society.³¹ The traits already alluded to, are noticed in many ancient authors. We find them sometimes in a bishop's house, amusing him in his private life, during his hours of repast, by playing on instruments of music after he had said his grace³²; or they were admitted after the tables were removed, and even in the presence of majesty, to furnish their addition to the stately entertainment.³³ Sometimes relating tales,

²⁹ See Edward's order, dated 1315, printed by Hearne, in his *Leland Collect.* vol. vi. p. 36. Their number is implied by this sentence:—"And of these minstrels that there come none except it be three or four minstrels of the honor at the most in one day, unlesse he be desired of the lord of the house."—The penalties for offending were, "at the first tyme he to lose his minstrelsie, and at the second tyme to forswear his craft."

³⁰ Wace describes them at Arthur's banquet in some detail:

Mult ost a la cort juggleors,
Chanteors et rumentours.
Mult poisser oir chancons
Rotuenges, et volalx sons.
Vileors, lais et notez,
Lais de vieles, laiz de rotez;
Lais de harpez, laiz de fietalz,
Lires, tempes, et chalemealx;
Symphoniez, psalterions;
Monacors, des cymbes, chorons;
Assez i ot tregetours,
Joierrresses et joicors.—Brut. MS.

See Mr. Ellis's comments on this passage, *Spec. Poet.* vol. i. p. 48.

³¹ On the last stage of the minstrels, see the latter part of Mr. Ritson's *Dissert. on Romance and Minstrelsy*, prefixed to his *Metrical Romances*, vol. i.

³² Ly éveske ses mains laveit,
E al manger se aturneit.
Après coe k'il fu assis,
E pain esteit devant ly mis,
Kant la benison dust doner,
Le Menestral oi noiser.—Wad. Man. MS.

Chaucer says,

At every course came loude minstralcie. p. 28.

³³ Quand les tables ostees furent,
Cil juleur en pies esturent.

pathetic or ludicrous; sometimes diffusing flatteries on the actions of the great; they were every where welcome.³⁴ The moralist wished their melodies to be connected with sacred subjects.³⁵ But their harvest was either more plentiful or more grateful from meaner practices. Hence they vaulted over ropes on horseback, like our present tumblers³⁶; they played with the pendent sword³⁷; they taught animals to perform various tricks; and they imitated the notes of birds.³⁸ They practised all the arts of buffoonery, which were calculated to attract to them money, dresses, or feasting.³⁹

Sometimes they are described as attending the courts of princes in bodies, and obtaining gifts of gold and silver, horses, and costly garments.⁴⁰ Their

Sont vielles et harpes prises,
Chansons, sons, lais, vers et reprises :
Et de geste chanté nos ont.—

Tournam. d'Antech. Fauchet, p. 72.

So Chaucer describes them :

And so befell that after the third course
While that this king sat thus in his noblay,
Hearkning his ministrals her things play,
Before him at his boord deliciously. p. 23.

Thus the Roman d'Alexandre,

Quand li rois ot mangie s'apella Helinand
Pour li esbanoier comanda que il chant.—Du Cange Min.

³⁴ Chaucer says,

And jestours that tellen tales
Both of wepyng and of game.—

The minister of Richard I. even hired them to sing his praises in the streets. Hoved.

³⁵ Brunne allows us to hear minstrelsy on religious themes :

Yn harpe, yn thabour, and symphangle,
Wurschepe God yn troumpes and sautre,
Yn cordys, an organes and bellys ryngyng,
Yn al these wurschepe ge hevenes kyng.
Gyf ye do thus, Y sey hardly,
We mow here gour mynstralsy.—Brunne MS.

³⁶ Albericus, in 1237, among the performances of the minstrels, mentions that one, in equo super chordam in aëre saltavit. Du Cange, voc. Min.

³⁷ See before, note ¹⁰. So Wace says that Taillifer threw up his sword. MS.

³⁸ King Alphonso mentions jongleurs, qui font sauter des singes, des boucs ou des chiens; qui contrefont les oiseaux. Hist. Troub. vol. ii. p. 366.

³⁹ The worthy Strutt has collected many particulars on the ancient gleemen, minstrels, &c. and given some curious plates of them, in his Sports and Pastimes, p. 158—188.

⁴⁰ Rigordus mentions, with great indignation, that he had seen princes give vest-

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merry and licentious life, and the reputation and patronage they enjoyed, often attracted many, and at times even some of the superior ranks, to join their society.⁴¹

In some of the Troubadours we have a full account of the talents that were expected from the reputable jongleurs of their fraternities.⁴² From one of them we learn, that their patrons had become critical on their merits, and that while excellence was rewarded with peculiar liberality, inferior pretensions were neglected.⁴³ But in the Provençal regions, and among their poets and musicians, the Troubadour was distinguished from the joglar or jongleur. The latter were rather the musicians and attendants to the former.⁴⁴ The art of jongleur is expressly marked as inferior to the profession and character of the Troubadour.⁴⁵ But some Troubadours chose to unite both

ments most skilfully embroidered with various devices of flowers, which had cost 20 or 30 marcs of silver, to these minstrels, whom he very sincerely calls the Devil's ministers. *De Gest. Phil.* p. 178.

⁴¹ In one of the fableaux noticed by Fauchet, a Vavasar's wife is introduced as very earnestly dissuading him from becoming ministrier. p. 75.

⁴² Giraud de Cabreira, in his instructions to his jongleur, reproaches him for playing badly on the violin, and singing indifferently—for his inability to dance or jump like the jongleurs of Gascony—for giving them only dull pieces, and not those of the celebrated Troubadours—and for being ignorant of the histories and tales with which the jongleurs amused the great. *Hist. Troub.* vol. ii. p. 496.—Giraud de Calanson tells the jongleur he is instructing “Sache bien trouver et bien rimer, bien parler, bien proposer un jeu parti ! Sache jouer du tambour et des cimballes, et faire retentir la symphonie. Sache jeter et retenir de petites pommes avec des couteaux, imiter le chant des oiseaux, faire des tours avec des corbeilles, faire attaques des chateaux, faire sauter au travers de quartre cerceaux : jouer de la citale et de la mandore, manier la manicarde et la guitare ; garnir la roue avec dix sept 'cordes ; jouer de la harpe et bien accorder la gigue pour egayer l'air du psalterion. Jongleur tu feras preparer neuf instrumens de dix cordes. Si tu apprends a leur bien jouer ils fourniront a tous les besoins.” *Hist. Troub.* vol. ii. p. 32.

⁴³ Giraud de Calanson, p. 33.

⁴⁴ The jongleurs were most commonly attached to the Troubadours, followed them into the castle, and chanted their verses for them. Thus it is said of Giraud de Bornell, “He went to courts, and led with him two chantadors, who sang his songs.” *MS. Roy.* in *Renouard, Poes. Troub.* vol. ii. p. 159. Fabre d'Olivet aptly remarks, “The jongleur had the same rank compared with the Troubadour, as the squire had to the knight.” vol. i. p. 138.

⁴⁵ Thus it is said of the Troubadour Gaucelin Faidit, “Fes se Jotglar per ochaizo qu'el perdet a joc tot son aver a joc de datz.” “Because he had lost at play, at the game of datz, all that he had, he became a jotglar.” *MS. Roy.* 7698. *Raym.* p. 162.

these professions or accomplishments.⁴⁶ We find that even those meant to be scholars, occasionally renounced the serious studies of the ecclesiastical seminaries for the pleasures and business of jonglery.⁴⁷ The jongleurs were at times so clever as to compose poems themselves⁴⁸, and even to be raised to the dignity of knighthood.⁴⁹ As society advanced to larger improvements and wiser mind, the jongleur became less necessary to the amusement of mankind, or less compatible with their other occupations. They became also too numerous for their general benefit⁵⁰, and some of the Troubadours endeavored to depreciate them.⁵¹ Hence, before the thirteenth century closed, their general popularity

⁴⁶ Hugues de Pena was one of these. "He became a joglar and sang well, and could sing many songs of other persons." MS. Roy. 159; and vol. v. p. 22.

⁴⁷ The Provençal MS. mentions this of Hugues de St. Cyr, "His friends wished to make him a cleric, and sent him to the school of Montpellier; but when they thought he was learning letters, he learnt songs and verses; sirventes, tensons, and couplets, and the feats of valiant men and of applauded ladies, and devoted himself to joglari." Raym. vol. v. p. 223; and vol. ii. p. 159. His dialogue with his patron the count of Rhodes, shewed that he had profited by the profession, but with some question as to his gratitude. Hugues said to the count, "Be not afraid, I have not come to you now to ask any thing of you; I have as much as I want; but I see that you are in need of money, and that it would be a great charity to give you some." The count answered, "I have seen you here naked and miserable, and I am very sorry that I send you away wealthy. You have cost me more than two archers and two knights would have done. Yet if I were now to give you a palfrey, I am sure you are the very man who would take it." S. Palaye Troub. vol. ii. p. 175.

⁴⁸ Thus the Provençal MS. remarks of Pistoleta, "He was cantaire of Arnaud de Marnoil, and then became Trobairaire and made songs and pleasing airs."—So Aimeri de Saerlat: "He made himself a joglar, and was very subtle in declaiming and understanding poems, and became Trobairaire." MS. Raym. 7225. vol. ii. p. 160.

⁴⁹ The same MS. notices this elevation of Perdignons. "He became joglar, and knew well to play on the viol and to trobar. The dauphin of Auvergne made him his knight and gave him land and rents." Raym. p. 160.—So when the marquis of Mountserratt, after taking Constantinople in 1204, formed the kingdom of Thessalonica out of his portion of the spoil, he made his joglar Rambaud de Vaqueiras a knight, 'fets lo cavallier,' and gave him large lands and rents in his kingdom of Salonica." MSS. 7614. Raym. p. 161.

⁵⁰ Thus Pierre d'Auvergne satirizes Eleaz Gaumas, because "from being a knight he chose to make himself a jongleur. 'Evil be to him that gave him the green garments. It would have been better to have burnt him, because there are near a hundred who have taken up that trade.'" S. Pal. Troub. vol. ii. p. 24. From the satire of the Moine de Montaudon, we learn that a "bourgeois se fit jongleur," and yet carried on trade. Vol. iii. p. 172.

⁵¹ The fourth is Breal Limousin. "Of all the bad jongleurs between this place and Beneventim, he is the least so.—But he resembles a sick pilgrim, who sings to please the mob.—I almost pity him." Ib. vol. xxiii.

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began to lessen. The great withdrew their patronage, or applied it to persons and subjects which had become more beneficial and more reputable. The later Troubadours and jongleurs felt, lamented, and reviled this change of taste, but could not arrest the mutation. In 1270, one of them exclaims, "Is a song obscure and highly valuable, few understand it; is it perspicuous, it is not valued. The profession is treated as a folly; and I cannot think it otherwise, when I see it so little honored. Cursed be he that taught me the art of verse!"⁵² They sometimes severely satirized each other.⁵³ While the mass of society was ignorant, they were at the head of its intellectual cultivation, and assisted to educate their countrymen; as the general mind improved, their defects and vices became more visible and more repulsive. Mental occupation of a superior order improved the leisure of the great and studious. The minstrel became more degenerate as he was less valued, until at last he was proscribed as a useless and corrupting vagabond.

Attempts were made to rouse them to aim at moral utility⁵⁴—the object most worthy of a thinking being, compatible with the finest taste and the truest pleasures, and giving to these a meaning and a sanction which both hallow and redouble them; but the minstrel and the jongleur were not found to be improvable beings, and therefore the world hailed and encouraged the cultivation of their most intellectual qualities by another order of men, whom we next proceed to notice, and who have created or revived for mo-

⁵² Giorgi, a Troubadour, in one of his *sirventes*, p. 361.

⁵³ See Pierre d'Auvergne's *Sirvente* against 12 Troubadours, *Hist. Troub.* vol. ii. pp. 22—25. Some one returned him the compliment: "Pierre d'Auvergne sings like a frog in a marsh, and yet goes about boasting that he has no equal. He ought to have some one to explain his verses, for no one can understand them." *Ib.* p. 26.

⁵⁴ See Giraud Riquier's *Supplication au Roi de Castile en nom des jongleurs*, *Hist. Troub.* vol. ii. p. 357.; and the king Alphonso's interesting answer, pp. 364—372.

dern society, that species of composition which seems to be the most connected with refinement of taste, true sensibility, elegant recreation, and high cultivation of mind and manners. Such are the effects of genuine poetry. It civilized Greece—it has polished Europe—it may yet, from the lyre of some future Shakspeare or Milton, moralize the world. But to produce this noble effect, it must itself be moral. And why should genius at any time forget, that the poetry which elegant taste, virtuous feeling, and enlightened reason, must condemn, and which for the improvement and happiness of mankind must be exploded, is one of the worst enemies of human society, and the surest, tho insidious, destroyer of national greatness, by the depravation of the individual minds whose soundness, energy, and rectitude, are wanted to uphold it? ⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Mr. Warton has collected several instances of the payments made to minstrels, for their performances on the chief Saint days and other festivals at the Augustine Priory of Bicester, in Oxfordshire, in 1431; at Mactoke, in Warwickshire, during Henry VI.; and at Winchester College, between 1464 and 1484. Vol. i. pp. 93—95. The MINSTRELS seem to have stood high in the opinion of Henry V., if we may judge from his remuneration given to one of them, as his inducement or reward for accompanying him on his French expedition. “To John Clyff, one of the *king's minstrels*, security by indenture for his wages, 3 Hen. V. in his war against France. A reading desk of silver over gilt; the foot of it in the fashion of a tabernacle, standing on four feet. Two ewers of silver gilt; one enamelled with the arms of England and France, the other with hearts. A table with sundry relics therein, standing on two lions, weighing together 26lbs. 3oz.; value of the lb. 40s. One great bowl, 3 candlesticks, with 3 pipes, a great silver spoon, a skimmer, and other plate, weighing together 19lbs.; value the lb. 30s. Redeemed from his executors, 12 Hen. VI.” Sir. H. Nicolas. Agincourt, p. 53.

CHAP. IV.

History of the Anglo-Norman Vernacular Poetry. — *Philippe du Than.* — *Sanson.* — *Wace.* — *Gaimar.* — *Beneoit.*

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THE origin of vernacular poetry in Europe, must be ascribed to its itinerant minstrels. Among their diversified companies, which in their various classes comprised all the amusing powers, popular feelings, and cultivated talent of the day, some must have been capable of better things than mechanical repetitions of favorite airs or fantastic mummery. The dull or vulgar jongleurs may have been but jesters, mountebanks, or fiddlers; but they who could compose songs and satires, and “tell faire gestes and tales both of weeping and of game,” must have cultivated the talents of invention and composition. At first indeed the composer sang and played, and the songster composed; but as the art improved, the musician became separated from the poet.

Univer-
sality of
the min-
strel lays.

As they aimed to please, and lived by pleasing, their topics were always the most popular of the day. In the barbarous ages of eternal battle, war and rapine were their themes.¹ When religion became cultivated, the praises of the saints were added.² Love-songs, tales of all sorts, legends, lies, histories, and bacchanalian airs, all took their turn.³ Their

¹ As the songs of the Northern scalds, so often quoted by Snorre; and the poems of Aneurin, Llywarch Hen, Meilyr, Gwalchmal, and Cynddelw, printed in the *Welsh Archaeology*, vol. i.

² Ord. Vit. mentions of a St. William, that vulgo canitur a jocularibus de illo cantilena. p. 598.

³ See Wace's account of the minstrels' songs at the court of Arthur, cited before, p. 189. He adds,—

subjects were adapted to their company; and as the clergy were as fond of their performances as the barons, and the monastery had as good cheer and as rich presents to give as the castle, the taste and patronage of the religious were at times as eagerly consulted and obeyed as that of their secular neighbors. Hence all sorts of composition became familiar to the versifying wanderers—the grave as well as the gay; the religious as well as the risible; the warlike, the jovial, and the amatory.

But as all the public amusements of those days beyond the warlike pastimes, centered in these vagrants, their popularity alarmed the infant moral sense of society, as it began to civilize, to a perception of their dissolute habits and indecent exhibitions. Profiting more by inflaming the worst passions of man, than by addressing his better feelings, their performances were so licentious and so seductive, as to rouse the hostility of the wiser part of the nation.⁴ Councils issued decree after decree, to prohibit the ecclesiastics from frequenting their society⁵; and such were their attractions, that it was even found necessary to forbid priests and monks from practising, not only their art, but its most obnoxious exertions.⁶ The theological writers also pursued them with invectives.⁷

Le uns desoent contes et fables

Aquant demandoent dez et tables.—Ellis, p. 49.

Denis Pyramis says,

Lirey li prince e li courtur

Cunt, Barun, e Vavasur,

Ayment cunttes, chanceurs e fables

E bon diz qui sunt delitables.

MS. Cott. Lib. Domit. A 11.

⁴ Even Charlemagne, who loved the ancient songs of his countrymen, yet brands these popular vagrants as viles personæ, who ought not to have the right of accusing—as infamiæ maculis aspersi; id est, Histriones, ac turpitudinibus subjectæ personæ. Capit. Baluz. t. i. col. 229.

⁵ See the councils quoted in the Memoire of Duclos, p. 359.

⁶ “We absolutely forbid the ministers of the altar, and monks, turpis verbi vel facti jocularum esse—Clericos scurriles et verbis turpibus jocularibus ab officio detrahendos.” Bal. Capit. t. i. col. 1202. 1207.

⁷ Thus Agobard calls them *turpissimos* que et vanissimos joculatores. De Dup. Eccl. ap. Du Clos. p. 360. M. Caylus confesses, in his Memoire on the Fabliaux,

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But laws and sermons are feeble, while the taste is gross, and the manners are corrupt. The pleasing arts and ribaldry of the minstrels won the ear, delighted the leisure, and seduced even the imitation of the great. Kings, barons, prelates, and ladies, invited, rewarded, and emulated them.⁸ The minstrels in their turn endeavored to revenge themselves on those clergy who discountenanced them; and contes devots abounded, satirizing the vices, and ridiculing the persons, the tenets, and the customs, of the ecclesiastical body.⁹ This mutual exposition of each other's faults, increased the moral criticism of society on both.

But it is impossible to suspend the charms of narrative fiction, or to destroy the magical effects of language arranged musically into rhythm. The verbal melody arising from rhyme and metre, has, in all its forms of collocation, and in every country, been found to delight the mind as irresistibly as the chords and symphonies of the harp, the viol, and the lute, have gratified the ear.

The perception of this effect in themselves, and the observation of its influence over others, led some of the clergy to feel that the popularity of poesy was not to be extinguished by denunciatory ordinances or

induce
the clergy
to write
vernacular
poetry.

that he cannot excuse nor render public "l'obsenité de leurs contes." Mem. Ac. Inscr. t. xxxiv. p. 116.

⁸ Denis Pyramis begins his *Life of king Edmund* with a palinodia on his former conduct in imitating these minstrel lays—

Mult ay use cum pechere
Ma vie en trop fole maniere ;
E trop ay use ma vie
En peche e en folie.
Kant courte hautey of les curteis.
Si fesei les servienteis,
Chanceurs ettes rymes saluz
Entre les drues e les druz
Mult me penay de teles vers fere.

MS. Domit, A 11.

⁹ Some of these Le Grand has published, which sufficiently shew both the wit and malice of the lay fableur.

angry censures.¹⁰ A wiser plan was conceived, that of combining the delight with utility, the amusement with innocence. Taught by a happy taste, they saw at last the possibility of separating the poet from the minstrel, as well as from the musician — of cultivating that art in the study and in the cloister, which was so popular in the festive hall and in the streets; and of connecting it with better subjects than the adulations and topics that pleased at the banquet, or the licentiousness and buffoonery that excited and injured the populace.¹¹

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We cannot now distinguish the individuals who began this revolution in literary composition and public taste. It required much courage in the first adventurers. The study of the Roman classics had made Latin versification such a prevailing passion, that the first clerk who wrote native rhymes must have endured great contempt for his illiterate habit, and perhaps some obloquy for imitating the lays of the discredited minstrel.

The Anglo-Saxon clergy had favored the custom; and our Alfred, in his metrical translations of the poetry of Boetius, gave a noble example of its practicability and merit.¹² But the literature of the Anglo-Saxons perishing, from their sensuality, their

¹⁰ Denis Pyramis confesses the attraction of these poetical compositions :

E les vers sunt mult amez
E en ces riches curtes loez ;—
E si en est ele mult loée,
E la ryme par tut amée
Kar mult l'ayment, si lunt mult cher,
Cunt, barun e chivaler.—MS. Domit. A 11.

¹¹ With this motive Denis Pyramis wrote, and from this motive claims the attention of the great :

Rei dunt prince e empereur,
Cunt, barun, e vavasur
Deuvent bien a ceste œuvre entendre,
Kar bon ensample ill purrunt prendre.—MS. Ib.

¹² See Hist. Ang. Sax. on Aldhelm's songs; on the Saxon Judith; on Cedmon; and on Alfred's poetry.

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efforts were forgotten in the general contempt of their conquerors both for their manners and language.

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In the
reign of
Henry I.

It was among the Anglo-Norman clergy, and from the patronage of the Anglo-Norman ladies, that our first national poetry, distinct from minstrel recitation, arose. The reign of our Henry I. was the æra of its appearance, and either England or Normandy its birth-place. His first queen, Mathilda, was fond of poems, made not by minstrels, but by scholars¹³; and as it is impossible to suspect her of knowing Latin, they must have been written in the language of her husband and his court, which she understood; this was the Anglo-Norman. That this vernacular poetry was cultivated in Henry's court, we have the most decisive evidence, from a specimen of it still existing, our earliest, which is addressed to his second queen, Adeliza.¹⁴ Thus we may infer, that Henry's fondness for letters excited his queens to cultivate a literary taste; and that the impossibility of their having it but from compositions which they could understand, induced the clergy to apply themselves to vernacular poetry. The royal patronage and necessities, and the taste of the female sex, raised poetry from the pollutions of the minstrel, who sang to live, and therefore sang as the gross taste of a gross vulgar required, to the cultivation of studious men, whose taste the Latin literature had refined, whose memory its recorded facts had stored, whose emulation was kindled by its ancient reputation, and who sought for lettered fame by respectable composition.

Vernacular poetry once esteemed in the higher circles of life, could not fail to be generally attrac-

Popularity
of their
works.

¹³ From the account of Malmshury, of her patronage, these clerical poets seem to have been numerous: *Inde liberalitate ipsius per orbem sata, turmatim huc adventabant scholastici cum cantibus, tum versibus famosi, felicem que putabant, qui carminis novitate aures mulceret dominæ.* Hist. p. 164.

¹⁴ See further, note 25.

tive.¹⁵ The human heart loves virtue, tho it may falter in practising it. The mind tends to good taste and judgment, tho it may be withheld, by opposing circumstances, from acquiring them. Hence the clerical versifier became more encouraged than the minstrel, by the intellectual and the respectable. Even they who read the immoral composition, cannot but despise its author. Tho men may practise vice, no man has respected the vicious. Therefore as soon as society found presented to its option, poetry more useful and more creditable than the licentious songs of the minstrels, the improved taste of the nation liberally encouraged it. The new poetry found ample patronage, and the patronage multiplied both the new rhymers and their works.¹⁶ Wace, a canon of Bayeux,

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¹⁵ Denis Pyramis, after mentioning the roman of Parthenope,

Cil ki Partonope trova
e ki les vers fist e ryma—

and Marie's lays,

E Dame Marie autrefi
Ko en ryme fist e basti—

again mentions the popularity of this vernacular poetry. He says of counts, barons, and knights,

e si en ayment mult l'escrit,
e lire le funt, si unt delit ;
e si les funt sovent retraire.

So of ladies,

Les lays soleient as dames plere ;
De joye les oyent e degre,
Quil sunt sulun lur volente.—MS. Domit. A 11.

¹⁶ The clerical poets took high ground : they declared their works to be essential to the formation of reputable character. Thus Beneoit, in his rhymed chronicle of Normandy :

Oir veeir, apprendre faire
Retenir, ouer e retraire,
Senz ceo ne puet de nul eage,
Nuls estre pruz, vaillant, ne sage ;
Tels sunt afaitée e curteis ;
E maistre des arz e des leis.
Si ne fust buens enseignement
Doctrine oirs retenement,
Qui fussent sans discretion,
Vilain, senz sen e sanz raison.

Therefore He

—al sovercin e al meillur
Escrif, translát, truis e rimeil.

MS. Harl. No. 1717.

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and one of the most prolific rhymers that ever practised the art, states expressly, that his works were composed for the "rich gentry who had rents and money."¹⁷ He prudently reminds the great that unless "par cleric" their actions were recorded, their celebrity could have no duration¹⁸; and he takes care to inform them, that they who wrote "gestes and histories" had always been highly honored and beloved¹⁹, and that barons and noble ladies had often given handsome presents, to have their names commemorated.²⁰ The clergy thus aiming at the remuneration for which the minstrels sang, we shall not be surprised that they also sometimes took their subjects from the songs of the itinerant jongleurs, and revived them in a superior style. This fact is avowed in the preface to one of the romans on Charlemagne²¹; and also in the Roman du Florimont.²² The consequence

¹⁷ Jeo parout a la riche gent,
Ki unt les rentes a le argent,
Kar pur eus sunt li livre fait;
E bon dit fait, e bien retrait.

MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

¹⁸ Bien entend conuis e sai
Que tuit murrunt, e cleric, e lai;
E que mult ad curte decree,
En pres la mort lur renumee;
Si par cleric ne est mis en livre,
Ne poet par el durement vivre.—MS. Ib.

¹⁹ Mult soelent estre onuré,
E mult preise, e mult amé;
Cil ki les gestes escrivicient,
E ki les estoires treiteient.—MS. Ib.

²⁰ Suvent aveient des barruns,
E des nobles dames beaus duns,
Pur mettre lur nuns en estoire,
Que tuz tens mais fust de eus memoire.—MS. Ib.

²¹ One of the romans on Charlemagne, in rhyme, Brit. Museum, Bib. Reg. xv. E 6. explicitly states, That a Clerc had composed and revived it from a chançon of a jongleur—

Or entendez seigneurs, que Dieu vous benie,
Le glorieux du ciel, le filz sainte Marie,
Une chancon de moult grant seigneurie
Jugleurs la chantent e ne la scevent mie
Moult a este perdue picca ne fu ouye
Ung Clerc la recouvret que Jhu Crist benye
Les vers en a escrips, tout e la restablie,
Savez on les trouva dedens une abbaye.—MS.

²² This was written by Aymes de Florimont. He says he has said it as he found it written, or as he took it from good Trouveurs :

of the clergy making these compositions was, that narrative poetry, or what was believed to be so, and written as such, became soon a respectable, a highly valued, and an improving art, operating powerfully in augmenting the intellectual cultivation of the people.

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It is a question that tasks our ingenuity to solve: How came the Scandinavian Normans, who settled themselves in Normandy, with their Norwegian or Icelandic speech, to abandon this so entirely, and to adopt that dialect of the Roman popular language which appears in the Anglo-Norman poems, so completely, as that this alone became the vernacular tongue both of their court and country, at the period of the Norman conquest? We can only thus explain it. The Romans had so completely conquered and colonized Gaul, that its Celtic language gave way in most parts to a Patois Latin, which was the general language there until the Franks became its masters. They came with their Franco-Theotisc tongue; but altho they converted the name of the country from Gaul to France, they did not impress their German speech on the people at large.

The Roman Patois maintained its ground in the south of France, in the regions on the Mediterranean: and when the German portion of Charlemagne's great

Dou roy Florimont vous ai dit
Ce que jeu ai trouvé escript;
Or pri a ceuz qui oi lont
E as bons trouveurs qui sont.

MS. Harl. No. 3983.

That the minstrels had composed romans on the subjects which the clerical rhymers so prodigiously expanded, the Chronicon du Guesclin states—

Qui veut avoir renom des bons et des vaillons,
Il doit aler souvent a la pluie et au champs,
Et estre en la bataille, ainsy que fu Rollans;
Les quatre fils Haimon et Charlon li plus grans;
Li dus Lions de Bourges, et Guion de Connans,
Perceval li Gallois, Lancelot et Tristans,
Alixandres, Artus, Godefroy li sachans,
De quoy cils menestriers font les nobles romans.

Du Cange, voc. Minist.

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empire separated from that of the French sovereign, the Latin Patois obtained in time such an ascendancy, that it was adopted for ever by the court and nobility of France. It was the popular speech of Normandy when Rollo invaded; and the number of his soldiers and chiefs was so small, compared with the people over whom they became the temporal lords, that policy and convenience induced the Norman dukes, his successors, to learn and patronize the popular tongue; hence this became the general language of Normandy, and was brought as such by the conqueror into England. We see it in its earliest form in his laws, and in the poems which we are about to mention of Phillippe du Than, and we see its rapid improvement after it was used for poetry, in the smooth and fluent works of Wace, Beneoit, and Gaimar.

Philip
du Than's
poems.

The most ancient specimens of the vernacular poetry of the Anglo-Norman clerks, are the two poems by Phillippe du Than, which may be placed about 1120. They contain nearly 1800 lines, rhymed in the middle.²³ His first, entitled "De Creaturis," he sent to his uncle, the chaplain of the seneschal of Henry I., for his correction.²⁴ Besides its rhymes, there is a rhythm in the cadence of his lines, which shows the infant state of the French heroic verse. It treats on the days of the week; on the months; on the signs of the zodiac; at some length on the moon; and on the ecclesiastical periods of the year; from most of which he draws a fanciful allegorical signification. His second he names "Bestiarius," and addresses it

²³ MS. Cotton Library, Nero, A 5.—This and some other of the Anglo-Norman poets remained unnoticed in the British Museum, till the Abbé de la Rue saw and described them. See his papers, published by the Antiquarian Society, in the *Archæologia*, vols. xii. and xiii.

²⁴ Phillippe du Thaun ad fait une raisun.
A sun uncle l'enveiet, que amender la deiet.
Si rien iad mesdit ne en fait ne en escrit.
A unfrei de Thaun, le chapelain Yhun,
E seneschal du rei icho vus de par mei.—MS. Nero.

to the "mult bele femme," the queen Aliz²⁵, the second wife of Henry I. Its subjects are, beasts, birds, and precious stones. The first are subjected to us, and are therefore symbols of obedience, and consequently denote our childhood; the second fly naturally into the air, and thus designate men who meditate heavenly things; the last are of themselves permanent and unchangeable, and such will be the ineffable Deity to us when we hymn in his presence, and amid the glory of his assembled saints.

In this he quotes several times "Phisiologus,"²⁶ and at others, a work called Bestiarium²⁷; another which he named Lapidaire²⁸ and Isidorus.²⁹ These works are all still in existence.

The Bestiaire is a Latin work remaining still in MS., which I have not yet seen.³⁰ But the Phisiologus is connected with some other subjects of curious inquiry, and therefore demands a particular notice.

It is the performance of one Theobald, of whom,

²⁵ Philippe du Thaun en franceise raisun,
Ad estrait bestiare un livre de grammaire.
Pur louur d'une geme ki mult est bele femme.
Aliz est numée, reine est coronée.
Reine est d'Engleterre, sa ame nait ja guere.—MS. Nero.

²⁶ Thus, "Phisiologus del Egle dit plus."—MS. p. 67.
"Et Phisiologus dit que Caladrius"—P. 68.

And in other places, to which I do not find corresponding ones in Thebald; as on the "Fenix," p. 70., and "Cocodrill," p. 50.

²⁷ "Delui dit Bestiaire, chose que mult est maire."—MS. p. 70.
"En un livre dit du grammaire, que nous apelum Bestiaire."—MS. p. 80.

²⁸ On the precious stones he thus begins:
"Ke plus volt savoir de ces pierres, lur vertuz et lur maneres;
Si all lire de Lapidaire que est escrit du grammaire."—MS. p. 80.

²⁹ As on the dove,
"Uns colums est ceo dit Ysidre en sun escrit."—P. 72.

He also cites Solomon on the ant;

"I ceo de Salemun del furmie par raisun."—P. 52.

And in other places. In his first poem, he quotes Johannes de Garlandia, Hilperic, Turkil, and Nambroet. La Rue, Arch. vol. xii. p. 302.

³⁰ M. La Rue mentions, that Mr. Douce has a MS. copy of it in Latin.

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all that we know is from the titles prefixed to the different MSS. of the works.³¹ In one in the British Museum³², he ends with naming himself "Tebaldi." They usually style him "Theobaldi Episcopi," but the Harleian MS. adds his country, "Italicus." It has been found in MSS. of so early a date as the eighth and ninth centuries³³; but it does not now exist merely in MS. It was very early printed.³⁴ It is written on twelve animals; the lion, the eagle, the serpent, the ant, the fox, stag, spider, whale, syren, elephant, turtle, and panther.³⁵

As it is so rare that no quotations have been given from it; and as it is of considerable importance, tho hitherto unnoticed, on the question of the origin and antiquity of rhyme, some extracts from it may not be unacceptable here, reserving others to be adduced in a subsequent page, when we come to consider the subject of poetical rhyme.

It begins with the lion; and in his first lines on

³¹ Fabricius in his *Bib. Med. Lat.* notices him only to say, that his age was uncertain.

³² Harleian MS. No. 3093. See note 38.

³³ Roquefort mentions, that Simner, in his catalogue of the MSS. of the Biblioth. Bernensis, has inserted a MS. of the eighth century, intituled "Liber Fisiolo Theobaldi expositio de natura animalium, vel avium seu bestiarum;" and another as a MS. of the ninth century, intituled, "Physiologus." Roquef. *etat.* p. 283.

³⁴ Neither M. Simner nor M. Roquefort seems to have known that this work has been printed; but the copy which I have seen, expresses in its colophon, that it was printed at Cologne by Henry Quentell, who also published the "Altum Doctrinale of Alanus." No date is appended; but this ancient printer appears by other works to have lived soon after the discovery of the art.

³⁵ It is intituled "Physiologus Theobaldi Episcopi de naturis duodecim animalium." It is printed with an ancient Latin commentary, which thus introduces it: "This book has four causes of knowledge; the material, the formal, the efficient, and the final. The material, or subject, is the nature of the twelve animals. The formal is twofold; the form of the treatise, and the form of treating it; the first consists in its division and distinction; the second is the mode of doing it, which is metrical. The efficient cause was Master Theobald, doctor and bishop, who has composed it in simple words. The final cause is its utility. By this we may learn to love the virtues, to avoid the vices, and to attach ourselves to good manners. The cardinal virtues are, prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude. The vices to be avoided are, pride, avarice, gluttony, luxury, and others, which are denoted by the animals. Another utility is, that Christ is intimated by the lion, and the devil by the fox. The author also means to teach the real nature of the animals." Nothing is said of the age or country of the author.

this animal, the author has expressed all that he mentions about himself.

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De Leone ;
Tres leo naturas, et tres habet inde figuras
Quâs, ego, Christe ! tibi bis seno carmine scripsi.
Altera divini memorant animali libri
De quibus apposui, quæ rursus mystica novi
Temptans *diversis*, si possum, scribere metris
Et numerum solidum complent animalia solum.³⁶

These are obviously what were afterwards leonine rhymes, or lines rhyming in the middle, and it is probable that they present us with the verses that occasioned the term Leonine to be first applied to such rhymes.

In these lines, the author declares that he shall write his work in different metres. He has done so ; and his diversity consists in making some of hexameter lines that rhyme in the middle ; others of hexameters and pentameters, rhyming in the same manner ; and two of short metre, rhyming in couplets. The rest on the lion, and the moral attached to it, are thus expressed :—

Nam leo stans fortis super alta cacumina montis
Qualicunque via vallis descendit ad ima
Si venatorem per naris sentit odorem,
Cauda cuncta linit, que per vestigia figit
Quatenus inde suum non possit cernere lustrum
Natus non vigilat dum sol se tercio girat
Sed rugitum dans pater ejus resuscitat ipsum,
Tunc quasi viviscit et sensus quinque capiscit
Et quotiens dormit nunquam sua lumina claudit.!

The application of this, is,—

Sic, TIBI, qui celsi resides in culmine cœli
Cum libuit tandem terrenam visere partem
Ut genus humanum relevares crimine lapsum
Non penitus notum fuit ulli demoniorum
Viscera Mariæ, tibi, CHRISTE ! fuere cubile.

³⁶ The commentary remarks, that twelve is the solid number, and one the solum.

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Et qui Te genuit triduum post surgere fecit
 Cum mortis vindex mortem crucis ipse subires
 Tu, nos custodis qui nullo tempore dormis
 Pervigil ut pastor, ne demat de grege raptor.

The next lines are on the eagle. These are hexameter and *pentameter* verses, rhyming also in the middle. He first describes the bird, and then gives it this moral allusion:—

Est homo peccatis que sunt ab origine matris
 Qualis adest aquila, que renovata ita
 Nubes transcendit, solis incendia sentit
 Mundum cum pompis despiciendo suis
 Fit novus in Christo ter mersus gurgite sacro
 De sursum vivus fons fluit ille pius.
 Nam novus est panis, super omnia nulla suavis
 Panis id est Christus sit sine fine cibus.

Those on the ant, the fox, the stag, the elephant, and the whale, are also hexameters and pentameters rhyming in the middle. From the latter a quotation may be made, as it gives us an earlier specimen, if not the actual prototype of our Milton's fine simile on the leviathan or whale:—

Him, haply slumbering on the Norway foam,
 The pilot of some small night-foundered skiff
 Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,
 With fixed anchor in his scaly rind,
 Moors by his side under the lee, while night
 Invests the sea and wished morn delays.³⁷

In Theobald's the same idea is thus very picturesquely expressed. He begins with saying, that the whale lies on the sea, to all appearance, a great promontory:—

Est promontorium cernere non modicum.
 Huic religare sitam præ tempestate carinam
 Nautæ festinant; utque foris saliant,
 Accendant vigilem, quem navis portitat, ignem
 Ut calefacient et comedenda coquant.

³⁷ Paradise Lost, book i.

Ille focum sentit, tunc se fugiendo remergit
Unde prius venit sic que carina perit.

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The verses on the syren and the panther are like those on the lion, only hexameter verses rhyming in the middle. Thus having described the syren as twofold in body, like a mermaid, half woman half fish; he educes from it this moral reflection:—

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Quam plures homines, sic sunt in more biformes,
Unum dicentes, aliud tibi mox facientes;
Qui foris ut fantur, non intres sic operantur.

His last verses are on the panther, and he closes with these lines:—

Est autem Christus Panther alegorice dictus —
Qui fugit atque latet, nec in ipso tempore patet
Serpens antiquus, qui nobis est inimicus
Namque palam nullos audet clam fallere multos
Quos cum defendat, qui secla per omnia regnat.

The Harleian manuscript adds, —

Carmine finito, sit laus et gloria Christo
Cui, si non alii, placeat hæc metra Tebaldi.³⁸

Philippe Du Than begins his animals like Theobald's, with the lion, but evinces himself at once in that, not to be a mere translator; for while the Physiologus gives only twenty-four hexameter lines to this king of beasts, Du Than makes him occupy ten pages. But he has taken what he pleased from his other authorities, and therefore we find in him the monorces, the beaver, the hyena, the crocodile, the donkey, and the partridge, which are not among the twelve animals selected by Theobald. He enlarges on the ant far beyond this author.³⁹

³⁸ Harl. MS. No. 3093. The printed copy has not these two concluding lines. The MS. ends "explicit liber physiologi," and begins, "Incipit liber fisiologus a Thebaldo *Italico* compositus." Dr. Warton mentions this MS. but has quoted nothing from it.

³⁹ Harl. MS. p. 52.

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It seems to us absurd for him to have hunted for allegorical meanings and religious applications, which have really no greater connexion with the animals he describes, than with a monkey or a potatoe. But, like all poets, he wrote to please, and would not have thus written, if it had not gratified the royal patroness to whom he addressed it. We cannot discover how the beautiful queen could be either edified or interested to know that the phœnix signifies our Saviour, and the crocodile the devil; or that the attraction of iron by the loadstone implies the conversion of the pagans to Christianity.⁴⁰ It seems to us, that these fancies could have only pleased our ancestors, because in the total vacuity of unlettered ignorance, any ideas, any reading must be preferable to none. Literature is in any shape so grateful to those who have mastered its alphabet, that it requires some cultivation to be able to detect or to dislike even its absurdities. But all preceding ages, from Orpheus⁴¹ to the last century, have liked such works, tho we may perhaps now say, at least with all cultivated minds, that their popularity is gone, even in poetry, for ever.

Philippe's verses on the precious stones seems to be founded on those of Marbodius on the gems, whom he means by "Lapidaire."

This author was a Breton, and bishop of Rennes, in Bretagne, to his death, in 1123. His book "De Gemmis," was long very popular.⁴²

⁴⁰ E cel vertu ad en sei, lei fer trait od sei ;
Signifie ge Xens traient a la lur les paens,
Quant il laissent lur eresie e creient el fiz scæ Mariae.

Du Than. MS. Harl. No. 3093.

⁴¹ Du Than is certainly not worse than the celebrated Orpheus appears in the mythological poems on stones ascribed to him—and published by Gesner. In meaning, there seems to be no superiority.—His writing on animals may have been owing to Henry I.'s attachment to them.

⁴² Marbodius wrote it under the name of Evax, an Arabian king. He seems to have been one of those who studied the Arabian writings, for he mentions the importation of the gems into Europe by the Arabs, very often; as,

On the Sardonyx :

Partibus hunc nostris Arabes : Sed et India mittit.

It has no addition of allegorical interpretations. Marbodius had a more plain and common-sense mind which his versification of proverbs or moral aphorisms, under the name of Cato the Philosopher, sufficiently indicates.⁴³ But a mystical or moral application was in time added by some one in prose.⁴⁴

Another clerical rhymmer, to whom the versification of our ancient poetry must have been much indebted, was Sanson de Nanteuil⁴⁵, who lived in the reign of Stephen. He then wrote what he calls a *Romanz*.⁴⁶ It is a translation of the Proverbs of Solomon into eight-syllable verse of Norman French, with a copious

On the Onyx :

Hanc quoque dant nobis Arabes; dat et India gemmam.

The Yri :

Yrin dant Arabes; sed gignit eum mare rubrum.

The Melochite :

Hunc Arabum gentes prius invenisse feruntur.

⁴³ Fabricius has printed these; some are striking.

Tu si animo regeris, Rex es; si corpore, servus.—
Proximus esto bonis, si non potes optimus esse.—
Non placet ille mihi, quisquis placeat sibi multum.—
Quanto major eris, tanto moderatior esto.—
Fac, quod te par sit; non alter quod mereatur.—
Aspera perpressu, fiunt jucunda relatu.—

Bib. Med. Lat. l. xii. p. 51.

⁴⁴ There is an old French paraphrase of the work of Marbodius beginning—

Evax fut un multe riche Reis
Lu regne tint des Arabais.

This is nearly as ancient as the time of Marbodius. *ibid.* l. xii. p. 55.

I observe that Everhard Bethuniensis, who lived in 1124, in his metrical list of the poets he recommends, has inserted these works of Marbodius and Theobald :

“*Naturas lapidum varias, variosque colores
Qui ponit lapidum non sapit ille metro.*”

And,

“*Naturas Physiologus exponendo ferarum.*”

Ibid. l. v. pp. 225. 227.

⁴⁵ MS. Harleian, No. 4388. This is a beautiful specimen of the ancient calligraphy.

⁴⁶

Ki ben volt estre engranz
Entendet dunc a cest roman
Qui al loenge damne de
Et a senor al translate.

— Sanson de Nanteuil. MS. *Ibid.*

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“Glosse.” His plan is, to give the Latin vulgate of a verse or more, then his versified translation; and afterwards his glosse, which is sometimes moral, and sometimes allegorical. If quantity could compensate for defect of quality, he would abundantly satisfy us, for he has contrived to rhyme above 12,000 lines into couplets. He also implies the state of the minstrel poetry, by classing the hearing of songs and tales among the acts of criminal voluptuousness. To us the rhyme is the only mark of poetry in its composition; but, as a collection of didactic aphorisms in familiar verse, it must have been an important present to the awakening thought of the unlearned population. This is another of the works, which our ancient literature owed to the intellectual curiosity of the Anglo-Norman ladies. It was made for Alice de Conde.⁴⁷

The encouragement given to literature in England, from the happy taste of Henry I. his queens, court, and clergy, so diffusely spread the desire to attain it, that even the stormy reign of Stephen seems to have been no impediment to its cultivation. Perhaps the military exactions and movements confined the clergy to their homes and monasteries, and made them more studious. It is certain that this wasteful period of civil misery was the interval in which the Anglo-Norman mind was extensively educating itself. Not

⁴⁷ The preceding extract continues—

- - - - Ki soutient
De sa dame qu'il aime e crient;
Ki mainte feiz l'en out pried
Ql li disclairast cel traited.
Le num de ceste damme escrist
Cil ki translation fist,
Aeliz de cunde l'apele,
Noble dame enseigne et bele.

Sanson MS. Harl. No. 4388.

So Aymes says he wrote his Florimont to please a lady—

Seigneur oz oies que je di
Aymes pour l'amour de Neilli,
Si fist le romans si sagement.

Aymes MS. Harl. No. 3983.

only did a number of chroniclers and historians, of Latin poets and logicians, of theologians and civilians, then prosecute their studies, preparatory to their development in the succeeding reign of Henry II. ; but a sort of school of Anglo-Norman poetry was formed, in which to write vernacular histories became the prevailing taste. We can distinguish three great contemporaries of this school, great from the massiveness and important effects of their works, Wace, Gaimar, Beneoit: and we find several others alluded to.

Wace, the superior of all, in the fluency and metre of his verse, and sometimes in narrative ability, has left us an interesting notice on his own biography. He was born in Jersey, was taken young to Caen, and there put to school⁴⁸; he was afterwards in France, and returning to Caen, he applied himself to writing romanz, to which the king encouraged him⁴⁹, and for which Henry II. gave him a prebend at Bayeux. In another place, he complains, that the noblesse which had patronized him were dead, and that no one was liberal to him but his sovereign, "Henris li secunt."⁵⁰ Probably like Blackmore he had satiated the public

Wace's
historical
poems.

⁴⁸ Si l'on demande qui co dist
Qui ceste estoire en romanz fist
Io di e dirai qi io sui
Wace del isle de Gersui
Qui est en mer vers occident
Al lieu de Normandie apent
En l'isle de Gersui fui nez
A chaem ful petit portez,
Illoques fui a lettres mis
Pois fuis longues en France apris."

Wace MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

⁴⁹ Quant io de France repairai
A chaems longues conversai
De romanz faire m'entremis
Mult en escriis e mult en fis
Par deu aie e par le rei.

MS. Ibid.

⁵⁰ Morte est qi jadis fud noblesce
E perie est od lui largesce—
Ne truis guaires ki rien me dunt
Fors le Reis Henris li secunt.—MS. Ibid.

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taste and outlived the public favor. He died about 1184.

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The first work of his that we are acquainted with, was his *Brut*, or his roman composed from Jeffry's British History. He dates this himself, as having been written in 1155.⁵¹ Five years afterwards he finished his other long poem, the *Roman de Rou*, on Rollo and the succeeding dukes of Normandy. This work may be considered almost as a contemporary history in its latter part. He declares that he will not insert fables⁵², and mentions, on the battle of Hastings, that he wrote from living information.⁵³ This lengthy poem contains several passages which display him to advantage, for those times.⁵⁴ After 1173, he composed another versified chronicle on the dukes of Normandy, from Henry II. upwards.⁵⁵

A taste for historical information prevailed in England after the Norman conquest. So great a revolution excited a desire in the Normans to commemorate it; and William of Poitou, with Sallust in his mind⁵⁶, attempted to narrate it. Marianus, born either in Ireland or Scotland, and who had settled at

⁵¹ He says,

Mil e cent cinquante cinc ans,
Fist Mestre WACE cest romans.

MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

In another MS. of this poem his name is written Gace—

Mil et CLV ans
Fist Maestre Gace cest romans.

MS. Harl. No. 6508.

Fauchet mentions two other MSS. in which he is called *Metre Huistace*, and *Metre Wistace*. p. 82.

⁵² "Io ne dis mie fable, ne jo ne veil fabler." *Roman de Rou*.

⁵³ In speaking of the battle of Hastings, he mentions, "As I heard it told my father. I well remember it. I was then a varlet." *Ibid.* M. Plaquet informs us that "the idiom in which Wace wrote is still preserved in part dans les campagnes de Bessin et du Cotentin." *Notice*, p. 9.

⁵⁴ See these quoted in the first volume of this History. It contains 16,547 lines rhymed into couplets, but often with the same rhyming syllable for several verses.

⁵⁵ Of this poem the MSS. are very rare. It comprises 314 Alexandrine verses. *Plaq.* *Notice*, vol. xii.

⁵⁶ So Ordericus Vitalis remarks, p. 521.

Mentz, attached himself to the study of chronology, and corrected the erroneous computations that had been made from the Christian æra.⁵⁷ His work excited Robert of Lorraine, who had been made bishop of Hereford, to cultivate the same important branch of inquiry.⁵⁸ History, thus recommended to the notice of the Anglo-Normans, became the peculiar study of the earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry I.; and to his urgency and that of a literary prelate, his contemporary, we owe the history of William of Malmsbury, and the Annals of Henry of Huntingdon. Their taste spread around; and as the great thus directed their attention to such compositions, it was natural that writers should arise to gratify it, and to benefit themselves by the patronage which was then attainable.

In this state of the public mind, and while the vernacular poets had thought only of composing the dull allegory of Du Than, the Proverbs of Sanson, or Lives of Saints, a work appeared in Latin, which gave a new direction to their talent, and may be regarded as the real parent of our narrative poetry. This was Jeffry of Monmouth's British History. In the latter part of the reign of Henry I. an archdeacon Walter put into the hands of Jeffry, a book in Welsh, which he stated that he had found in Bretagne, relating the actions of the ancient kings of Britain, from Brutus to Cadwallader. From this history, amplified by the addition at least of verbal information on Arthur from Walter, and by the insertion of Merlin's prophecies⁵⁹, Jeffry gave to the world a

Jeffry
of Mon-
mouth's
British
History.

⁵⁷ He wrote a *Chronicon mundi* to 1076, which Pistorius and others have published, on the plan of Dionysius Exiguus, who made the Christian æra the basis of his chronology, but he added 22 years which had been omitted. *Malmsb. de Gestis Pont.* p. 286.

⁵⁸ He abridged Marianus, *ita splendide*, says Malmsbury, p. 286, that he excelled his original. He wrote several treatises on lunar computations; on the motions of the stars; mathematical tables, &c. He died 1095.

⁵⁹ Jeffry *Mon. l. i. c. 1.* He begins his eleventh book, on the wars between

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Latin work, which he declared to be a translation of the Welsh author.⁶⁰ He dedicated it to the earl of Gloucester, whose approbation was celebrity; and he addressed the Prophecies to the bishop of Lincoln, a munificent prelate, fond of learning, and distinguished by the knights and noblemen in his train, and who had requested Jeffry to translate the vaticinations of Merlin from the British into Latin.⁶¹

Its great
popularity.

Thus highly introduced into the world, and flattering as it did the vanity of the population of Britain, by deriving it from a nation so immortalized in song as the Trojans, and by giving it a common ancestry with the Romans, and of equal antiquity, and aided by some political patronage, it was favorably received in England. It was also well composed. Jeffry was a smooth Latin versifier, and his style is flowing and easy. The book was full of new and extraordinary incidents. Its historical fictions were so many interesting romances; and it is often so dramatically and even poetically narrated, that it was peculiarly adapted to engage the attention of an age, to whose strong passions and wondering minds, even history would be more welcome for intermingled fable. It became so surprisingly popular, notwithstanding its anachronisms and falsehoods, which few could then detect, and which, even down to our days, have been more or less defended, that it became a mark of rusticity in that age to be unacquainted with it.⁶²

Arthur and Modred, with saying, that he will write ut in Britannico sermone invenit et a Galtero Oxenofordensi in multis historiis peritissimo viro audivit. L. xi. c. 1.—and see l. vii. c. 1 & 2.

⁶⁰ Several of Jeffry's interspersed observations imply that he has in part made a book of his own, and not merely translated an author. If he merely translated, why should he decline to handle particular points of the history because Gildas had already told them, or told them better, as in l. iv. c. 20, and l. i. c. 17. He assumes here a right of shaping his work as he pleased; as he also does in l. xi. c. 10., when he declares his intention of relating elsewhere the Armorican emigrations.

⁶¹ L. vii. c. 1 & 2. There is one MS. copy of this work existing, in which the author dedicates it to king Stephen. Simner Bib. Bern. vol. ii. p. 242.

⁶² So says Alured of Beverly—and he adds—"and while the young people were committing it to memory, and reciting it agreeably, I often blushed amid such con-

The connexion of our ancient Britons with the destruction of Troy, was not the invention of Jeffry. Solinus says, that an altar with Greek letters, in Calcedonia, shows that Ulysses had landed there.⁶³ Ammianus Marcellinus, the Roman historian of the fourth century, relates, that in his days some said that Gaul had been peopled by some of the dispersed Greeks returning from Troy⁶⁴; and Nennius briefly derives the Britons from Bruto, the great grandson of the Trojan Æneas.⁶⁵ That the Welsh had also ancient genealogies to Belus Mawr, and from him to Æneas, we learn from Giraldus.⁶⁶ So that it is clear, the story of the Trojan descent of the Britons and Gauls was floating in the world before Jeffry wrote.⁶⁷

But all these traditions were vague, rude, and void of authority or circumstance, before Jeffry's book was published. In that they appeared in a stately port, with living forms and features, and with historical pretensions. Hence his history strongly impressed the imaginations of the Normans, whose surprising successes in France, England, and Sicily, had given them a taste for the splendid achievements of other times. From the writings of Wace, we may perceive that the great revolutions noticed in ancient history, which, tho true, may be called its romantic periods, had already been presented to their notice⁶⁸; and

fabulators, that I had never seen it. I therefore sought for it; and when I found it, I studied it most diligently." He then applied himself to abridge it, for more general circulation. Alur, Beverl. l. i. p. 2.

⁶³ Solinus Polyhistor. c. 22.

⁶⁴ Amm. Marcel. l. xv. c. 9. p. 75.

⁶⁵ Nennius Hist. Brit. c. 3 & 4.

⁶⁶ Itin. Camb.

⁶⁷ The French were as anxious for the same line of ancestry.—Ammonius deduces their nation from Francus the son of Hector; and the Count Caylus remarks, that Paul Warnefred, to please Charlemagne, made Anchises, the father of Æneas, to be one of the ancestors of the prelate from whom the Carovingian princes descended. Hist. Ac. Insc. vol. xi. p. 417. So in Germany, the emperor Conrad was traced to Æneas, and his wife to a Trojan family.

⁶⁸ Wace begins his poem on the History of Normandy, with a recapitulation of the great events of antiquity—the fall of Thebes, Troy, Nineveh and Babylon. On Alexander he alludes to the fabulous accounts of his day—

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these cannot be contemplated at any time without exciting interesting thought. Wace dwells upon the theme with a visible fondness, and ingeniously moralizes upon it to enforce his inference, that, unless preserved by letters, all memory of these mighty changes would have perished.⁶⁹

The British History of Jeffry electrified the literary mind of Europe. It startled some; it amused all. Many doubted; most admired; some disbelieved; and a few abused it. But it was so much talked of, that all whom intellectual subjects then interested, and their number was daily increasing, wished, as we have remarked from Alured of Beverley, to become acquainted with it. The Anglo-Norman ladies, who seem to have rivalled the men in their literary curiosity, partook of the general feeling⁷⁰; and one highly beneficial effect soon arose from this universal popularity — the application of the clerical poets to compose vernacular histories in verse. Jeffry's Latin dress was accessible only to the clergy. In Anglo-

Alisandre fud reis puissanz
Duze regnes prist en duze ans.

And Cæsar he describes as,

Cesar ki tant fist e tant pout'
Ki tut le mund cunquist e out.

MS. B. R. 4. c. 11.

⁶⁹ Tute rien turne en declin,
Tut chiet, tut moert, tut trait a fin
Tut funt, tut chiet; rose flaistris
Cheval trebuche, drap viescist,
Huem moert, fer use, fust purrist
Tutte rien fatte od mein perist.

He then adds the passage quoted in the preceding note 18.

⁷⁰ Gaimar says that lady Custance sent for the book of British History, and borrowed it—

Ele envid a Helmstac
Pur le livere Walter spac
Robert le grans de Glouceste
Fist translater icele geste,
Solum les liveres as Waleis,
Kil aveient des Bretons reis—
Dame Custance l'enpruntat
De son seigneur k'ele mult amat.

MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

Norman verse, the courtier and the knight, the baronial and the female world, could understand and appreciate it.⁷¹

One of these popular versifiers was Wace, who, in his "Le Brut," gave his countrymen, not so much a translation of Jeffry's work, but, what was more improving both to them and to himself, a narrative poem made from it in rhyming couplets, consisting, in their most perfect metre, of eight syllables in a line, but in the less finished verses, deviating into more.⁷²

In this performance, he frequently expatiates on his own resources in the parts that particularly interested him. He begins by stating the capture of Troy, and the escape of Æneas into Italy; but he expands nine lines of his original into sixty-eight of his own. In the same way he dilates Jeffry's ten first chapters into a thousand lines. But it is unnecessary to pursue the comparison minutely. We may say in general, that he takes his facts from his authority, but tells the story in his own phrase, omitting, expanding, and epitomizing as he pleased.

His success with this, and the taste for vernacular history, which was then created, encouraged him to new efforts; and two immense Norman histories in rhyme proceeded from his pen, the Rou, and the Chronique de Normandie.⁷³ He appears to have

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Wace puts
it into
verse.

⁷¹ For this reason, Beneoit declares he wrote his hystorie—

Que de latin ou je la truis,
Si je ai le sens e je puis,
La vodrai si en roumanz mestre
Que cil que n'entendra la lestre
Delicier se puisse el roumans.—MS. Harl. 4482.

⁷² It exists in MS. in Bib. Reg. 13. A 21. also Harl. No. 6508.

⁷³ In his roman de Normandie he thus mentions his Rou—

Al jeo de Roul lugnes cunte
E de sun riche parente
De Normandie, que il cunquist ;
E des proescs que il l fist ;
E de Guilleaume lunge espee
Avum l'estoire avant menée.

Wace MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

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Gaimar's
Estorie des
Engles.

devoted himself to this employment, and for some time at least to have been liberally patronized.⁷⁴

Another of these historical versifiers was Geffrai Gaimar, whose "Estorie des Engles" follows the Brut of Wace in the MS. in the British Museum. He ascribes the existence of this work entirely to an Anglo-Norman lady. He says Dame Custance la gentile caused him to translate it; that he was a year about it⁷⁵; that he had procured many English books, and others in Romanz and in Latin, to complete it; that without her aid he could not have finished it⁷⁶; that she often had the work, often read it in her chamber, and gave him a mark of silver for transcribing it.⁷⁷ Some of his expressions imply, that he had written or intended to write, on the Trojan story⁷⁸; but the present copy begins where the Brut

74 Mais ore puis jeo lunges penser
Livres escrire e translater;
Faire rumanz e serventeis;
Tant truverai, tant seit curteis;
Ki tant me diunst e mette en main
Dunt jeo aie un meis un escrivain.
Ne ki nul autre bien me face
Fors tant mult dit bien Maistre Wace.

Wace MS. Bib. Reg. .4 c. 11.

M. Plaquet has published several pages of extracts from the Roman de Rou, in his Notice sur la Vie de Robert Wace, Rouen, 1824.

75 Ici voil del rei finer;
Ceste estoire fist translater
Dame Custance la gentil
Gaimar i mist marz e averil
E tuz les duize mais
Ainz kil oust translate des reis.

76 Il perchaca mainte esamplaire,
Liveres angleis e par grammaire;
E en romanz e en latin
A jur ken prist triaire a la fin
Si sa dame ne le aidast
Ja a nul jor nel achevast.

Gaimar MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

77 Dame Custance en ad l'escrit
En sa chambre sovent le lit;
A ad pur lescrire done
Un marc d'argent art e pese.

MS. Ib.

78 Tres ke ce dit Gaimar de troie.
Il comencat la u Jasun
A la conquere la tuisun.—MS. Ib.

leaves off, and ends with William Rufus. He says that if he had chosen to have written of king Henry, he had a thousand things to say, which a Trouveur, whom he calls David, had not written, nor the queen of Louvain had possessed.⁷⁹ From him we learn, that David was another of these historical poets; but his praise by Gaimar is all that has survived of him.⁸⁰

A third great versifier of this school was Beneoit de Sainte More.⁸¹ He chose the Trojan story for his subject, as a rich and great theme, and also as new.⁸² He professes to take it from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. But tho he may have borrowed his facts from his originals, he trusts to his own powers for his descriptions and general style. Some parts he dilates and dramatizes, not unhappily; as in his narrative of the intercourse between Jason and Medea. This is concisely told by Dictys Cretensis; but Beneoit gives interesting pictures of manners in his account of their dresses, her father's city, the amusements in his palace, and her splendid bed. He

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⁷⁹ Ore dit Gaimar, s'il ad garrant
Dei rei Henri, dirrat avant
Ke s'il en volt un poi parler
E de sa vie translater
Tels mil choses en purrad dire
Ke unkes Davit ne fist escrivere
Ne la raine de Luvain
N'en tint le livre en sa main.

Gaimar MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

⁸⁰ Bien dit Davit e bien trovat
E la chancon bien asemblat—
— — — — —
Ore mand Davit ke si li pleist
Avant che si pas nel leist
Car sil en volt avant trover
Son livre en pot mult amender.—MS. Ib.

⁸¹ The copy in the British Museum, Harl. MS. No. 4482, is very neatly written, and much ornamented.

⁸² Ceste hystorie nest pas usee
Ne en gaires de lieus trovée,
Je retraite ne fust encore
Mais Beneois de Sante More
L'agmencie e faite e dite—
Moute e lestoire riche e grans
E de grant oevre e de grant fait.

Beneoit MS. Ib.

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rises even sometimes to poetry, as in his description of the spring⁸³, when he is about to introduce Hercules and Laomedon; but his prevailing character is easy narrative, a pleasing metre, and fluent rhyme.⁸⁴ This work of Beneoit, deserves our more attentive notice, because Guido de Columna, the judge of Messena, whose "Historia Trojana" became so celebrated in the middle ages, has either taken Beneoit's poem for his theme, or has tracked his paths. Guido's work is a prose narration of the wars of Troy. After mentioning that Homer, Virgil, and Ovid had composed on the subject, he refers to the more complete descriptions of Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius as his authorities, and ends with saying, that he has followed Dictys the Cretan in all.⁸⁵ To have built his work on the same foundation as our Beneoit, is not indeed a proof of authorial plagiarism, but it leads us to a suspicion of it, or at least entitles Beneoit to be remembered as the first who thus made a "riche e grans estoire" of the whole Trojan story.

and Roman
de Nor-
mandie.

Wace has mentioned that the subject of his Roman de Normandie had been anticipated by Maistre Beneoit, who had written on it by his sovereign's desire.⁸⁶ This work has come down to us, tremendous

⁸³ Quant vint el tems que vers devise
Que herbe us point en la rise
Lorque florissent le ramel
E doucement chantent oisel
Merle mavins e loriol
E estournel e rossignol.
La blanche flors part en l'espine
E reverdoie la gaudine
Quant le tems e dou e souez
Lor partirent del port les nez.—

Beneoit MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

⁸⁴ M. de la Rue's dissertation on these poets will reward the perusal. Archæol. vol. xii.—We owe their discovery to him.

⁸⁵ Guido dates his own work thus: "I, Guido de Columna, judex de Messana, wrote it in the year 1287." It was printed at Strasburg, 1486.

⁸⁶ Oie eu avant qi dire en deit
Jaidit por Maistre Benoit.
Qi cest oure a dire a emprise
Com li reis la disor lui mise

in its length.⁸⁷ He begins where Dudo begins, and proceeds to the death of Henry I. He mentions Alice of Louvaine, this king's last queen, as befriending him⁸⁸; and tho he says, his labor has been grievous, he consoles himself by the pleasure he shall give his seignor Henry II. by his work.⁸⁹

All these rhymed histories, altho in truth so wearisome that we are astonished at the patience which could read, as well as at the perseverance that could write them, were important accessions to the intellect of the day. They made reading popular among the great and fair; they kindled the wish of these rulers of human society to be themselves "inurned in song;" and by their description and praise of better actions, they contributed to extinguish such fierce characters as prevailed at that period. Being easy of comprehension, they provided an agreeable occupation for the leisure of the affluent; and thus made literature one of the needful luxuries of life. That they opened

Quant li reis li a roue faire
Laissier la dei si men dei taire.

Wace Norm. Bib. Reg 4. c. 11.

⁸⁷ He thus twice mentions his name—

L'estorie de Guillaume fenist ci long espee
Si cum Beneit la escrite e translatee

Ici comence l'estoire del rei Guillaume
Si cum Beneit la translata.

MS. Harl. No. 1717. pp. 85. and 192.

⁸⁸ Puis prist femme li reis Henris
Pucele mult vaillant de sei
Qui fu fille au duc Godefroi
De Louan; si out non Aeliz
E si me retrait li escriz.—Beneit MS. Ib.

I think this Alice is the queen of Louvain mentioned by Gaimar.

⁸⁹ Qual plaisir seit de mun seignor
Del bon rei Henri fiz Maheut,
Que si benigne cum il seut
Seit al oir e al entendre
Nest pas de mes pors l'amendre

Si soffert jal gref labor
Qual plaisir seit de mun seignor.

Beneit MS. Ib.

I have sometimes doubted if this author was Beneit de la More, because the style of the Trojan story seems more flowing and cultivated. Perhaps being more at liberty to use his fancy in that poem, his pen was improved by his invention.

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a pathway to natural poetry and original composition, was a merit that gives them high rank in our literary history. They excited such a taste for works in rhymed verse, that in the thirteenth century the rules of monasteries were put into it, as were also the Institutes of Justinian, and the customs of Normandy.⁹⁰

Fictitious
romances.

But altho the historic poetry of the Anglo-Normans was the first species of Parnassian composition, and indeed of vernacular literature, which appeared in England after the Saxon dynasty had been overthrown, it was not the only kind which was known and cultivated among our ancestors or in the west of Europe during the twelfth century. Two other branches of versified compositions, originating from other parental stocks, also obtained great attention and circulation, as well in our own island as on the Continent, before our native Muse abandoned all foreign speech, and made its vernacular English the preferred and permanent diction of all its future compositions. But this great revolution did not assume a decided shape till about the year 1300, and was gradually completed during the next hundred years. Before this arose, from the year 1100 to 1300, the favorite poems, besides the rhymed histories already noticed in the preceding chapter, may be distinguished into two dissimilar classes; one, the FICTITIOUS ROMANCES, written in the Anglo-Norman language, and principally on the knights and court of Arthur and the Round Table, which were most popular in this country, and also in that of Charlemagne, which were more valued on the continent;—and the other, the poetry of the TROUBADOURS, in their Provençal tongue, which, after the accession of Henry II. became a part of our courtly literature, till

⁹⁰ Roquefort de la Poes. Franc. p. 252.—La Rue.

the loss of our dominions in the south of France occasioned both the language and the poems of this celebrated class of men to fall into neglect and oblivion, or rather to be superseded by the original productions of our national genius, arising in vigorous growth to new forms and beauties peculiar to itself, and gradually increasing in their importance and fertility.

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The prolixity of the versified histories in time lessened their popularity; their lengthy and uniform narrations ceased to interest when the novelty was over; the rage for histories in verse expired in satiety. Narrated fiction became more pleasing than their tedious realities. The Trojan story was found to interest when the *Chronique de Normandie* could gain no listeners: and the extraordinary adventures accompanying the Crusades, made the usual incidents of common life and business seem flat and unprofitable. An Arthur that could be exaggerated or fabled upon, at the pleasure of the imagination, was a far more delightful person than a William Lung-espée, or than a Henry fiz-Maheut, whose sober actions were too well known to be misrepresented with credit. A new description of narrative compositions then prevailed, before whose superior charms the 'estorie' gave way. These were the actual romances, the numerous fictions starting at first under the garb, and vaporizing with the name of history, but with every incident a fable. Some renowned characters in former times were taken as the basis of the story, as Arthur, Charlemagne, and Alexander, but on their foundation the writer raised what superstructure he pleased.

In these, likewise, the indefatigable Wace led the way. His *Chevalier au Lion* seems to be one of the earliest fictitious romans that has descended to our

Wace's
Chevalier
au Lion.

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knowledge.⁹¹ But he was soon followed by an endless and motley train.⁹²

That there were tales and traditions in circulation about Arthur, before either Jeffry or Wace, both these writers acknowledge.⁹³ Jeffry's book seems to have been the parent of some of the romances on Arthur; but the numerous incidents which others describe, of this king and his knights, which have no resemblance to any thing in Jeffry, may have been derived from the Breton tales.⁹⁴ The story of Tristram discovers its Breton origin in every part⁹⁵; the San Graal, and

⁹¹ M. Galland mentions that the MS. of this romance, which he inspected, dates its composition 1155—Thus

Mil e cent cinquante ans
Fit Maistre Gasse ce romance.

Mem. Ac. vol. iii. p. 468.

Yet M. Plaquet ascribes this Romance to Chretien de Troyes; which cannot be if these verses are a part of it. The Chevalier au Leon is supposed to be the French original of the "Ywaine and Gawin," published by Mr. Ritson; if so, I should suppose it to have been a Breton tale.

⁹² In the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 15. E 6. is a large handsome MS. folio that contains several French romances, viz. Charlemagne, Ogier le Danois, and Chevalier au Signe, in verse—and Alexandre, Montauban, Roy Pontus, and Guy de Warwick, in prose. The MS. 8. F 9. contains Guy de Warwyck, in eight foot verse, rhymed.—The MS. 16. G 2 the quatrefilz d'Aymon.—The MS. 20. B 19. has les Gestes de Garin, in French verse—and the MS. 20. D 2. and 20. D 3. consists of Tristram, and Lancelot du Lac, in prose.—The MS. 14. E 3. contains the ponderous St. Graal.—These will sufficiently satisfy any general curiosity on this subject.

⁹³ Jeffry Hlst. l. i. c. 1.; and Wace, in these passages of his Brut—

Fist Artur la ronde table
Dunt Breton dient meint fable.—

He says, in this great country

Furent les merveilles privées
E les aventures trovées,
Ke de Artur sunt controvees,
E a fables sunt turnels.—

He adds,

Tant ont li contur conté
E lui fablur tant fablé, &c.

⁹⁴ The above extracts from Wace are such decisive evidence of the existence of the Breton lays about Arthur, that Bretagne has certainly great claims to the origin of this cycle of romances—the earliest, perhaps, that appeared in England and France.

⁹⁵ There is a Drem-ruz famous in the Breton history. I have sometimes asked whether he was the Tristram of romance, who is always made a Breton prince. Drem-ruz inverted would be ruz-drem—It means ruddy-face.—M. Douce, in answer to my query, says, "The inverted name of Tramtris was given to Tristram in

many of the round table lays, point to the same source. Hence the most rational idea which we can form of the origin of the three great classes into which we have distinguished the poems that prevailed in England and in Europe, before the full reign of the English vernacular and native poetry; after weighing all theories and circumstances, will be, to refer the **VERSIFIED HISTORIES** to the Anglo-Norman clergy; the **ROMANCES** and **TALES**, to the Breton bards, the **Trouveurs**, the **Jongleurs**, and the **Minstrels** of the first part of the Middle Ages; and the more cultivated **PROVENÇAL** poesy, to those **Troubadours** whose actual origin is less discoverable by our curiosity, and who will be more particularly noticed in the Fourth volume of this History.

CHAP.
IV.

ANGLO-
NORMAN
VERNA-
CULAR
POETRY.

his infancy, when he was bred up as the son of a person not his parent. He more than once assumes the name in the course of the romance—once as the tutor of Iseult, and again when disguised as a merchant.”

CHAP. V.

*The ROMANCES upon ARTHUR and the Knights of the Round Table.*BOOK
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HISTORY OF
ENGLAND.Origin of
the ro-
mances on
Arthur.

AS the earliest romances which appeared either in England, in Normandy or in France, were those on Arthur and his knights, it is natural for an Englishman to inquire from what source or country they originated.

In the appendix to the first edition of the first volume of the Anglo-Saxon History, published in 1799, some circumstances were mentioned, which made the author desirous to ascertain, whether the tales of the romancers on Arthur and his knights did not originate in Wales and Bretagne.¹

It was also remarked, that the coincidence between several things mentioned in these tales, and those preserved in the Welsh traditions of Arthur and his friends, could have arisen only from communication; and that the Bretons must have been the medium thro which the Welsh narrations got into France.² A similar opinion was afterwards expressed by Mr. Leyden³, and adopted by Mr. G. Ellis.⁴ In the second edition of Anglo-Saxon History, published in 1807⁵, the author remarked on the colonization of Bretagne from the British islands, and shewed that druids, a branch of the ancient bards of Britain, were in that province in the fourth century; and reasoned, that from the subsequent emigrations of both chiefs

¹ Hist. Anglo.-Sax. vol. i. p. 389. 1st ed. 1799.² Ib. p. 383.³ See his Introduction to his Complaint of Scotland.⁴ In his "Early English Metrical Romances," p. 32.⁵ Anglo-Sax. vol. i. p. 108—116. 2d ed. 4to.

and people from our island to Bretagne, and from the fact, that bards were a part of the household of every chieftain's family, there must have been bards, and a cultivation of poetry in Bretagne during the sixth and seventh centuries. Some circumstances were mentioned, which made it probable that the Breton bards would gradually deviate into more popular poetry; and from the peculiarities of their new situations, and the necessity of acquiring subsistence, would seek rather to amuse the people by tales, than by the artificial verses which they had composed in Britain and Wales.⁶ A decisive evidence that there were in the sixth and seventh centuries, in Armorica and Wales, wandering bards or minstrels, who descended from their original loftiness of character to humbler efforts, to please the people by more amusing tales and songs, was given in a translation of a Satire of Taliesin, distinctly describing and expressly written to reproach this new, and, as he thought, demoralizing intruder into the ancient British Parnassus.⁷

In 1815, M. de la Rue, to whom we are indebted for first bringing to the public notice some of our most ancient Norman poems, by his letters on them read before the Antiquarian Society, and printed in its *Archaeologia*⁸, published a work on the Bards of Bretagne⁹, which urges the same idea, of the early French romances having originated from them. About the same time, M. de Roquefort inclined to the belief, that the Anglo-Normans had adopted the Breton traditions among others.¹⁰

⁶ This passage was omitted in the editions of the Anglo-Saxon History since the second, and has been inserted in the new edition of the *Vindication of the Ancient British Bards*, which will be found in the 7th edition of the *Anglo-Saxon History*, vol. iii. p. 449—582.

⁷ This is now reprinted in the *Vindication of the Ancient British Bards* as above.

⁸ In the 13th and 14th volumes.

⁹ *Recherches sur les ouvrages des Bardes de la Bretagne Armerique*. Caen, 1815.

¹⁰ See his "*Etat de la Poesie Francoise dans les 12 et 13 siecles*." Paris, 1815. p. 46, &c. To this intelligent inquirer we also owe the *Glossaire of the Langue Romane*, the publication of the *Lais de Mariè*, and other valuable works.

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Mr. Douce has since declared his opinion to be, that the tales of Arthur and his knights, which have appeared in so many forms, and under the various titles of the St. Graal, Tristram de Leonnois, Lancelot du Lac, &c., were not immediately borrowed from the work of Jeffry of Monmouth, but from his Armorican originals.¹¹

The late editor of Warton's History of English Poetry (1824), whose elaborate preface shews both his research and his ability, has intimated that "every further investigation of the subject only tends to support this opinion."¹² These concurring opinions satisfy the present author, that in looking into Bretagne and Wales for the origin of the romances on Arthur and his knights, he was not misled by a mere visionary conjecture. Mr. Warton had also glanced his eye on Armorica, but it was with a belief, not that Welsh, but that Arabian fictions had been imported into it.¹³

That there were poets, or a class of bards of a more popular kind than the ancient insular ones, flourishing and favored in Bretagne after the fifth century, and before the Norman conquest, was shewn upon ancient authorities, in the reprint of the Vindication of the Ancient British Poems, which was added to the fourth edition of the History of the Anglo-Saxons.¹⁴ This new description of bards, so degenerated in the opi-

¹¹ Warton's History of English Poetry, 8vo. ed. 1824. Diss. vol. i. p. xvi. note *g*. I am happy to find the opinion expressed in the second edition of the Anglo-Saxons, 4to. p. 114. that Breton tales existed before Jeffry published, sanctioned by the belief of a gentleman so conversant in our old romances as M. Douce.

¹² The editor also justly says, "The concurrent testimony of the French romances, is now admitted to have proved the existence of a large body of fiction relative to Arthur, in the province of Brittany; and while they confirm the assertions of Jeffry in this single particular, it is equally clear that they have neither echoed his language, nor borrowed his materials." Pref. p. 99.

¹³ Hist. Poetry, Diss. vol. i. p. 3. This able man, who has thrown so much light on our ancient poetry, and was the first that explored its long-forgotten recesses, was so prepossessed with his oriental theory, as to assert that the Chronicle of Jeffry of Monmouth "entirely consists of Arabian inventions." p. xiv.

¹⁴ See in particular the remarks and citations in pp. 543—546, and 548—558. Hist. Anglo-Sax. vol. iii. 4th ed. Vol. iii. pp. 459—489. 7th. ed.

nion of the successors of the ancient ones, but so much more pleasing to the feelings of their contemporaries, are also noticed in the ancient Welsh triads; for one of these triads mentions, that the ancient bardism was corrupted by three peoples; and names the Bretons of Armorica as one nation that had deteriorated it.¹⁵

But the most popular subject which the bards of Bretagne could have chosen to interest the British colonists, who had new-peopled it, must have been the brave resistance of themselves or their ancestors and relatives to their hated enemies the Saxons. The indignant exiles would be interested by this topic more than by any other, because with most of the patriotic chieftains they had either kinship or connection. But as time rolled on, and new generations arose in Bretagne, who would become more attached to their native soil than to the sea-divided lands of their forefathers; and as new habits and ideas, springing from the new circumstances of the Bretons, would make novelty more popular; and as the facts of real history became transformed by tradition into fictions more agreeable; it was natural that the wars with the Saxons should become obsolete, and that the favorite heroes of the Breton poets should be recollected and combined with incidents more analogous to their local vicinage, and to the new manners of the day. Poets change their themes to please their audience; and hence, to the names which patriotic feeling and ancient tradition had so long venerated, the manners and actions of the middle ages became gradually attached: of these names, Arthur was the most renowned and the most admired.

¹⁵ It may be thus translated: "Three nations corrupted what was taught them of the bardism of the bards of the isle of Britain, by blending it with vague notions, and on that account they lost it—the Gwyddelians, the *Cymry of Llyddaw*, and the Almans."

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He had combated in various parts of the mother country, and was therefore universally known; he was a patron of bards, and a bard himself; his death furnished a striking catastrophe; and the uncertainty of his grave threw a romantic mystery over all his character; and several of his personal friends emigrated to Bretagne: these reasons seem to make it natural that the actions of Arthur should have been the favorite subject of the bardic genius. Indeed so greatly were the people of Bretagne interested in his fame, that Alanus de Insulis tells us, that even in his time (the twelfth century) they would not believe that their favorite was dead. "If you do not believe me, go into Bretagne, and mention in the streets and villages that Arthur is really dead like other men, you will not escape with impunity; you will be either hooted with the curses of your hearers, or stoned to death."¹⁶ Trouveurs¹⁷, Troubadours¹⁸, and monkish versifiers¹⁹, combiné to express the same idea. Hence it appears very probable that the bards of Bretagne were the first inventors and composers of the romances concerning Arthur. Being more removed from the scenes of his actions, they indulged themselves in greater licence in exaggerating them; and indeed, how could they exaggerate too much for hearers who could not be convinced that he was

¹⁶ Alanus de Insulis, p. 17. This author was born 1109. From this foolish chimera, "Arturem expectare" became a proverb, to denote excessive credulity.

Quibus si credideris

Expectare poteris

Arturem cum Britonibus.—Pet. Bless. Ep. 57.

¹⁷ So Wace, in 1155:—

"Uncore l est; Breton l'atendent.

Si com il dient e entendent

de la vendra uncore pot vivere.

MS. Brut. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

¹⁸ So the Troubadour, Mathieu de Querci, says, about 1276.—"As much as the Bretons have wept and still weep for the good king Arthur." Palaye, vol. ii. p. 262.

¹⁹ Jos. Iscanus also shows this; for in his poem de bello Trojano, he says—

Sic Britonem ridenda fides et credulus error

Arturum expectat, expectabit que perenne.—L. iii. l. 472.

dead, tho seven centuries had revolved since his disappearance! But it would be more gratifying to the Breton feelings to connect their favorite prince with incidents less disastrous than those which drove them from Britain; and their poets found more benefit from dressing Arthur and his friends in a fictitious glory, than in the melancholy drapery of their real history. Hence the chivalric costume and transactions of the day were ascribed to them; and when Walter the archdeacon went into Bretagne, he found these fabulous narrations afloat. He embodied them into a regular narration, or he translated some collection of them, and gave them to the world as history. Till then, the Breton language had greatly concealed them from the rest of the world. But his Latin work, decorated with the solemn name of History, gave them credit and dignity, and diffused them thro Europe, tho it did not originate them.

As the Breton tales came into fashion, Arthur became the popular hero²⁰; because his countrymen and their descendants were the first romance composers. It is indeed probable, that the Breton tales had become known in England and Normandy before Jeffry published. In Athelstan's time, many Breton nobles and their followers fled from the Norman sword, and sought an asylum in the court of Athelstan; who received them kindly²¹: and between his reign and the Norman conquest, the vicinity of Normandy and Bretagne, and their frequent intercourse

CHAP.
V.

ROMANCES
UPON
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TABLE.

²⁰ We cannot wonder that so many romances were composed about Arthur, when we observe what Alanus de Insulis says of his celebrity in the twelfth century: "Who does not speak of him? He is even more known in Asia than in Britain, as our pilgrims returning from the East assure us. Egypt and the Bosphorus are not silent; Rome, the mistress of cities, sings his actions. Antioch, Armenia, Palestine, celebrate his deeds. Thus was Merlin's prophecy fulfilled." He adds the passage already cited.

²¹ Athelstan not only received Mathuedol, the sovereign of Bretagne, whom the Normans had dethroned, but became the sponsor of his son, and educated and nourished him to manhood, and assisted him to regain the throne of his ancestors. Chron. Namnet. Restit, ap. Bouq. p. 276.

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of war and friendship, must have communicated to the Normans some of the popular tales of the Breton nation.²² The fact, that almost all the heroes of the romances about Arthur may be found in the Welsh triads, or poetry, strengthens the argument, that the romances on Arthur and the round table originated in Bretagne; and that the Welsh and Armorican bards were their first inventors.

Most of the names of the persons and places mentioned in these romances, on Arthur and his knights, are to be found in the ancient Welsh remains that still survive to us; which is a strong indication of their primitive source. The Anglo-Norman poetess, Marie, of the thirteenth century, also declares, that she took her lays from Breton sources²³; and these mention so many places and persons of Bretagne or Great Britain, as to prove, by their internal evidence, that their original authors must have been from one or other of these countries²⁴; and thus her poems confirm the former evidence, that the Bretons had

²² Mr. Ellis says, truly, "The Norman poets themselves frequently profess to have derived their stories from a Breton original." *Early English Metrical Romances*, p. 34.

²³ Marie expressly declares, that she had heard the lays recited, and what she had heard she has rimed

Des lais pensai k'or aveie—
Plusurs en ai or couter
Ne voil l'aisser nes oblier ;
Rimez en ai, et fait ditie
Soventes fiez en ai veillie.

Roquefort Marie, p. 44.

I had selected the passages in which she refers to her Breton authorities, but as I find most of them quoted in the new edition of Warton, lxxvii—lxxxii., I will only quote the pages I had noted: pp. 50. 112. 114. 136. 138. 250. 252. 270. 314. 326. 367. 400. 484. 540. 542. 580.

²⁴ Thus in Equitain, Nantz, p. 114. In La Frene, Dol, p. 164. In Lanval, Arthur, Carduel, Logres, (Llogyr, the Welsh name for England,) the Escos and Pis (the Scots and Picts,) p. 202. Gaiwains and Ivains (Gwalchmar and Owen,) p. 220. D. Cornwall, p. 234. Avalon, p. 250. In Chevrefeuille; Tristram, King Markes, South Wales, Cornuwaile and Tintagel, p. 388—392. In Eleduc; Bretaine the Mineure, Loegre, Totness, Exeter, p. 400—458. In Graelent; Bretaine, p. 486. In D'Ywenec; Caerwent; the Duglas; Incole (Lincoln;) Ireland, Caerlien, p. 272—306. In Milori; South Wales, Northumbre, Southampton, p. 328—350. In L'Epine; Caerlion, Bretaine, p. 542.; and, in Laustic, the Breton name for the nightingale, and St. Malo, p. 314, 315.

bards, poets or minstrels, who composed romantic tales. From all these circumstances, it seems to be a safe historical inference, that the romances on Arthur and the Round Table, originated in Bretagne²⁵, and most probably entered into that country from Wales.

That in the eleventh century, just before the earliest of these romances appeared, the Breton intellect was in an active and productive state, we may infer from the observation of bishop Otto, who near that period wrote, "Bretagne is full of clerks, who have acute minds, and apply them to the arts."²⁶

The famous Abelard, born before 1100, and his master Roscelin, were Bretons; and Abelard's father, a Breton knight, was so fond of letters, that tho his son was his eldest child, he would, very unlike the custom of the feudal nobility of other countries, have him well instructed in letters *before* he learnt the use of arms.²⁷

These facts imply strongly the cultivation of the Breton mind at that period²⁸; and shew, that while the love of literature was then dormant all around, it was pervading this peculiar and maritime province, which had a history, an ancestry, and a language different from the rest of France.²⁹

²⁵ M. Roquefort is of the same opinion. He remarks, that the greatest part of the persons are Armorican; that the scene is always in Little or Great Britain; and that the Bretons have been so fond of their fairies, as to still have in their country the fairy rock, the fairy grotto, the fairy valley, the fairy fountain, &c. See his *Poesies de Marie*, vol. i. p. 32—34. He adds, that the Isle of Saine, where the fairies lived; the forest of Brechellans near Quintin, where the tomb of Merlin was placed; the fountain of Barenton, and the wonderful Penon, were all placed in Bretagne. Roquefort *Marie*, p. 33.

²⁶ Otto *Fris.* c. 47. p. 433.

²⁷ See Abelard's Works, as quoted hereafter.

²⁸ We may also remember, that Turpin's printed book remarks, that of Hoel count of Nantz, and therefore a Breton chief, whom he places with Charlemagne, a ballad was sung, "Usque in hodiernam diem." Some MSS. support the application of this passage to Hoel, but most give it to Ogier the Dane.

²⁹ On this subject two important intimations are given by Pitts and Bale, which we must rather recollect than lean upon. The first mentions, as Warton noticed, that an "Eremita Britannus, A. D. 720," wrote on the St. Graal, and on Arthur and on his round table and knights. Pitts, p. 122. Tanner mentions that Bale saw some fragments of this work. *Bib.* p. 263. He also, with Pitts, ascribes to "Gildas

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The earliest romance that was composed on the subject of Arthur, appears to have been that on Tristan. It seems to have been written in prose, and probably in Latin, if the assertion, that Luces de Gast translated it, be correct³⁰; and if in Latin, we must refer it to some of those clerical authors, who appear to have been the first cultivators of every branch of the middle age literature.

It was afterwards versified by Chretien de Troyes, before the twelfth century closed³¹, and, either in prose or verse, must have been in circulation soon after the middle of that period, as it is quoted by a troubadour who was then flourishing.³² It was in

Quartûes," whom he places in 860,—“Works on Arthur—de milite Leonis; de milite Quadrigæ; de Percevallo et Lanceloto; de Galguano et alis,” p. 122. Pitts, p. 166. Tanner in his Bib. p. 319. has inserted this Gildas, and these titles of his alleged works. As no MSS. of any of these works exist, the assertions of these bibliographers cannot be taken as historical certainties: yet we have no reason absolutely to reject them. It certainly corresponds with all the probabilities of the subject, that there should be books or tales on Arthur long before Jeffry of Monmouth. The expressions of Wace import strongly that there were many Breton tales about the Round Table, and about Arthur, before his time, which, as he was a contemporary of Jeffry of Monmouth, must have been independent of this history.—Of the Round Table, he says—

Fist Artur la ronde table
Dunt Breton dient meinte fable.

So he remarks, that numerous tales existed of Arthur:

Tant ont li conture conté
e lul *fablar tant fable*
Pur lui *contes enbeler*
Ke tuz les funt a fables tenir.

MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

As Wace finished his work in 1155, the above is good evidence of Breton tales then abounding, exclusive of Jeffry's book; and as his verbs are in the past tense, the fair inference is, that these tales were of a previous date and origin.

³⁰ Roquefort dates it in 1170. The MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, No. 6977, ascribes it to Luces. But the one of Rusticien de Pise, mentions Luces as only beginning it. On the subject of the original Tristan, and on the claims preferred by Sir Walter Scott, and disputed on strong grounds by the last editor of Warton, of Thomas the Rymer being its author, I will refer the reader to his poem as published with notes by sir Walter, and to the remarks added to Warton, vol. i. p. 181—198.

³¹ M. Roquefort places his work in 1180. This author died in 1191. Etat. Poes. p. 148.

³² It is Pons de Capdeuil who thus notices it:—

Domna genser qu'ieu sai,
Mais vos am ses bausia
No fetz Tristans s'amia

E null pro non hi al.—Anguis Poet. Fr. vol. i. p. 17.

Marie also mentions Tristan. But for the multifarious facts and reasonings that

the reign of Henry II., whose eldest son, that died in his lifetime, was, while he lived, Henry III., that the principal romances on the Round Table were translated or composed; and of some of these, Walter Mapes is named as the translator.

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This romance was soon followed by the *St. Graal*, *Giron le Courtois*, *Lancelot*, *Mort du Roi Artur*, *Merlin*, and several others. The connection of Breton tales with the romances and ancient poetry of France is indeed a very curious subject, which has been too little attended to. The want of materials may have caused the neglect; but it deserves a careful investigation. In the fourth volume of this History, we shall notice the fact, that even the singular topics and manners of the Provençal Troubadours have some unexpected association with the Breton talès.³³

have been published on this subject, the reader may consult Mr. Warton's history, in the last edition; Mr. Douce and Mr. Park's notes inserted in it; and the works or essays of Mr. G. Ellis, Ritson, sir Walter Scott, M. Weber, Mons. Roquefort, Le Beuf, Ravalliere, Galland, who, with others, have all thrown some light on this obscure but curious topic.

³³ As some of the prose romances are stated, by their authors or transcribers, to have been written for our king Henry III. I have begged Mr. Douce to favor me with the colophons to some of his Romances, especially as they also make the celebrated Walter Mapes one of their compilers. From his transcript of the colophons, I take the following circumstances. The second part of the *S^t Graal*, MS. Bib. Reg. 14. E 3. says these adventures "furent mises en escrit et gardees en l'abeie de Salesbieres dont maistres Gautiers Map traist a faire son livre del *S^t Graal* pour l'amour del roi Henri sen seigneur qi fist l'estoire translater de Latin en franchois."—So the MS. *Tristan*, Bib. Reg. 20. D 2.—The MS. *Mort d'Artur* of Mr. Douce, gives not only the *San Graal*, but also l'*Estoire de Lancelot*, to Mapes. In Mr. Douce's MS. *Mort de Tristan*, the author ascribes his work to the request of li rois Henri III. d'Angleterre. He calls himself Helles de Borron, and mentions Messrs. Lucez and Robert de Baron as writing on these subjects, and Gautier Maz qui fist le propre livre de Lancelot. In the prologue to the first edition of *Tristan*, the author says, "Je Luce Chevalier Seigneur du Chateau de Gast, voisin prochain de Salesbieres en Angleterre ay voulu rediger," &c.—In the romance of *Meliadus de Leunois*, its author, Rusticien de Pise, speaks of finishing (I presume in prose) le livre du Brut, and that Henry was charmed with it. He says Luces de Jau began to translate a part of the *Tristran* into French; that Gasses le blond qui estoit parent au roi Henry afterwards took it up; and after him, Gautier Map; qui fu chevalier le roy et devisa l'hystoire de Lancelot du Lac; that Robert de Borron applied to it, et Helye de Borron par la Priere du dit Robert de Borron. He mentions again his Brut—He expatiates again on the pleasure Henry took in these works; he invites poor as well as rich to read them; and declares he found them in Latin. He says, he sees that les plus sages et les plus prizez d'Angleterre sont ardans et desirans to hear these deeds, and that Henry had given him deux beaulx chasteaulx. He asks what name he shall give his book, and he adds, such as shall

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please King Henry, who desired, that as it was to treat on courtesy, it might begin with Palamedes, than whom there was nul plus courtois chevalier.—The romance of Giron le Courtois, the same author, Rusticiens de Puise, says he compiled from the book of his lord Edward I. when he went to Palestine.—The above is probably all we can now know of the authors or translators of the prose romances.—The MS. prose Romans of the late duke of Roxburgh contained similar colophons.

Some writers doubt if Luce, the Borrans and Rusticien, be real authors; but the doubt is mere surmise. There is no evidence to contradict the enumeration made by Rusticien, of the authors who had preceded him, nor to disprove his own reality. I do not see any sufficient reason for the actual authors hiding themselves in that age under the guise of fictitious personages. This is quite different from the case of ascribing works to persons of former celebrity or of known importance.

We may add to the above remarks, that at the end of one of the MSS. in the Royal library at Paris, Cod. 6783, on Lancelot du Lac, occur these words: "Mes en Francois par Robert de Borron, par le commandement de Henri roi d'Angleterre." Add. to Warton, vol. i. p. 160. The translation of such a French romance, by Henry Lonelich Skynner, in Bennet college library, Cambridge, which has been introduced to us by the editor of the last edition of Warton, thus mentions Borron:—

Wiche that Maister Robert of Borron
Out of Latyn it translated hol and soun
Onlich into the langage of Frawnce.—War. vol. i. p. 154.

All the above authorities that refer any of these works to Walter Mapes, shew that the Henry spoken of, is either Henry II. or his son Henry, who was crowned in his lifetime, and therefore who was, while he lived, Henry III. Our antiquaries must recollect this, when Henry III. is mentioned in the old romances, as this expression is applicable to him as well as to the historical Henry III. and other circumstances must determine which of these two kings is the person really meant. It is too common and too natural, without this remembrance, to ascribe, as Mr. Warton and most have done, all these references to John's son, Henry III.; altho, while the son of Henry II. of the same christian name lived, after his father had crowned him, he was Henry III. in the popular eye and tongue.—But happening to die before his parent, and not surviving to become his successor, his royal title has almost disappeared from our history, and no other Henry III. is now generally known or regularly noticed but that son and successor of John, whose reign was distinguished for its unusual length.

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On Turpin's History of Charlemagne, and the Romances upon this Emperor and his Peers; and on Alexander.

ANOTHER class of romances, which amused the grave and gay in the first part of the middle ages, were those which were connected with Charlemagne. These do not seem to have been popular in England, nor among the Anglo-Normans; but as they form an inseparable branch of the fictitious compositions of this period; as one historical romance connects his exploits with our island¹; as they have always received some attention from our antiquaries, and as some points about them have not yet been correctly elucidated, a few pages of this History will be occupied by their consideration.

They have been usually supposed to have originated from the fabulous history which appeared on the continent as the account of the actions of Charlemagne, under the name of Turpin, archbishop of Rheims, as the MSS. of the work usually style him²; but of Tulpin, as he is called in the first part of one MS. at Vienna.³

That there was an archbishop of Rheims named Tilpin in the time of Charlemagne, is clear, from the Pope's letter addressed to him, and from his epitaph

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¹ This circumstance is detailed in the following note.²²

² This work was first printed in the Germ. *Reu.* Quat. Frankf. 1566. and again in the *Vet. Script. Germ.* Reuberl, Hanov. 1619. Mr. Warton thought it was compiled after the Crusades. *Diss.* vol. i. p. 20.

³ Lambecius has described this MS. in his *Bib. Cæs.* vol. ii. pp. 329—334. The first part names him Tulpin, in an account taken from his book; but it is followed by the actual work, and in that he is called Turpin, as in every other copy of it that I have seen.

recorded by Flodoard⁴, whose History of Rheims ends about 966, at which time its author lived. But the facts, that such a person, with such a name, did exist, seem to be all that is true in this once applauded work.⁵

It has been a matter of much debate, when the real author of this work lived, and at what time it first became known. Erroneously placed in the tenth century by one person⁶, it has been since consigned more justly to the twelfth. A prose romance⁷ was taken from it, which expresses its own date to have been 1200. But a little before this year, a prior of Vigeois prefixed to his transcript of it a preface, in which he says, it had been then lately brought to him out of Spain.⁸ It is, however, mentioned still earlier than this, in a MS. history of Charlemagne in the Vienna library, which was composed about 1170, in which the writer refers to it; as what he had seen at St. Denys in France.⁹

An allusion to Roland and his sword, in Rodulf Tortaire, would, from the time he lived, place it

⁴ Flodoard, in his History of the Church at Rheims, has inserted extracts from the Pope's epistles to Tilpin, in his l. 2. c. 13. 16 and 17. Hincmar composed his epitaph, which states him to have been above forty years in his see. Mag. Bib. Pat. vol. xvi. p. 671. Charlemagne obtained the pall for him from Adrian. Ibid. Tilpin came to this see from St. Denys. Ibid. p. 670.

⁵ Le Beuf remarks that the real Turpin died twenty years before Charlemagne, instead of surviving him, as the fabulous Turpin states. Hist. Acad. vol. x. p. 249.

⁶ Masca in his Hist. Bearn. This date was on the apparent authority of one Julian, who pretended to have lived in 1160. But Antonio shews that all Julian's works are supposititious. Le Beuf, *ibid.* p. 252.

⁷ The MS. of this in the British Museum says, "Rainald de Boloine—la fist en romanz translater del Latin a duze cens ans del incarnation." MS. Bib. Reg. vol. iv. c. 11. It mentions that Rainald wished it to be written without rhyme, as if rhymed romans on the same subject were then extant. Le Beuf mentions a MS. which says, that Renauz de Boloigne sought for it among the books of St. Denys, and translated it en romance, 1206. p. 363. And another MS. which declares that Michael de Harness inquired for it among the books of Reenaut, count of Boulogne, and translated it from Latin to Romanz, in 1207. *Ib.* p. 362.

⁸ "Nuper ad nos ex Esperia delatos gratanter excepi." Gaufridus Vos ap Oienhart Vascon, p. 398.

⁹ Lambecius describes it as the 9th Codex. The preface to its third book says, "We begin with that epistle which we found in the chronicle of the Francs at St. Denys, in France, which Tulpinus, abp. of Rheims, had transmitted to Leoprand."—And the five following chapters are obviously taken from Turpin's book. Lamb. vol. ii. p. 332.

before 1135.¹⁰ No direct information carries it to an earlier period than this, except that which connects it with pope Calixtus II.

As to its genuine author, besides the mere speculations of Grypheander¹¹, and of those who would make him a Spaniard¹², as others think the work betrays a Breton hand¹³, the most important is the specific assertion of Guy Allard, that its proper date is 1092, and that it was written at Vienne, by a monk of St. Andrie.¹⁴

The passage in Wace, that a minstrel preceded William's army at the battle of Hastings, singing on Charlemagne, Roland, Oliver, and the vassals who died at Roncesvalles¹⁵, seems to be reasonable evi-

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¹⁰ Le Beuf has quoted the poem, in the Vatican, of Rodulfe Tortaire, who lived in our Henry the First's time. It thus mentions Roland and his sword—

Ingriditur patrium gressu properante cubiculum,
Diripit a clavo, clamque patris gladium,
Rutlandi fuit iste, viri virtute potentis
Quem patruus magnus Karolus, huic dederat,
Et Rutlandus eo semper pugnare solebat,
Millia pagani multa necans popul.

This quotation places the story of Roland before 1135, when our Henry I. died. See Abbé le Beuf's dissertation in Hist. Acad. Inscript. vol. x. p. 245. Yet it is possible that this incident may have been a part of the popular tales about Roland.

¹¹ This writer would ascribe it to Robertus de Monte, one of the historians of the first Crusade. See his Weichb. Sax. p. 50.

¹² Le Beuf, *Ibid.* p. 253.—The prose MS. life of Charlemagne in the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11. begins with saying, that those who wish, may hear the verite de Espagne sulunc le latin del estoire, &c. That the Spaniards had traditions about Charlemagne, we learn from Roderic Toletanus. He rejects the accounts of Charlemagne's victories in Spain, as fables; but he mentions, without discrediting it, the tale of his banishment by his father Pepin, his asylum with Galafer, the Arab king of Toledo, and the marriage of this king's daughter. Rod. Tol. l. iv. c. 11. Gaufridus, the prior of Vosges, who wrote a little before 1200, received it from Spain. See before, note⁸.

¹³ See M. Leyden's Complaynt of Scotland, Dissert. p. 263; and Mr. Ellis's remarks, Spec. Romances, vol. ii. p. 287.

¹⁴ Hist. Dauph. p. 224.—It is to be regretted that this very concise author has given no reasons or evidence for his opinion. It stands as a mere ipse dixit; and yet he writes as if he had facts in his knowlege, from which he formed it. It is obviously not, like Grypheander's, a mere speculation.

¹⁵ This passage, often quoted, is—

Taillifer qui mult bien chantout
Sor un cheval qi tost alout
Devant le duc alout chantant
De Karlemaigne e de Rollant
E d'Oliver e des vassalls
Qi morurent en Roncevalz.

B. R. 4. c. 11.

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dence that he had this work in his mind when he composed his own, which he dates in 1155; and this is supposed to be but a more descriptive account of the analogous fact mentioned by Malmsbury, that the "Cantilena Rollandi" was so begun¹⁶; and the inference has been made that Turpin's book preceded even William's expedition.

But to this supposition two objections may be made; one, that ballads may have existed on Roland and Charlemagne before Turpin's book was composed; and the other, which I have ventured to suggest, that the Norman Roland may not have been the warrior and nephew of Charlemagne.

On the first point it is acknowledged, in Turpin's work, that songs on one of his heroes were in existence anterior to his writing.¹⁷ Another chapter of his work alludes to other fabulous narrations about Charlemagne, as if then well known, tho he would not describe them.¹⁸ An ancient authority has been already quoted, to prove that the minstrels had made

¹⁶ Malmsbury's words are, *tunc cantilena Rollandi inchoata*, that the warlike example of this man might excite them to the conflict. p. 101.

¹⁷ The passage in Turpin is, "*De hoc canetur in cantilena usque hodiernam diem.*" c. 11. The question now is, of whom is this spoken? In the two printed copies, and in one MS. in the British Museum, these words are applied to Oel, a Breton chief; but Mr. Douce remarks, that in the best MSS. of Turpin, the above expressions refer to Oger, king of Denmark, of whom a long romance, written originally in rhyme, still exists. Warton, vol. i. p. 21. new ed. The old parchment MS. Harl. p. 108, and the paper MS. Titus, A 19. add them to Naaman, the dux Bajoariæ. The two others omit the words on the song. But the parchment MSS. Bib. Reg. p. 13. D 1. and Nero, A 11. and the paper MS. (which two last are the most complete MSS. of Turpin, and the document connected with him, that I have seen,) connect the words with Ogier: so does the MS. mentioned by Le Beuf, vol. x. p. 249. I observe that the MSS. which ascribe the song to Ogier, have the passage more complete and full than the others, which either omit it or give it to Oel or Hoel, and which make no mention of Ogier in it. Hence I think the evidence at present preponderates in favor of Ogier being the person alluded to as the subject of these songs. If so, he may be derived from Ingwar, also called Igwar, the celebrated son of Ragnar Lodbrog.

¹⁸ Turpin, c. 20. Warton has pointed our attention to this. This passage mentions, that how Charlemagne killed Braimant, a great and superb king of the Saracens; acquired many lands and cities; built abbeys and churches all over the world; and went to the Holy Sepulchre, "*scribere nequeo,*" because the hand and pen would fail sooner than the history. p. 80. We know that there was an earlier account of this visit to the Holy Land. See Le Beuf, vol. x. p. 238.

earlier romances on some of the warriors of the age and court of Charlemagne.¹⁹

The idea of the twelve peers of France certainly did not originate from Turpin's book²⁰; and one string of fiction, the conquest of England by Charlemagne²¹, tho generally noticed by him, is not presented in his work in that circumstantial detail which others have given, and which therefore they must have derived from other sources.²² Rhymed romances on Charlemagne certainly exist, the time of whose first appearance is not known.²³

Some of the prose compositions on this subject brand the rhymed ones as falsehoods²⁴, and boldly,

¹⁹ See before, p. 458, note²¹.

²⁰ The peers of France are said to be mentioned by Flodoard in his History, who lived in 960. I have not found the passage in him; but I observe that the nobility of France were anciently so called, not as peers to their king, but as peers or equals as to each other. Du Cange Gloss. vol. iii, p. 137. Two of our chroniclers mention the twelve peers of France as the number by which each peer was to be judged. M. Paris, an 1226; and Knyghton says, "ad modum Franciæ 12 pares tum ordinavisse Scotos." So Raimond, count of Toulouse, was ordered to undergo the "judicium duodecim parium Galliæ." M. Paris. We find from the "Res. gestæ Parliamenti," that, "au temps ancient n'avoit que 12 pairs en France." These are mentioned all of the highest rank; six lay and six clerical. Du Cange, p. 143. Hence it is clear that the twelve peers of France were known in that country as a part of its constitutional nobility before Turpin Jeffry, and most probably as early, at least, as Charlemagne.

²¹ Turpin merely says, "diversa regna Angliam Galliam," and many others, "invincibili brachio suo potentia suæ adquesivit." c. 2.

²² I allude here particularly to the German Chronicon of Mutius, who lived soon after 1500. In this work, which Pistorius thought it worth while to print, little is taken from the exploits in Turpin; but two folio pages and a half are devoted to the exploits of Adolphus, the lieutenant of Charlemagne, sent by him to make war on the rebellious Saxons, Angles, and Britons, in England. I remark that the incidents resemble those of Julius Cæsar's first invasion. The battle in the sea; the landing; the flight, and further conflicts; the storm, and the submission of the island: all which are applied, with some new colouring, to Adolphus. It would be interesting to find out from what ballads or pseudo-Turpin such gratuitous fictions were derived; and so gravely stated, as to be narrated by Mutius as sober history, L. viii. p. 64.

²³ Two of these are in the British Museum, MS. Bib. Reg. 15. E 6. One beginning,

Or entendez seigneurs que Dieu vous benie
Le glorieux de ciel le filz sainte Marie,

The other opening with,

Plaise vous ecouter bonne chancon vaillant
De Charlemaïne le riche roy puissant.

²⁴ The Harl. MS. of the French prose translation of Turpin's History, No. 273, has this passage: "Pour ceo que estoire rimee semble mensunge, est ceste mis (n

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altho themselves as chimerical, claim to be authentic history.²⁵

The pretension is absurd, but it leads us to infer that the poems must be older than the prose.

These facts preclude us from making Turpin the original of all the romances on Charlemagne, and separate from his book the song that was chanted at the battle of Hastings. My doubt, if this was taken from any ballad of Charlemagne's hero, arose from a conception, that it was not likely that William would order a ballad on a knight who had perished in Spain, to be sung as an incentive to the courage of his army. It was more probable that it was a popular song on some Norman successful hero; and as the great leader of the Normans who invaded France, as he was invading England, and who established his countrymen in Normandy, was Hrolfr, or Rollo, and as I found that he was called in one old chronicler *Rolandus*²⁶, it seemed to me to look more like truth to infer that the war-song related to him, a real and victorious conqueror, and not to a fictitious personage, not nationally interesting to the Normans; who, instead of gaining a triumph, fell disastrously in his adventure, and would therefore rather be an omen

prose, *selon le latin que Turpin memes fist.*" The old romance, quoted by Warton, has also, "*Nuz contes rymez n'en est vrais. Tot mensonge ce qu'il dient.*" *Hist.* vol. i. p. 139.

²⁵ In the British Museum, *Bib. Reg.* 13. A 18. is a MS. of the fourteenth century, containing the history of Turpin, in Latin rhyme. The verses are hexameters, which rhyme usually in couplets, but several only in the middle. It corresponds with the prose Latin of Turpin, and has the passage on the arts. It begins,

Versibus exametris, insignia gesta virorum
Metrificare libet, celeberrima corpora quorum;

and ends,

Hoc opus exegi, Summo sit gloria regi
Auxillo cujus, operis sum reeditor hujus —
Et quia gesta refert Karoli . . . iste libellus
Imponatur ei proprium nomen Karolellus.

²⁶ It was in the *Chronicon* of T. Wikes that I saw this passage, "*Willielmus Lung-espeye filii Rolandi qui fuit primus dux Normannorum.*" *Gale Script. Angl.* vol. ii. p. 22.

of discouragement to all William's soldiery. It concurs with this idea that the historian declares, that the success of his ancestor Rollo was one of the topics of the speech with which he addressed the army before that decisive battle.²⁷ For these reasons it may be believed that the minstrel's war-song at the battle of Hastings, was not derived from the history of Turpin.

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The most authentic date that any ancient authority has annexed to this fabulous work, is that of the *Magnum Chronicon Belgicum*, which asserts, that in 1122 it was declared to be authentic by Pope Calixtus II.²⁸

This circumstance seems to give it a little priority to Jeffry's *British History*, which was certainly given to the world before 1139²⁹, and was probably published before the year 1128.³⁰ I have formerly

²⁷ See this in *Hen. Hunt.* p. 368, and in *Anglo Sax.* vol. ii. p. 407. 4th ed. It may be a question, if the *Roland* of romance did not originate from this Rollo? That the scalds or poets who sung on the Northmen warriors, made verses on Rollo, we may infer from their having done so on his chief contemporaries; and that his life was romantic enough to be the subject of romantic ballads, is evident from what we have before recorded of him, vol. i. pp. 54—59. This Rollo married the daughter of Charles, then king of France, *ibid.* p. 59. Of the romance *Roland*, Turpin says, that his father was duke Milo de Anglerils, who had married the sister of Charlemagne. We may here remark, that one of Arthur's knights was called Mael. *Angl. Sax.* vol. i. p. 277. 4th ed. Turpin says, there was also another *Roland*, "de quo nobis nunc silendum est." The romancers so confused history in their tales, that it is difficult to trace the origin of their fancies.

²⁸ This important passage is, "Idem Calixtus Papa fecit libellum de miraculis Sⁱ Jacobi et statuit historiam sancti Caroll descriptam a beato Turpino Remensi archiepiscopo esse authenticam. Hæc ex Chronicis." p. 150. *Rer. Germ. Vet. Pist.*

The same fact is mentioned by *Vincen. Belov. Spec. Hist.* l. 26. c. 32; and by *Werner, Rolvinck Fascicul. Temp.* p. 75; and in the *Harleian MS.* No. 108; and in the *Cambridge MS. Coll. Benedict.*

²⁹ In this year, *Henry of Huntingdon* says he saw it in the *Abbey of Bec.* See his letter to *Warinus, Harl. MS.* No. 1018.

³⁰ I ground this date upon the following reasoning. *Alured of Beverley* ends his history in the 29th year of *Henry I.* and in his proemium says, he carries it down to the 28th year; and that he wrote it in the days of his silence, when by a decree of the council of London he ceased from his sacerdotal functions unwillingly, being among many excommunicated. This exactly suits the 29th year of *Henry I.* or 1129, when the council held at London suspended all married archdeacons and priests. He says, that his great object in writing his history, was to give an account of the *Historia Britonum*, then so exceedingly popular; that he had searched carefully for this history, which contained things that no other historian had mentioned; that he had found it, and given the substance of it. This is a neat abridgment of *Jeffry's History.* So that, on this reasoning, *Jeffry's work* must have appeared at least in 1128.

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doubted, if Turpin's work was known anterior to this date; but some late researches have satisfied my mind, that Turpin's work was in existence before the death of Calixtus in 1124, and that this pontiff not only sanctioned, but also published it; that he either wrote it, or caused it to be written, and that his authority gave it the celebrity which produced its rapid circulation and credit, and the numerous romances that either sprung from it, or were eagerly attached to it.³¹ The Pope's motives appear to have been the recommendation of the shrine and church of St. James, in Gallicia; the direction of the military mind of Europe to attack the mussulmen in Spain; and the excitement of the German emperors to imitate Charlemagne in his alleged warfare against the Mahomedan powers, and in his regard for the Roman pontiff, whom he had protected against their assailing enemies, the Lombards.

One of Turpin's heroes, tho not peculiarly distinguished by him, Oger, the king of Denmark, was anciently made the subject of a distinct romance.³² But this shews itself to have been posterior to Jeffry's British History, and the Breton and Welsh tales about Arthur, by exhibiting him in the fairy land with Arthur and his friend Morgana. The British prince determined to throw him out of it. The "baron Oger" persisted in entering, but "the good

³¹ The reasonings and MSS. on which I have formed and grounded this opinion, will be stated in the Appendix to this Chapter. Since it occurred to me from these circumstances, I find that a similar idea has been mentioned by Oudin, in his Comment. Scrip. vol. ii. p. 69; but only to be rejected by others.—I cannot get Oudin's work, to know from himself the foundation of his belief; but I learn from the Bolandist editor of the Acta Sanctorum, that it was built on the words of the Cambridge MS. which will be noticed in the Appendix. But here let me protest against the outrageous language of this too zealous catholic against Oudin, for daring to surmise such a thing of a sainted pope. He calls him an heretic, and an "infelix apostata." Acta Sanc. July, vol. ii. p. 44. Such an appellation on such a subject dishonors him who applies it, and not the person to whom it is applied.

³² A copy is in the MSS. of the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 15. E 6.

king Arthur" as resolutely forbade him.³³ As there appear to be some reasons for thinking this Oger to be one of the warriors celebrated in the Scandinavian traditions and tales³⁴, his name and adventures may have come into Normandy with Rollo and his scalds; and some of the ballads and romances that were attached to Charlemagne and his peers, may have originated from this source.³⁵

Among the other romances of this class, two of the most celebrated among the Anglo-Normans, and abroad, were the *Gestes de Garin*, and the *Quatre fils d'Aymon*. Both of these display much talent in this species of composition, and are not even yet without interest to those who love to trace the spirit, catch the thoughts, and follow the feelings of their ancestors. It favors our idea of the intellectual connexion between the bardic mind of Wales and Breton, and these heroic romances, that both of these extolled warriors, Garin and Aymon, were Norman chieftains, who fought and conquered in the marches of Wales.³⁶

³³ Two passages express these ideas in a rhythm, which, altho so ancient, is nearly as good as Voltaire's *Henriade*:—

Or est le Ber Oger par dedens faerie
Avec le roy Artus et Morgue son amie,
Gloriant, Orient, Saturnus, et Jouvé.

— — — — —
Vouloit le roy Artus jeter hors de faerie
Et ye vouloit entrer a toute sa mesquerie
Mais le bon roy Artus le deffent et destrie.

MS. 1526.

On this subject we may recollect that an old work was printed in 1548, intituled, "*Visions d'Ogeir le Danoi au royaume de Faerie en vers Francois.*" Wart. vol. i. p. 140.

³⁴ See Warton, *Dissert.* vol. i. p. lx. and his last editor's note, p. 21.; and Bartholin, *Antiq. Dan.* pp. 578—579.

³⁵ That in the Faron monastery an ancient sword was kept and shewn as the weapon of one Otger, a Dane, Mabillon confesses, as quoted by Bartholin, p. 579: on its blade were the gilt effigies of a lion and an eagle. Its inscription had fourteen gilt and engraved characters, but was too much obliterated to be read with certainty. But Mabillon, erroneously thinking that Otger was known only from Turpin's history, denies its application to the Danish hero, and assigns it to the "*Austrasii.*" *Ibid.*

If there were songs about Ogier before Turpin, as there are before our eyes old romances concerning him, this weapon may have been ascribed to this personage by popular tradition; tho whether he be the same with Ingwar, as I have hinted, or Holger, or any other Danish champion, I will not pretend to decide.

³⁶ Guarinus was made the vice-comes of Shropshire, in the time of the Con-

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But to enlarge upon the romances of the peers of Charlemagne, would occasion too wide a digression from the direct course of the present History. Emulating spirits emerged in abundance during the thirteenth century to compose them³⁷, and were as fertile in fancy and feeling, and far more picturesque, and often more natural, than the founders of the new school that superseded them, Scudery and Lacalpremade, exhibited themselves to be in these endless volumes of sentimental lore and falsified history, which delighted the world four hundred years afterwards. New fashions of fiction, and new genius to narrate them, have since arisen, blazed and disappeared. But it is pleasing to observe, that some of the best, and even the oldest, aim to uphold the morals, and to improve the manners and character of their contemporaries.

How early this noble spirit actuated the ancient romance writers, we may infer from this admirable passage in the beginning of the ancient French Turpin, which the author gives as his reason for composing his work; "Good examples teach how men should behave towards God, and how they should act honorably in this age; FOR TO LIVE WITHOUT HONOR IS TO DIE."³⁸

queror. Hoare Giral. vol. ii. p. 177; and on the actions of himself and his family, see *ibid.* p. 195. and *Lel. Coll.* vol. i. p. 231. Fitzhamon was the Norman chief and kinsman of William I. who conquered Glamorgan, and parcelled out various lordships and manors to each of the twelve knights who had accompanied him, reserving to himself the castle of Cardiff. Hoare, *ibid.* vol. i. p. 126. Leland calls him, Haymo, erle of Gloucester. *Itin.* vol. iv. p. 54. He was earl of Astremeville in Normandy, and was buried 1102, in the abbey of Tewkesbury, which he had founded. Hoare, *ibid.* p. 131. His eldest daughter married the earl of Gloucester, who fought against Stephen, and so greatly patronized Anglo-Norman literature.

³⁷ Adans, or Adenez, the poet of the duke of Brabant, who died in 1260, went into France, and wrote his *Cleomades* and *Enfances*, *Ogier le Danois*, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, and *Berthe et Repin*, which are still in MS. in the Royal Library at Paris. Hacon de Villeneuve, after 1200, was the author of *Regnauld de Montauban*, and *Garnier de Nanteuil*. To him are ascribed the *Quatre fils d'Aimon*, *Maugis d'Aigremont*, and *Beuves*. *Roquef.* pp. 139, 140. But Warton's *Dissertation*, and his *History of Poetry*, and his last editor's notes, deserve our perusal and our thanks on these subjects.

³⁸ Les bons ensamples enseignent cument home se deit aver ou Dieu; et se

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ander.

The story of Alexander about the same time began to interest the poetical and lettered clergy, who were the prolific authors of these ancient romances. Some wrote on it impressively in Latin³⁹, and others in Romanz or ancient French.⁴⁰ But as this has no particular connexion with Anglo-Norman poetry, it is unnecessary to pursue this branch of the inquiry.⁴¹ Nor is there any necessity for our noticing in detail the other Trouveurs, or composers of romans, who flourished in the end of the twelfth century.⁴² It is sufficient to remark, that the earliest romans we have, were written between the end of the reign of our Henry I. and the accession of our John; and that some of them were either composed by Anglo-Normans, or by authors who visited the court of the Anglo-Norman sovereigns. The taste for fictitious narrations, which began in the twelfth century, con-

contenir oneurement en siecle. Car vivre sans honneur, est morir. Harl. MS. No. 273.

³⁹ Gualter de Castellione wrote the *Alexandreis*, a poem in ten books, each beginning with a letter of the name of Guillelmus, to whom he addressed it, and who was archbishop of Rheims between 1176 and 1201. It was in such request in 1280, that the reading of the classical poets was neglected for it. Fabricius Bib. Med. Lat. 7. p. 328; and see Warton's Hist. vol. i. p. 132.

⁴⁰ See these mentioned by Fauchet des Poet. Franc.—One of the authors, Lambert li Cors, calls himself un clers de Chasteaudun, p. 83; he, and Alexandre de Paris, are stated to have produced the roman on Alexander in 1184. Roquef. p. 158. On this subject Mr. Weber's Metrical Romances may be consulted. His first volume contains the English romance of Kyng Alisaunder. His introduction and notes deserve perusal; and his undertaking, applause and countenance. The prose romance of Alexander is one of the ancient romances, with beautiful ancient drawings, coloured gilt in the MSS. Bib. Reg. 15. E 6.

⁴¹ Of the roman de Florimon, one of those connected with Alexander, and written by Aymon de Chatillon, the MS. in the Harleian Library, No. 3983, will, when inspected by any one, be seen to be the same MS. which M. Galland inspected at Paris, in the library of M. Foucault, and which he describes as 'un peu effacé,' Mem. de l'Ac. Ins. vol. iii. p. 479. He mentions the date of the composition as 1180 in another copy. I think this the true date. The Harleian MS. has 1124 in figures; this was probably the transcriber's mistaking quatre vingt for 24, when he transferred it into figures.

⁴² As Chretien de Troyes, Raoul de Beauvais, &c. On this subject, Mr. Warton's History, vol. i. pp. 114—150, last ed. should be read, and his valuable researches there and elsewhere fairly appreciated. The roman of Guy of Warwick is in French prose, in the Bib. Reg. 15. E 6. and in rhymed French verse, 8. F 9. Hearne has printed the account of Guy of Warwick, as told by Girard Cornubiensis, at the end of his Chronicon of Dunstaple. The story is also in Knyghton, 2324; and see Warton's Hist. vol. i. p. 146.

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tinued thro the next, and was cherished by Henry II. and his co-reigning son, who was called Henry III. and afterwards by his grandson, the historical Henry III. But they soon became distinguished from real history⁴³, and were pursued as a distinct species of composition.

⁴³ Thus Chardre declares, that in the life of his Saint he will not 'trover' in fables, and alludes to some romances as such—

Ne voil pas en fables trover—
Ne ja sachez ne parlerum
Ne de Tristram ne de Galerum
Ne de Renard ne de Hersente
Ne voil pas mettre mentente.—MS. Calig. A 9.

So Denis Priamus says of the Parthenope—

Si dist il bien de cele matiere
Cum de fable e de menceonge
La matire ressemble suonge.

On the same ground he remarks of Marie's Lays—

Ke ne sunt pas de tut verais.—MS. Dom. A 11.

APPENDIX.

On the Author of Turpin's History of Charlemagne.

THE various opinions that have been entertained on this point of antiquarian and bibliographical research have been already noticed; but it has always remained so much in doubt, that Schmink, in his valuable edition of Eginhart, after all his pains to discover who was the fabulous competitor of this true historian of Charlemagne; could only express his own conviction, that it was written when the crusades had been commenced, and then leave the subject for others to draw it out of what he calls, its impenetrable obscurity. p. 8.

The conclusion to which my own inquiries have led me, I have found mentioned but by one preceding author, Oudin, whose opinion has been noticed only to be discredited.

I was not aware that he had entertained it, when the combination of the evidence that I found, impelled my own mind to it. But I think it is the just one; and to induce others to consider if it be not so, I will state the train of thought as it has occurred, which has inclined me to believe that this work owes its origin to pope Calixtus II. and was published and authenticated by him, and was written by him, or under his directions, to promote views that he believed to be important and beneficial to society, tho he chose to follow the bad taste of the age in advancing them by a supposititious work.

Searching to ascertain whether the Turpin or Jeffry's British History was the most ancient, I saw that Mons. Roquefort had, like Ginguené, adopted Warton's assertion, that pope Calixtus had, in 1122, declared the book to be genuine; and as I was at first inclined to doubt if Turpin's book was written so early, I was desirous to look into the authorities on which Warton had grounded his fact.

He quoted for it the *Magnum Chronicon Belgicum*, with a direction to compare Long's *Bibliothèque* and *Lambecius*. I did so, and found no mention of the circumstance in the

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two latter; but that the Belgic Chronicle thus states it, as I have cited in the preceding note ⁽²³⁾, — “Idem Calixtus Papa fecit libellum de miraculis S. Jacobi et statuit historiam Sancti Caroli descriptam a beato Turpino Remensi archiepiscopo esse authenticam. Hæc ex Chronicis.” *Rer Germ. Pist.* p. 150.

This old chronicle thus asserts the fact, and refers to other preceding chronicles upon it: these earlier chronicles I have not been able to trace. I find the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincentius Bellovacensis referred to by others, as also ascribing it to Calixtus. He wrote about 1248. I have examined the ponderous folio MS. of his first seventeen books, but these do not mention it, and the British Museum does not contain his latter ones, in which must be what he has said about pope Calixtus and Turpin.

The earliest chronicle after the Belgic one that alludes to this work is that of Werner Rolvinck. This author, in his *Fasciculus Temporum*, written about 1490, has this passage on Calixtus; “Fecit libellum de miraculis Sancti Jacobi. Statuit etiam historiam Caroli descriptam a beato Turpino.” p. 75.

Schmink says that Siffredus Misnensis and Gobelinus Persona, have followed the *Magnum Chronicon*. p. 81.

These authorities were sufficient to indispose me from hastily discrediting the asserted fact, that Calixtus had sanctioned the work; but made me curious to discover why he should meddle with it.

I read over Turpin's *History of Charlemagne* again. It was clearly no part of his general and authentic history, nor of any other known tradition; but it was an account of his pretended exploits in Spain, added to all that before had been truly narrated or popularly circulated about him. Its greatest object appeared manifestly to be, to exalt the fame of St. James of Spain, and to recommend devotions to him there, not generally as an apostle, but specially to his asserted relics and church at Compostella in Gallicia. I remembered how fashionable a thing it became in England to make pilgrimages to him there during the middle ages, as I have already noticed (vol. iv. p. 10.) and I became more interested in the inquiry.

Turpin's book begins with the appearance of St. James in a dream to Charlemagne, to inform him that the saint's body lay buried in Gallicia, in the power of the Saracens, and to urge him to deliver that province from their sway. The emperor obeys: and in the next chapter St. James, by mira-

culous aid, gives him Pampeluna and Gallicia. He builds churches to the saint, from gratitude and devotion: and a long chapter is employed in describing his visit to the city of Saint James in Spain. It is obvious that the subjection of the mussulmen in Spain, and the recommendation of Saint James's church, city, and relics there, and the celebrity given to Charlemagne for having exerted himself on these objects, are the main topics and the manifest drift of the work, and were the motives that induced the author to compose it.

But how was pope Calixtus connected with these points more than any other pope, or than any other individual? Le Beuf's idea at first seemed more natural, that a Spanish canon, to exalt his own order and country, was the author; and yet Calixtus, who reigned in St. Peter's chair scarcely six years, from 1119 to 1124, was declared to have pronounced this book to be authentic.

Both the Belgic chronicle and Rolvinck mentioned that this pope had composed a book on the miracles of St. James. Was this so? Here was the first point of inquiry, and my researches into it removed all doubt of this fact. Trithemius, in his Script. p. 270, mentions that he wrote such a book; and again, in his Chron. p. 111, adding that he composed it "when he was yet a scholar, as he confesses in it." The same work is also ascribed to him by Paulus Langf. Mon. p. 785, referring to Vincentius. But the most satisfactory evidence of this to my mind, was the language of cardinal Baronius, the most orthodox historian and zealous supporter of the papal see. He says, "Fuit plane *studiosissimus Sti. Jacobi* Compostellani et de *ejus miraculis* volumen confecit," from which he adds, "Vincentius inserted some things in his *Speculum Historiale*." Vol. xii. p. 145.

That this pope peculiarly attached himself, not to St. James generally as an Apostle, but to St. James as revered in Gallicia in Spain, and sought peculiarly to recommend and advance his shrine, relics, and church, at Compostella, other testimonies concurred to prove. He made the bishop of St. James a metropolitan, or archbishop. He published an order, that Englishmen might go on a pilgrimage to his church in Gallicia, and have even all the benefits from it that they would derive from performing one to Rome, provided they went *twice* to St. James for one journey to St. Peter's. Baron. vol. xii. p. 144-5. He wrote also four "Sermones" on St. James, which the able Jesuit and historian, Mariana, found in an old MS. and which the ecclesiastical editors of the valuable work, "Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum," have printed in its 20th volume, p. 1278.

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These facts led me to the conjecture, that this pope himself composed, or was concerned in this work of Turpin's, and influenced me to pursue the inquiry with more diligence and interest. I became therefore desirous to know more about him, to see if the supposition was at all probable, from his personal character or conduct.

Who was Pope Calixtus II. ? — By birth a Burgundian ; Chron. Constat. p. 637. — son of a count of Burgundy ; Rolv. 75 ; Labbe, Conc. 10, p. 825. — of royal blood and ancestry ; God. Vit. p. 506 ; Ch. Cassin. Labbe, ib. — and a kinsman of the emperor Henry V., W. Tyre — having been a monk of the monastery “ Fulleri,” Ciaccon. p. 474, he had been the legate of the Pope in Spain, and had composed his four sermons “ in laudem S. Jacobi apostoli habiti in ecclesia Compostellana,” while he was the papal legate there. Aguerre Notit. Concil. p. 282. These circumstances connected him closely with the main subject and object of Turpin's book. But when I also observed that at the time when he was chosen pope he was the archbishop of Vienne in France — Rob. De Monte, p. 617 — new light seemed to dart upon the subject.

The letter of Turpin's, which begins the work, is addressed to a pretended dean of Vienne, and mentions that it was at Vienne that his friend had asked him to compose it. It was impossible to observe this without immediately recollecting the disregarded assertion of Guy Allard, that this book had been composed at Vienne, and was of the year 1092, and that a monk of St. Andrew there was its real author. This date suits the time of Calixtus. He ruled, as pope, from 1109 to 1124, and he had been archbishop of Vienne, and legate in Spain, before 1109. This chronology approaches very near to that assigned by Allard to the book, especially if this, like his work on the miracles, was written when he was young ; and it is so peculiar that Allard should have placed the time of its composition in this period, and its locality at this place, and have made the author one of its monks, that we cannot but infer that these things were not like Grypheander's, those of surmise or reasoning, but must have been based on some specific evidence that occasioned Allard to assert them. What this particular evidence was, as he has not recorded, we cannot now know ; but it remarkably harmonizes with the conclusion which these observations are intended to justify.

The authentic history of this pope, instead of discountenancing our idea of tracing this work to him, is very favor-

able to it. He shewed himself to be a martial character. He was opposed by a competitor, Burdinus, who, according to the policy of all catholic historians, having disputed the chair with the successful, and finally acknowledged and canonical pontiff, is therefore decried by them as a wicked and impious wretch: but whom Baluz thought to be sufficiently estimable to deserve a Life and panegyric, which he has inserted in his *Miscellanies*, vol. iii. But as soon as possible after he had been elected at Vienne, Calixtus set off for Rome, and having got together an army of Normans, marched boldly with them after his rival in Italy; attacked, took him prisoner at Sutrium, by force, and putting him into a bear's skin, and placing him on a camel, with his face to its tail, which he made him hold by his hand, sent him ignominiously to the Cassino convent near Salernum—W. Tyre. Pandolph. Labbe, p. 826, where he was confined in a cave for the rest of his life. God. Vit. 506.

The most famous of the other exertions of Calixtus, was his maintenance of the papal quarrel raised by Gregory VII. with the German emperors, on the investiture of the bishops. He insisted that this should rest with the popes, which, if fully obtained as struggled for, would have substantially given to them the appointment of all the bishops in Europe. Although he was related to Henry V. and had been raised to the tiara chiefly by his influence, yet, at the request of two German metropolitans, he excommunicated his imperial kinsman and patron. Henry V. was the husband of our empress Maud, the celebrated daughter of our Henry I., the mother of Henry II., and the lady who led the civil war in England so vigorously, for her son, against Stephen.

But the alarming conspiracy that was formed against Henry V., amid the very celebration of his nuptials, by his prelates and nobles, compelled him to an accommodation with Calixtus. Other powers interfered on his behalf, and the contest with Calixtus was at last settled by an arrangement, that the emperors should invest bishops with their temporal honors and possessions, and the popes with their spiritual rights, powers, and privileges. On this concession, the pope absolved Henry from his excommunication. God. Vit. 506. Thus, says Labbe, a most grateful peace was restored, forty-nine years after the great discord had begun between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. p. 827. The *Belgic Chronicle* says, that "from this the church under Calixtus grew to a great mountain." p. 150.

But Calixtus was as zealous for crusades against the mus-

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sulmen, as he was for the exaltation of the papal power, and for the recommendation of the shrine of Compostella. In 1123, he headed the council of Lateran, in which crusaders were exhorted to "go to Jerusalem to defend the Christian faith, and fight the tyranny of the infidels." That they were also encouraged and directed to make expeditions against them in Spain, is evident from the clause in the acts of this council, which mentions "those who are known to have placed the crosses on their garments for the Jerusalem or for the *Spanish* journey." Labbe quotes, with approbation, the remark of Baluz, that the connexion of Palestine with Spain, shews that the journey to the latter was not a mere pilgrimage. But on this point the evidence is direct and positive; for Baluz also mentions, that in the archives of the church of Barcelona was an epistle of Calixtus II., "ad universos fideles," in which he grants the same remission of sins to those who should fight in Spain against the Saracens, as Urban had granted to the Palestine crusaders. Labbe, p. 837.

Thus the great motives and objects which the contents of the book indicate the author to have had in its composition, meet in Calixtus—the peculiar recommendation of St. James in Spain, and of a crusading warfare against the Mahomedans there. It was also his interest and policy to induce the emperors of Germany, who were becoming so formidable to the popedom by their possessions and growing power in Italy, to divert, employ and exhaust their strength in such expeditions; and this remark opens a view to the reason of connecting St. James with Charlemagne, and of making the first pope-crowned emperor of Germany the hero of the tale.

That an idea of this Henry V., imitating Charlemagne on this very point, was at that very time in the mind of some of the clergy of Europe, is proved by a curious passage in our William of Malmsbury. Speaking of this very agreement between Calixtus II. and Henry V., he says, "All Christendom rejoiced that the emperor, who in the approximating glory of his courage might press fiercely on the *footsteps of Charlemagne*, would also not degenerate from his devotion towards God." Hist. L. v. p. 170. I cannot account satisfactorily to myself for our old historian connecting Henry V. more than his own sovereign, or any body else, with Charlemagne, unless something had occurred at that time to lead to this association, and to make it one of the clerical notions of the day. That the pope should have diffused it, and should have thus published or sanctioned such a book as Turpin's,

would be in perfect concord with such an intimation; and that he should have sent out this work to induce the German emperors to do what Charlemagne is there stated to have done, and what Malmshury means by not degenerating from Charlemagne in his devotion towards God, is not only probable from all the preceding circumstances, but is also the result which this book actually produced.

It did not indeed make Henry V. imitate Charlemagne in an attack on the infidels; for his sudden, mysterious, and to this moment unaccounted-for disappearance from his throne and the world¹, before even Calixtus died, and almost immediately after his accommodation with the pope, prevented that. But in the same century, the first of his successors that had the requisite capacity and power, led a crusade into Palestine, and preceded it by the singular circumstance, which could have arisen only from the effect of Turpin's book, of joining a subsequent pope to make Charlemagne a *saint*.

The rescript of the emperor Frederic I., on this curious fact, is printed by Lambecius from the MSS. of the Vienna library. In this, which is dated in 1165, he says, that "animated by the glorious deeds and merits of the most holy emperor Charles, and at the sedulous petition of Henry, king of England (Henry II.), and with the assent and authority of the Pope Paschal," he declares Charlemagne to be an elect and most holy confessor, and as such to be venerated on earth. Lamb. Bib. Ces. v. 2, p. 341.

The antiphonæ and hymns to be addressed to him are also printed here. And thus this emperor Frederic, who thus sainted Charlemagne, by imitating him in an expedition against the Saracens, fulfilled the dearest wish of the papacy, that the active German emperors should so divert their dreaded and dangerous power.

The natural effect of all the above circumstances is, to support the credit of the Belgic Chronicle in its assertion that Calixtus did authenticate Turpin's book; and they all combine to increase the probability that this pope was connected with its appearance; but I had hitherto obtained no direct evidence on the subject, and as the Vienna MS. contained that passage on the description of the arts alleged to be painted by Charlemagne on his palace, which was not in the two printed copies, I resolved to inspect the MSS. of Turpin's book in the British Museum, which, tho Wharton has

¹ See the 1st vol. of this History, p. 175.

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noticed, no one seemed to have examined with the same object in view which I was pursuing, and to observe whether they gave any evidence for or against the conclusion to which my own mind was now so strongly impelled.

I found eight MSS. of Turpin's book in this valuable museum. They are, Harl. No. 108.; Claude. B 7; Vesp. A 13; Titus, A 19; Nero. A 11; Big. Reg. 13. D 1; Harl. No. 2500; Ib. No. 6358; and an old French translation of it, Ib. No. 273., and its substance put into Latin rhyme, Bib. Reg. 13. A 18.

ALL these contain that passage which describes the seven arts, which the two printed copies have omitted, not being in the MS. they were taken from, but which Lambecius found in the Vienna MS. as Vossius did in another at Rotterdam. (Hist. Lat. v. 2. p. 32.) On this passage Le Beuf justly remarks, that in its account of music it mentions a chant from four lines; and as lines were not invented till the 11th century, it proves the book not to have been composed till after musical lines had come into use in the 11th century.

The first MS. which I inspected was the parchment Harleian MS. N° 108. In this there is a direct assertion that Pope Calixtus had declared the work to be authentic. It begins, after the table of contents, 'Incipit liber Turpini Archiepi Remensis, quomodo Karolus rex Francorum adque-sivit Hispaniam. *Hunc librum dicit Kalixtus Papa esse autenticum.*' p. 5. Thus this MS. gives an ancient corroboration of the assertion of the great Belgic Chronicle. In the same MS. and immediately following Turpin's Chronicle, and as a continuation, is, 'Explicit liber Turpini de gestis Karoli. Kalixtus ppa de inventione corporis Turpini.' p. 27. Thus ascribing to the same pope the description of finding the body of the pretended Turpin, and by that, identifying the pope with the construction of his fictitious character.

The substance of this account, thus given as the statement of the pope, is the same which Lambecius found in his Vienna MS. It is, that the Beatus Turpinus, soon after the death of Charlemagne, died at Vienne, from the result of his wounds and labors, and was buried near the city, beyond the Rhone.—That his *most holy* body 'in our times certain of our clergy found in a sarcophagus, clothed in episcopal garments, and yet entire in its own skin and bones;' that from this church, then in a devastated state, they brought the body into the city, and buried it in another church, 'ubi nunc veneratur.' It adds, 'It is to be believed that those who have suffered martyrdom in Spain for the Christian faith, are

deservedly crowned in heaven;’ and it declares, ‘that the 16th July, the day on which he died, should be celebrated with the solemn office for the dead, with vigils and masses.’

It was a striking coincidence to find that this statement made Vienne the seat of the alleged discovery of Turpin’s pretended body; and connected Calixtus, the archbishop of the place, with its factitious story, and made the revival of Turpin’s name so synchronous with the time of the first appearance of this book.

Another MS. of Turpin’s work, in the Harleian library, N° 6358, exhibited itself to be of peculiar importance, from the time of its composition. It is on parchment, and contains all Turpin, and the passage on the arts; and in its table of the chapters, intitles the part on Turpin’s body with the name of the same pope, having left a blank for his initial letter, that it might be inserted in an ornamented manner. That chapter is therefore thus denoted: ‘... alixtus Papa de inventione corporis beati Turpini.’ It makes 16 kal. Junii the day of his solemnity; and is followed in the same hand, and as a part of the work of the same writer who had transcribed the rest, by a genealogy from Moroveus, ending with Ludovicus being the father of Philip ‘*qui nunc regnat.*’ Thus fixing its own date as that of the reign of Philip Augustus, who died 1223. It ends with a paragraph on the Norman dukes and sovereigns, to John, and seems to have applied the same words to him as to Philip; but after the word ‘*qui,*’ is a blank, with an erasure, followed by Amen, as if the words ‘*nunc regnat*’ had been inserted and afterwards scratched out. Now, John died in 1216. My inference is, that it was witten during his life, and therefore before 1216; but that he died while the MS. remained in the writer’s hands, who therefore erased the *nunc regnat*. But in either case it is a complete testimony that at least before 1223, and probably before 1216, the account of the finding of Turpin’s body was asserted and believed to be the account of Pope Calixtus.

Thus far all these circumstances and MSS. expressly connect Calixtus with Turpin and his book and its subjects, and leave little doubt that it made its appearance under his sanction, and for purposes for which he was deeply interested; but two other MSS. which succeeded, gave direct and positive assurances to this important fact.

One of these was an old paper MS. of the Cotton Library, Titus, A 19. This like the Vienna MS. and the preceding, subjoins to Turpin the account of finding his body, which it

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also intitles ‘Calixtus Papa de inventione corporis beati Turpini.’ p. 39. Thus, like the others, referring this statement to this Pope as its author.

But this MS. goes farther:—It adds next, a letter of Pope Innocent, who was the second successor of Calixtus in 1130, in which this Pope declares *that Calixtus first published this book* ‘Hunc codicem a Dno Kalixto *primitus editum*; and he asserts its veracity, and places it among the authentic books, —‘quem verbis veracissimum; actione pulcherrimum ab herotheca (heretica) et apocrifia pravitate alienum et inter ecclesiasticos codices autenticum, auctoritas nostra vobis testificatur.’

This same MS. then adds the laudatory approbation of seven prelates to this book, and they avow that their motive for thus supporting it, was to which I have ascribed its composition, and which Calixtus was so studious to promote, the exaltation of St. James in Spain. For this reason I will transcribe the words ascribed to them in the MS.—

‘Ego Albricus legatus Prosul Hostiensis *ad decus S^{ti} Jacobi* cujus servus sum hunc codicem legalem et per omnia laudabilem fere predico.

‘Ego Amoricus Cancellarius hunc librum *veracem* fere *ad honorem S^{ti} Jacobi* manu mea scribenda affirmo.

‘Ego Girardus de Sancta Cruce Cardinalis hunc codicem preciosum *ad decus S^{ti} Jacobi* penna mea scribendo corrobore.

‘Ego Guido Patavus Cardinalis quod Dns Papa Innocentius testatur affirmo.

‘Ego S. S. Cardinalis nepos Dni Papæ Innocentii hunc codicem per omnia laudo.

‘Ego Guido Lombardus Card. librum istum bonum *ad decus S^{ti} Jacobi* glorifico.

‘Ego G. G. Ihenia Card. hunc codicem *ad decus S^{ti} Jacobi* laudo.’

According to this part of the MS. the Pope Innocent, as well as these prelates and cardinals, authenticated and praised Turpin’s work, and for the honor of St. James.

But in the next page follows that document which I presume to be the authority on which the chroniclers have asserted that Calixtus declared the book to be a genuine work. It begins, ‘Calixtus Episcopus servorum Dei dilectis — fratribus Episcopis Ecclesiæ, ceterisque ecclesiæ personis omnibus Christianis,’ &c.

After some introduction it proceeds — ‘My most beloved sons, I beg your affection to understand how great an autho-

city it is to go to Spain to attack the Saracens, and with how much reward they will be remunerated who willingly proceed thither; for Charlemagne, the king of France, most famous, far beyond other kings, is reported to have directed, with innumerable labors, expeditions to Spain to attack its perfidious nations; and the blessed Turpin his associate, having collected a council, &c. went there—afterwards returned, as he has related in ‘*Gestis ejus, scribente Divina auctoritate corroborata.*’—These last words seem to give the book the merit even of inspiration.

The Pope, in this document, is then made to declare that all who shall go to Spain or to Jerusalem will receive the reward of martyrs. He adds, ‘*Never* was there at any former time such a great necessity to go there as there is at this day.’—He then commands all the prelates to announce this at their meetings, and all priests not to cease to exhort the laity in their churches, and promises heaven to those who shall carry about his letter from place to place and church to church. The MS. then describes four roads by which the route to St. James may be taken, with great particularity.

The other MS. of this work, which I inspected, Nero, A 11. is older than the preceding. It contains Turpin’s History and the passage on the seven arts; and also the chapter, which, like the other MSS. it intitles ‘*Kalixtus Papa de inventione corporis beati Turpini;*’—and then adds the work of Kalixtus, mentioned by Baronius and the others, on the miracles of St. James; thus heading it: ‘*Incipit argumentum Kalixti Papæ de miraculis beati et gloriosi Apostoli Jacobi,*’ &c. Some he says he heard of, some he found written, and some he saw. He dates eight of them in 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1107, and in 1110; and in the beginning he orders his MS. to be deemed authentic.—‘*Precepimus ut codex iste inter viridicos et autenticos codices deputetur in ecclesiis et refectoriis diebus festis ejusdem Apostoli aliisque si placet diligenter legatur.*’ p. 38.

There follows in p. 59, another letter of Calixtus to the convent of Clugny, in which he says he sends them the MS. of St. James for their correction. A statement then is made that he had loved St. James from his childhood; that he had travelled with the MS. for fourteen years, and had encountered many dangers, by sea, fire, imprisonment, and lost his other goods, but that this MS. always escaped, and therefore he thought it was acceptable to God. St. James also appeared to him in a vision, and bade him finish it. He speaks of his book as consisting of two parts; this is manifestly

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inserted by the author of the MS. as relating to Turpin's book, as well as to the addition on the miracles of St. James.

A letter, under the name of the Pope Innocent, asserting the 'codicem' to have been 'a Papa Calixto primitus editum,' is subjoined; but as in some parts it resembles, so in others it differs from that ascribed to the same Pope in the other MS.

Thus stands the question upon the face of these MSS. Of the genuineness of these letters, thus attributed to these Popes, I give no opinion, for I cannot judge; arguments on both sides of the question might be urged. But even if any of them be factitious, their very forgery would be evidence that Calixtus was at the time thought to be concerned in this book of Turpin's, or he would not have been the pope to whom it would have been attached. The fabricators would have made a pope nearer to the time of Charlemagne the voucher of its authenticity, and not one so recent as Calixtus, unless Calixtus had become notorious about it.

After writing the above, it occurred to me to inspect the Acta Sanctorum. There I found a copy of the treatise of Calixtus on the miracles of St. James; July, vol. 6. corresponding with that in the MS. of Nero, A 11. It is published in the Acta from two MSS.; one, of the 'Monasterii Marchianensis;' the other, of the 'Basilicæ St. Petri;' both of which ascribe it to Calixtus; and the editor mentions that he had found it under his name, 'in plurimis bibliothecis,' and that it was attributed to him 'passim a scriptoribus,' and was referred to by Vincentius as his genuine offspring. But the editor says he cannot persuade himself that it is his exactly as he wrote it.

This commentator admits that the letter of Innocent II. approving of these works of Calixtus, has been published by Mariana as genuine; and he gives the letter of Calixtus to the convent of Clugny, which thus explicitly supports and recommends Turpin's book, and which is apparently that document by which, as the Belgic Chronicle and MSS. state, he declared it to be authentic. In this, after declaring of the book on St. James, 'quidquid in eo scribetur authenticum est,' he adds, '*Idem de Historia Caroli quæ a beato Turpino Remensi Archiepiscopo describetur, statuimus.*' Acta Sanct. p. 44. He says that Vincentius, who lived about a century after Calixtus, ascribes this to the Pope.

From this editor I learn that Oudin ascribed it to Calixtus, on the authority of a MS. of Benedict college in Cambridge, p. 44. I have not seen this MS.; but in the catalogue of

the Benedict MSS. I find both these works thus described:—
 ‘No. 1317, Calixtus Papa super miracula S^{ti} Jacobi Apostoli.—Idem, super translatione ejusdem.—Liber Turpini.—
 Calixtus Papa de inventione corporis Turpini.—Hunc librum
 dicit Calixtus Papa esse authenticum.’ Catal. p. 133.

Thus the MSS. in all countries ascribe to this Pope its publication and authentication. It is easy to assert, and as easy to argue, that these letters are not genuine. We all know how plausibly numbers have written on Ossian, Rowley, Junius, and Ireland Shakspeare, on both sides of the question: here all the written testimony is on one side only. I will only add, that the rational probabilities of the question seem to be, that if Calixtus had not been concerned in giving this book of Turpin’s to the world, his name would not have been so pertinaciously and universally attached to it. No other but the person mentioned by Allard has been, on any authority, assigned to it; and what he says connects it also with the place of which Calixtus was the prelate. The monk of St. Andre may have been the real author, under Calixtus, and the Pope the public father.

It is also to be remarked, that altho these ancient authorities attach it to Calixtus, there is no ancient authority that contradicts the ascription.

I will only add one other circumstance that I have observed, which may have had some connexion in this Pope’s mind, with this subject. The real Turpin was archbishop of Rheims; and it was to Rheims that the body of the only Pope who bore the name of Calixtus,—viz. Calixtus I.—was transported. And it is apparently a coincidence worth remarking, that as the letter on Turpin, attributed to Calixtus, makes Turpin’s dead body to be found in a place laid waste by war, and to be carried to Vienne, so the dead body of Calixtus I. was taken from another place which the Danes had devastated, and was brought into Rheims. Flod.

The reader will now judge for himself how far it is right or wrong to consider Calixtus as the real or putative father of Turpin’s book.

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MAGNE.

APPENDIX II.

That Jeffry's British History probably originated from the political views of Henry I.

THE perception that the History of Turpin so visibly originated from the objects and feelings, and was principally pushed into celebrity by the authority of Calixtus II. leads the mind to inquire whether the British History, of Jeffry of Monmouth, was also connected with any worldly interests, or promoted by any worldly policy of the court of England, in the beginning of the twelfth century. It was written, and seems to have been made public, during the latter portion of the reign of Henry I.

The first dated proof we have of the existence of Jeffry's book, is the year 1139. Our historian, Henry of Huntingdon, in his letter to Warinus of Bretagne, who had asked him why he had omitted in his history all the incidents between Brutus and Julius Cæsar, answers, that, altho he had very often inquired, he could not find any knowlege of those times, either from verbal tradition, or in writing, till the year 1139, when, going to Rome with the archbishop Theobald, he was astonished to find (*stupens inveni*) at Bec, of which Theobald had been abbot, the written account of those transactions. A monk here, Robert of Thorigney, a very zealous collector of books, brought him Jeffry's book to read. Harl. MSS. No. 1018. There is also a letter of this Robert de Thorigney, which mentions his putting this book into Henry's hands, and that Huntingdon had carried his history down to the death of Henry I. or 1135. MS. *ib.* Therefore, Huntingdon knew nothing of Jeffry's History in 1135, but saw it at Bec in 1139.

Jeffry addresses the Prophecies of Merlin, which he stopped in the middle of his work to translate, to Alexander, bishop of Lincoln. l. 7. cc. 1. & 2. But Alexander was raised to this see in 1123; M. Pac. 69.; therefore this history could not have been either published or completed before 1123. Thus we have these two extreme terms, within which the book must have been made public — not earlier than 1123, not later than 1139.

But Alured of Beverley has inserted an abridgment of it in his history. This history he ends just after Michaelmas in the 29 Henry I. or in October 1128. As he leaves off very abruptly at this period, it has been inferred that he died soon afterwards. Hearne's Pref. p. 28. Voss. Hist. Lat. 369. But the old biographers, Pitts and Bale, place his death in 1136. On these latter authorities, Jeffry's History must have been published before 1136. But the expressions of Alured in the beginning of his book, already remarked upon (see before, p. 501.), indicate that he had met with Jeffry's History in 1128; therefore the correct chronology of its publication appears to stand thus:—It could not have appeared before 1123, and must have appeared before 1136 or 1139, and most probably was made public in 1128. This statement shews that it was composed or translated in the latter portion of the reign of Henry I. and decides the question as to the priority of Turpin or Jeffry. I once doubted if Turpin's work had not been an imitation of Jeffry's; but since I have satisfied myself that Turpin's work was sanctioned by Pope Calixtus, in 1122, it must have preceded Jeffry's, which could not have appeared till after 1123.*

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How far Jeffry's British History promoted the political interests and objects of Henry I.

I. HENRY had taken the crown not only against the hereditary right of his brother Robert, but also in violation of the compact made between that prince and William Rufus and his barons, which appointed him to succeed the latter. Robert was in Palestine when Henry usurped it, and upon his return to claim it, almost all the barons deserted Henry and joined Robert. Alan. Proph. Merl. l. 2. p. 74. The clergy and the English barons interfered, and influenced Robert to compromise his claim; but the public feeling was not in favor of Henry's rectitude; he was ridiculed and called 'queen goods-rich,' ib. p. 74, and was also in danger of revolts. It was therefore most important for him to have a book appear, in which an accredited and revered prophet should have foretold his reign, and described his actions. His severities to repress the violences and oppressions of his barons, and to reduce them to a subordination to law and the crown, and

* Some other dates connected with it may be noticed. It is addressed to Robert earl of Gloucester; he died in 1147. Jeffry was made bishop of St. Asaph in 1151; Matt. Paris, p. 84; and died 1154. Wart. Angl. Sax. vol. ii. Alexander died 1147; M. Par. p. 82. H. Hunt, p. 394.

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his pecuniary levies from his subjects, had made him many enemies and caused many insurrections.

No policy could be more deep and effectual than to have also all these things predicted by an authority which that age venerated; hence, all these were made part of the prophecies ascribed to Merlin, and inserted by Jeffry in his book. The following were understood at that time to be spoken by Merlin of Henry, and are so interpreted by Alanus de Insulis, his contemporary.

‘The lion of justice shall succeed; at whose roar the Gallic towers and island dragons shall tremble. In his days gold shall be extorted from the lily and the nettle, and silver shall flow from the hoofs of those which low. Those that curl their hair shall be clothed in various fleeces, and the exterior habit shall shew the interior things. The feet of those that bark shall be cut off. Wild beasts shall have peace. Humanity will be grieved at the punishment. Money shall be made round. The rapacity of the kites shall perish, and the teeth of the wolves be blunted.’

Alanus explains this of Henry. He raised money both from the good and bad, the clergy and the laity, or the lily and the nettle. A tax was laid by him on all sales of cattle. He forbade hunting. Many nobles were accused of conspiring against him, and punished. He ordered the oboli to be made round, and he put an end to the depredations and rapines of the great and gentry. Alan. p. 79. The prophecy is also made to foretell that he would buy his kingdom of Robert. Ib. 123.

Thus his own reign, and the actions of his government that were most objected to, instead of being usurpation and tyranny, were represented to be fulfilments of the Divine ordinations. Nothing could be more artfully contrived to turn the prejudices of the people in his favor.

II. Normandy, having been extorted from France, and the smaller power, was always in danger of being re-absorbed by the French government. But when its dukes became kings of England, the French crown became in its turn endangered; and thus the two sovereigns were thrown into a continual state of jealousy and discord with each other.

But France had become a peculiar object of dread and dislike to Henry, from its crown claiming to have Normandy held as a fief from it, and therefore assuming to be its sovereign lord, and as such exacting homage and feudal honors from the king of England, as the condition of his holding Normandy. This was not a mere personal mortifica-

tion to kingly pride, but it was a state of the greatest political danger; for it made the Norman barons look up to the king of France as their paramount lord, and on Henry as a military tenant to him of the duchy, to whom they were in subinfeudation. The consequence was, that on any dispute or dissatisfaction with their sovereign in England, they flew off from their allegiance to him, and transferred it to the king of France, or applied to him for assistance against their English lord.

Thus Robert had joined Philip, the king of France, against his own father, the Conqueror. Al. 65. So the same prince, to maintain his war against Rufus, had sent to Philip, as to his chief lord, for aid, who flew to help him against his brother; and a long intestine war ensued in Normandy. Al. 67. The effect of this political condition was, that the Norman barons were, as they are described to be, men who could not be relied on, and who held faith and fealty to neither France nor England.

Hence, it became a great object with Henry to depreciate the crown of France, and to divest it of all its pretensions to the attachment and veneration of both Normandy and England. Many parts of Jeffry's book had visibly this tendency, and operated to produce this effect.

In that day of ancestral pride, it was a peculiar personal object of every king and nobleman to have the highest and most celebrated descent. The Romans having derived themselves from Trojans, the Trojan blood became the noblest in the estimation of their Gothic conquerors. Hence the French kings early claimed the same superior honor: and Hunnibald had fixed it on the Frankish throne, by deriving their nation and royalty from Francio the imagined son of Priam. But as the king of France claimed homage from Bretagne, Normandy, and all the great dukes and counts in France, any superiority of ancestral descent became an auxiliary confirmation of his superior dignity.

It was, therefore, important to the crown of England to paralyze any right that might flow from a Trojan descent, by asserting a similar ancestry. Henry could not immediately deduce the line of his Norman progenitor Rollo from it; but he could attach it to the English crown, and thro that to himself, the existing sovereign, by setting up Brutus as the founder of the monarchy of England, and by making him a Trojan. Accordingly, the first chapters in Jeffry's book make Brutus the great-grandson of Æneas, and deduce both the sovereignty and population of England from this Trojan

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chief. Thus the crown of England became as noble in its ancestral origin as that of France, which by this representation could not pretend to any nobler blood.

But the point of feudal lordship was a question far more vexatious and formidable. In Henry's seventeenth year, or in 1116, many of the Norman barons, who had sworn fealty to him, revolted, and transferred it to Louis of France. *Al. Bev.* 147. This began a quarrel between the two crowns, and a dangerous insurrection in Normandy, which was ended for the time by Henry's son William, three years after, submitting to do homage to the king of France for Normandy. *Ib.* 148. In 1123, the revolts of the barons again brought on war there. Further wars ensued, aided by the king of France, in 1127, which plunged the French and English crowns into a renewed state of hostilities.

To destroy the French crown's right of homage, and to abate the public opinion of its greatness and dignity, Jeffrey's book represented France as having been several times conquered and governed by British kings: — by Brutus, by Ebraucus, by Belinus, and by Arthur. The two last are described to have governed it; and Arthur was represented as having separated Normandy and Anjou from the French crown, and given them to two of his knights and officers. These facts took away the duty of homage from the English crown, and set up a claim of England for the submission to it of France, of which Arthur had been crowned king, all whose regal rights Henry now possessed and exercised.

The right of homage claimed by the king of France from the great states in that country, was further struck at by a denial of any ancient French monarchy there. Jeffrey's book is made to declare, that in the time of Brutus 'Gaul was subject to twelve princes, who with *equal* authority possessed the government of that *whole* country;' *l. 1. c. 13*; and these twelve peers of Gaul came to England and assisted at Arthur's coronation, when he was crowned king of France, and of all the other countries he had conquered. *l. 9. c. 12*. On this representation, the later kings of France could have none but an usurped right to treat its great states as their feudatories.

These circumstances tended to remove from the Norman and English chivalry any dread of the French power; and by shewing how often it had been conquered by Britain, to revive a military ambition and elevation to again invade it, and to seek for profit and glory from attacking it. It was the interest of Henry to excite these feelings, and thereby

to turn the baronial mind from making dangerous connexions with the French king. Arthur's history was therefore of peculiar use to Henry on this vital point.

III. It had also another important connexion with his policy and interest; he had taken the crown of England from his brother Robert, and afterwards Normandy, and imprisoned him for life in Cardiff Castle. But Robert had a son, whom the French king and the Continent favored and assisted, and who obtained the earldom of Flanders, and was urging a dangerous warfare with Henry, at first for Normandy, and consequentially, for England.

Henry was thus endangered and attacked by his nephew William, as Arthur had been by his nephew Modred; the contest in both cases was for the crown of England. Nothing was more alarming to Henry than this situation; his own son's death in 1120 left him and his throne without a male heir. Conspiracies began in favor of his nephew, even in his own court; his barons began to join Robert's son, and he became so alarmed as frequently to change his bed.

It was exactly calculated to abate this state of danger, that Jeffry's book should so fully shew that the death of Arthur and the ruin of the Britons arose from the chief and nation abetting his nephew's rebellion against him. To enforce this topic, the Britons are stated to have lost their liberties and country by their intestine divisions; and Jeffry adds to his author an emphatic address, to dissuade the country from such civil discord. It is the only part in which he takes this trouble. l. 11. c. 9. The last paragraph of his book, l. 12. c. 19., thus enforces the same topic; 'Besides their wars with the Saxons, the country, by quarrels among themselves, became a perpetual scene of misery and slaughter.'

IV. Henry was anxious to obtain the subjection of Wales, and planted a colony of Flemings in it, to promote his ulterior objects. He, like his father, was also desirous to keep Scotland in a state of feudal homage to him. It was promotive of these purposes, that Brutus, the first monarch of Britain, was shewn to have possessed the whole island; that his descendant and the venerated law-maker Dunwallo Molmutius reduced all Great Britain and Wales into obedience to him, and established his legislation over all; l. 2. c. 17.; that his son Belinus had also the sovereignty of the whole island, l. 3. c. 5., and sent a Spanish colony to people Ireland; and that all the succeeding kings, down to Julius Cæsar, were kings of the whole island. With the same view it is said of Arthur, 'The entire monarchy of Britain belonged to him

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by heritary right.' l. 9. c. 1. Arthur invaded Scotland, and there conquered both the Irish and Scots; and, it is added, 'all the bishops of that miserable country came barefooted, and kneeling down implored his mercy for it, since they were willing to bear the yoke he should put upon them,' c. 6. No statement could more benefit Henry in his project of a similar sovereignty than these. This is not a mere speculation. Jeffry's British History was felt to give so firm a foundation for this claim, that Edward I. actually based his right to the sovereignty of Scotland on this book, in his celebrated letter to the Pope, in which he officially thus justified his pretensions to it. The grounds he took from it, were, that Brutus had given England to his eldest son Loclin, and Scotland to his second, on whose death it returned to Loclin; that it was held under the kings of England afterwards, and reconquered by Arthur, to whom its king did homage; and thus, 'all the kings of Scotland have successively been subject to all the kings of the Britons.' Wals. Ypod. 492.

V. A subject deeply interesting to Henry, was to lessen or to destroy the subordination of his great clergy to the papal chair.

As Pope Gregory the Great had sent Austin to convert the Anglo-Saxons, and had thereby founded the English Church and appointed its prelates, all the clergy looked up to the Pope as their religious sovereign; and both of Henry's archbishops, Anselm of Canterbury, and Thurstan of York, had fought the papal battle against him.

Jeffry's book tended to lessen this dependence on the Roman see, and the attachment to it. For, instead of allowing Gregory to have been the first founder of Christianity in Britain, it placed a British king, Lucius, four centuries before, who *himself* desired to be a Christian, and *sent* to Rome for religious instructors. Instead of making the Pope the creator of the prelates of the island, it describes three pagan archflamens, and twenty-eight flamens, to have been converted into the three archbishops and twenty-eight bishops of England and Wales, and that these succeeded to the possessions and territories of the ancient idol temples. l. 4. c. 19. It made the very emperor who established Christianity in the Roman empire, Constantine the Great, to have been born in Britain, son of a British princess, and to have become the emperor of the world. l. 5. c. 6—8. To abate all veneration for Rome, it also described that city and the nation to have been formerly conquered by a British king, Brennus; and it

exhibited Arthur as refusing to pay it the tribute which it claimed, and as defeating all the forces and allies of the empire, which were collected on purpose to enforce it and to attack him. l. 10. c. 1—4. This attack and defeat are made the most prominent object of Arthur's history.

VI. Another point of great moment to Henry was, to induce the barons to be attached, and subordinate and faithful to him; to make the honors, appearance, and festivities of his court their great ambition and desire, and to incite them to be docile and obedient to him. For this purpose, Arthur's barons were represented of this character and conduct; and all the Romances about him made him the venerated and commanding sovereign of his nobles and chivalry. It was important to that unity and internal peace in the nation, as well as to that external greatness from it which Henry desired, that the great should be induced to lay aside their jealousies and competitions with each other, and live in something like fraternal affection. No invention was more calculated to produce this than that idea of the Round Table, equalizing all, and precluding all contest for dignity and precedence on public festivities, which produced so much ill blood and warfare. Hence, to be knights of the round table was made the highest honor and the noblest character of Arthur's court in Jeffry's book, and in all the compositions and tales that originated from it.

It appears to me that those coincidences with Henry's political objects could not have occurred in this book, from mere accident. No less than four times is France represented to have been conquered by those who enjoyed the British crown:—by Brutus; by Belinus; by Maximin; and by Arthur. There is a studied exaltation in this, of Britain above France; so contrary in these facts to all recorded history, that they seem more likely to have been invented to serve a political purpose, than to have casually occurred to a mere fabulous narrator.

The book is also founded on a principle of exciting the ambition and of producing the aggrandisement of Britain; for when Brutus inquires of the oracle of Diana where he shall go, he is directed by that to sail in search of an island which was to become another Troy, and to whose kings '*all the world was to be subject.*' Such a prediction as this, placed at the very head-piece of the book, looks like a design to rouse an extraordinary ambition in the English mind for some great object of worldly policy; to prompt it to large enterprises of aggression against its neighbours, which would

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occupy the great barons and chivalry, and prevent intestine wars.

To these remarks we may add, that Henry had also some inducements to counteract Calixtus in his Turpin's book: he had become involved in a personal dispute with this very Pope. Eadmer, who lived at the time, has informed us, that when Thurstan, the archbishop of York, would not submit to the pre-eminence of Canterbury, but went to Calixtus to be consecrated by him, Henry sent a special messenger to this pontiff, to request him not to do it. Calixtus returned a positive assurance to Henry, that he would do nothing but what the king wished, and yet soon afterwards, in violation of his promise, actually consecrated the refractory Thurstan.

The displeasure of Henry at this conduct, occasioned Calixtus to visit him at Gisors, and to entreat him to befriend Thurstan. The king refused, and told the Pope that he had sworn not to receive him. Calixtus answered, 'I am Apostolicus, and if you will do what I ask, I will absolve you from your vow.' Henry coolly said, he must consult his council. He did so; and sent the Pope this answer: — 'Tho he says that as Apostolicus he will absolve me from my pledge, it does not become the honor of a king to consent to such an absolution; for who will hereafter trust to any one that plights his faith, if he can plead my example in getting such an absolution?' Eadm. 126. After this, Calixtus threatened him with an excommunication, and the archbishop of Canterbury with a suspension. Ib. 137. Henry and Calixtus were thus involved in a personal quarrel with each other.

The book of Turpin, which Calixtus had published and sanctioned, did not become popular in England. Its fables of Charlemagne were not adopted by any of our old chroniclers. Its greatest object was, as we have before remarked, to urge the sovereigns and nobles into crusades against the Mahometans. But it was not Henry's interest to lead his barons that way; for the largest part of his reign he was keeping his brother Robert in a dungeon, whose high reputation had arisen from his actions in Palestine, where he had been offered, and had refused, the kingdom of Jerusalem. Hence, it was Henry's interest to counteract the aim of Calixtus in his Turpin, and by an imitated fictitious work to give the chivalry of his country a different direction — and Jeffry's British History had this effect; for its publication created a quite different description of romantic and narrative composition.

Turpin and Jeffry really head two distinct and opposed

classes of "romans and estories;" corresponding with the different aims of Calixtus and Henry. All the romances of the class of Charlemagne, and that sprang from Turpin, are characterized by recommending and describing battles with the Mahometans; all enforce the wish of Calixtus to make crusades the object of knight-errantry; all the knights in these, fight and conquer Saracens; but in all those which are connected with Arthur, or that originated from Jeffry, no crusades and no battles with the Mahometans are mentioned or recommended. That Arthur lived 200 years before these came into Spain, would have made no difference in the romances of that age, when all history and chronology were set at defiance; and even Alexander the Great was represented in one, to have made a journey to the Roman emperor Constantius. Murat. Ant. p. 958.

By making Arthur the main hero, the mind was indeed led into a different path, and he was therefore wisely chosen to be such; but the fact is clear, that Jeffry's book began a series of romances quite opposed in aim and subject to those of Turpin and Charlemagne.

The book of Jeffry, therefore, however it originated, had the effect of counteracting the book of Turpin and Calixtus; the crusades never became popular in England, nor were supported by its kings, till Henry II. was forced by the pope to promise to undertake one as a penance for Becket's death; yet he only made preparations for it; he never actually undertook one; it was his son, Richard I., who was the first English sovereign that, in 1189, led the force of England into the plains of Palestine.

Having thus shewn how much Jeffry's book was directed in its main subjects to promote the political aims and interests of Henry I. let us inquire —

II. *What does Jeffry himself state as to its composition?*

HE informs us that the actions of Arthur, and other British kings, not mentioned by Gildas or Bede, were pleasingly celebrated by many persons, by heart, as if they had been written; and that while thinking of these, Walter, the archdeacon of Oxford, offered him a very ancient book in the British language, which, in a continued regular story, and elegant style, related the actions of all the British kings, from Brutus to Cadwallader. At Walter's request, he undertook the translation of this book into Latin.

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He then addresses the book to Robert earl of Gloucester, the son of Henry I. that it may be so corrected by this nobleman's advice, that, when polished by his refined wit and judgment, it may be thought to be his production, and not the poor offspring of Jeffry of Monmouth.

He mentions in his 17th chapter, that Gildas the historian has given a large account of the quarrel between Lud, the brother of Cassivellaun, and his other brother Nenius, on his changing the name of London from New Troy to Caer Lud; and adds, "for which reason *I choose to pass it over*, for fear of debasing by my account of it what so great a writer has so eloquently related."

He narrates that Hudibras built Caer-lem, or Canterbury, Caer-guen, or Winchester, and the town of Mount Paladin, now Shaftesbury. "At this place an eagle spoke while the wall of the town was building; and, indeed, *I should not have failed* transmitting the speech to posterity, if *I had thought it true* as the rest of the history." l. 2. c. 9. Thomp. Transl.

After twice mentioning that Gildas had written on the laws of Molmutius, and also on St. German and Lupus, he says of the first Christian teachers of Britain, "their names and acts are recorded in a book which Gildas wrote concerning the victory of Aurelius Ambrosius; and what is delivered in so bright a treatise needs not to be repeated here in a meaner style." l. 4. c. 20.

He thus begins his seventh book: "*I had not got so far* as this place of the history, when the subject of public discourse happening to be concerning Merlin, I was obliged to publish his Prophecies at the request of my acquaintance, but especially of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, a prelate of the greatest piety and wisdom. Out of a desire, therefore, to gratify him, I translated these prophecies, and sent them to him with the following letter." l. 7. c. 1. "The regard I owe to your great worth, most noble prelate! has obliged me to undertake the translation of Merlin's Prophecies out of British into Latin, *before I had made an end* of the history which I had begun concerning the acts of the British kings. For my design was to *have finished that first*, and afterwards to have explained this work; lest by having both upon my hands at once, I should be less capable of attending with any exactness to either." l. 7. c. 2.

He begins his eleventh book with Modred's war with Arthur, thus: "Of the matter now to be treated of, most noble consul! Jeffry of Monmouth shall be silent; but will,

though in a mean style, yet briefly, relate *what he found* in the British book above mentioned, and *heard* from that most learned historian Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, concerning the wars which this renowned king, upon his return to Britain after his victory, waged with his nephew." L. 11. c. 1.

The apostrophe upbraiding the Britons, l. 11. c. 9., is his own insertion; for he begins the next chapter with the words, "But to return to the history." c. 10. He describes some of the British clergy as flying from the Saxons into Wales, others into Bretagne; "But these things I shall relate elsewhere, when I translate the book concerning their banishment." c. 10.

He thus closes his work after Athelstan: "As for the kings that have succeeded in Wales since that time, I leave the history of them to Caradoc of Lancarvan, my contemporary, as I also do the kings of the Saxons to William of Malmsbury and Henry of Huntingdon. But I advise them to be silent concerning the kings of the Britons, since they have not that book written in the British tongue which Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Bretagne, and which being a true history, published in honor of those princes, I have thus taken care to translate." l. 12. c. 20.

As in these passages Jeffry asserts that Walter, the archdeacon of Oxford, had brought out of Bretagne a very ancient book in the British language, containing a regular story of all the British kings from Brutus to Cadwallader, which the archdeacon desired him to translate into Latin; our first question becomes, whether Jeffry's translation gives us all this British book, and only this British book? On this subject we find that he himself declares, that, upon the wars between Arthur and Modred, he has added to the account he found in the ancient book, what he had heard from Walter the archdeacon, l. 11. c. 1. He has also inserted the prophecies of Merlin, l. 7. c. 1, 2.; and the apostrophe on the British civil wars, l. 11. c. 9.

He likewise, as above mentioned, has chosen to pass over the quarrel between the brothers of Cassivellaun, because Gildas had written on them, l. 1. c. 17.; and to omit the prophecy of the eagle on Shaftesbury, because he did not think it true, l. 2. c. 9.

He also has purposely forborne to give the account of the first Christian teachers of Britain, l. 4. c. 20.; and the emigrations of the British clergy into Wales and Bretagne, l. 11.

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c. 10.; but he does not distinctly say that these were in the old British book.

I would not press the point beyond his own admissions; but it is clear that his work is not merely and entirely the old British work — at least in these additions and omissions. We cannot, therefore, be certain whether he has, or not, interpolated or expunged any other parts. He tells us that there were many traditional tales of Arthur and the other British kings in popular circulation, before he received this ancient book, and that he was meditating upon them, and was regretting that they had not been noticed by Gildas or Bede, when it was put into his hands. He has not said whether he has interwoven any of these in his history; but as he did not confine himself to be an exact translator only of the British book, we cannot be sure that his memory did not assist him in his composition. We learn from him that there was an historical work of Gildas on some incidents in the history of Britain, since Cassivellaun, which has since perished; but he does not refer to this author any part of his History of Arthur. This fact, however, is clear, that he assumed the liberty of omitting and adding to his original whenever he pleased. That he has taken this liberty is further proved by what he mentions on Brennius: "But the rest of his actions and his death, seeing they are delivered in the Roman histories, I *shall here* pass over, to avoid prolixity, and meddling with what others have treated of, which is foreign to my design." l. 3. c. 10. This language implies that he has *made up* his work as he liked, as to omissions; and if he has omitted where he chose, and added as he chose, what certainty have we that his work is merely the British book in all its other parts?

From the language of his dedication of Merlin's Prophecies to the bishop of Lincoln, we may infer that it was made known in the circles of the great some time before it was actually published; for he stops in the middle of it to say, that Merlin had then become so much talked of among the public, that he was desired by the bishop to translate the British magician's prophecies; and he tells us, that before he had finished his history he undertook this version. His original plan he declares to have been, to have first finished his history; hence the words of his dedication of it do not prove the time of its composition to have been after the death of Henry I. He is stated to have made two publications of it; the first in four books only, of which a MS. was stated to be in Bennett's College in Cambridge; and afterwards in

eight books, with Merlin's Prophecies. Thompson's Pref. xvii. Hence the date of 1128 for its first appearance does not seem to be disproved. His dedications appear to have varied. The printed copy begins with one to Robert earl of Gloucester. But Simner mentions one MS. at Berne, which had a dedication to king Stephen, the antagonist of Robert. Cat. Bern. Roquef. Etat. p. 143.

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III. *The popularity of the Work.*

IF it were a mere accident that archdeacon Walter, in the reign of Henry I., met the old book in Bretagne, and gave it to an obscure monk of Monmouth to translate into Latin, how came it to attain such a sudden, rapid, and extensive popularity as Alured of Beverley and Henry of Huntingdon imply. We have already alluded to the strong words of the former; we will give them here at length:—

“At that time the narrations of the history of the Britons were reported by the mouths of many; and he who had not the knowledge of such narrations incurred the mark of rusticity. I confess that as much from my reverence for antiquity, for which I always had a high veneration, as from the urbanity of its style, which, tho I was not acquainted with it, was yet very pleasingly present to the younger ones who remembered it, I was often ashamed, amid such confabulators, that I had not yet acquired the aforesaid History; what more? I sought for the History, and as soon as I found it I applied myself most intently to reading it. But while I was delighted with this new reading of ancient things, my mind became eager to transcribe it; but neither opportunity of time nor the state of my purse permitted this. Yet to satisfy my earnest desire in some measure, and to take away a little of the evil of those days, I endeavoured to pluck some of the flowers of this History, not for the learned, but for myself, and for those who, like myself, were ignorant of such things; especially those parts which did not exceed credibility, and would delight the reader and fasten on the memory.” l. 1. p. 2. He mentions, that he should add to his “deflorationes,” what other sources would supply.

That the “British History” which he thus abridged was Jeffry's, no one can doubt, who candidly compares them; tho Hearne, in the occasional oddity of his mind, chose, against Leland, to declare the contrary; “Galfredi non deflorator Aluredus.” Pref. p. 22. But not only the subject, but many

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passages are the same; and the harmonious fourteen hexameters and pentameters of the address to Diana and her oracle, are given verbatim. It is true, Alured does not name Jeffry, but only calls it "The British History;" but this is Jeffry's own title of his work.

It is a fair question to ask, why Alured did not quote it as Jeffry's? The true answer seems to be, that the History was not Jeffry's according to his own account; he was but the Latin translator. It was given by him to the world, as "a very ancient British book brought out of Bretagne," by Walter; so that it was properly called "The British History." As Jeffry's, it could have no authority whatever; nor could it have answered any political purpose to reckon it as his. The object for which it was countenanced and circulated required a far higher authority; and therefore, at the time of its appearance and first popularity, Jeffry's name was sunk, and it was brought forward and spoken of as "The British History." Afterwards, when its political use or tendencies declined, Jeffry's name became applied to it, rather to discredit than to uphold it; then it was spoken of, attacked and decried as his work, and has since been known only with his name.

That it was not spoken of at the time of its appearance as Jeffry's History, and that it was considered as a book of superior authority to his, appears from the passage in Gaimar, which alludes to it. He says that his patroness "Dame Custance la gentil," who caused him to write his "estorie," sent to Helmslac for the book of Walter, whom in this line he calls "Espac." He then adds this particular information about it, which demands attention, as a further account of what was Jeffry's original, and as a supplement to his statement.

"Robert the Great, of Gloucester, caused these 'gestes' to be translated according to the books of the Welsh, which they had of the British kings. Walter Espec asked for it, when Robert sent it to him; then Walter Espec lent it to Arnil, the son of Gilebert. Dame Custance borrowed it of her lord, whom she much loved. Geffrai Gaimar wrote this book, and put in it the narrations which the Welsh had left, which he had thus obtained, whether they were right or whether they were wrong; the good book of Oxford, which was Walter's the archdeacon. He completed well his book from it; and this geste was also completed from the history of Winchester, from Wassingburc, an English book, where he found written of the kings, and of all the emperors that were

lords of Rome, and had tribute from England of the kings whom they had held; of their lives, of their quarrels, of their adventures, and of their actions; how each maintained his country; which loved peace and which loved war. Here he will find all this most fully who will look into this book; and he that does not believe what I say, may inquire of Nicole de Trailli." MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

This Walter Espec was Sir Walter Espec, of Helmsley, who is mentioned with much celebrity by some of our old chroniclers.

John, the prior of Hagestad, in his brief *Historia*, says of him: "In 1132 Walterus Espec, vir magnus et potens in conspectu regis et totius regni, received the monks of the Cestercian order sent by Bernard the abbot of Clairvaux, and placed them in the solitude of Blachoumor, on the river Rie; from which the monastery was called Reevalis." Twysd. *Ang. Script.* v. 1. p. 257.

Ethelred, a future abbot of this place, thus describes him: "Walter Espec was there; an old man full of days; active in mind, prudent in his counsels; mild in peace and provident in war; preserving always friendship with his companions and fidelity to his kings. He was tall and large, with black hair and a profuse beard. He had an open and spacious forehead, large eyes, and a voice like a trumpet, but with great majesty of tone. The abbot details his speech to animate his associates on the expedition to Scotland, in which the battle of the Standard was fought and won. *Ethel. Abb. Riev.* p. 337-346. *Bromton*, p. 1028, and *Knyghton*, p. 2371. also mention this knight; and the latter adds the ten collegiate rules of his foundation.

Gaimar refers those who doubt him, to Nicole de Trailli: "He that does not believe what I say, may inquire of Nicole de Trailli." MS. Bib. Reg. cited in *Hist. Mid. Ages*, p. 353.; and sir Walter's Grant to the Rieviaux Monastery, printed by Dugdale from the MS. in the Cotton Library, Julius, D 1., informs us who this Nicole de Trailli was. He was the husband of one of sir Walter's sisters. The Cotton MS. Vitell p. 4., quoted also by Dugdale, mentions that sir Walter in his youth married Adelina, and had by her a son, Walter, who was growing up to be like himself; but unfortunately having a taste for riding horses at full speed, urged one of them so much beyond its strength that it fell from exhaustion, and threw its young master, who died from a broken neck. Some time after this, sir Walter bequeathed by will his residuum between his three sisters, of whom the

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second, Albreda, married Nicholaus de Traylyc; and the grandson of his third daughter built the castle of Helmsley in that district. Dugdale, Mon. v. 1. p. 727, 728, from MS. Vitell.

In his grant to the monastery, sir Walter mentions his forest of Helmeslac, and his nephews "Gaufridi de Traeli, William, Gilbert, and Nicholas, sons of my half sister Al-brea." Dugdale, p. 729, from MS. Julius.

These documents afford us a satisfactory comment on Gaimar's account as to the sources of his poem on the ancient kings of Britain. We thus learn that Robert earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry I., caused the Welsh book brought out of Bretagne by the king's justiciary Walter Calenius, the archdeacon of Oxford, to be translated into Latin; that sir Walter Espec of Helmeslac obtained this translation from earl Robert, and lent it to Arnil, the son of Gilebert: and that the lady Custance or Constance obtained the loan of it for Gaimar, to compose that part of his history from it; and that Gaimar, anxious for the vindication of his own veracity in thus stating the authority for his narrative, refers all who chose to inquire about it to Nicole de Trailli. By the Carta we perceive that this Nicole was a real person, and the brother-in-law to sir Walter. Gaimar, sir Walter, Nicole, and Jeffry of Monmouth, appear to have been contemporaries.

Wace's Brut, in like manner, does not appear to be a mere copy of Jeffry's work. He takes all his work from the same British history; narrating and dilating on its incidents as he pleases; but he does not publish it as Jeffry's book versified by him, but as his own work and translation: "He that would hear and know who the kings were, and whence they came, that first held England, and in what order they reigned, Master Wace has translated about it; he relates the truth as the books devise it, when the Greeks had taken Troy."

So on Arthur's death, after mentioning that he was taken to Avalon to have his wounds dressed; "Thence yet the Bretons expect him, as they say and understand: from thence he will yet come alive. Master Wace who made this book will say no more of his end than the prophet Merlin has said of it. Merlin declared that Arthur's death should remain doubtful, and he has spoken truth; for men have always since doubted of it, and will still doubt, as I believe, whether he be dead or alive."—Wace Brut, MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

Further this book is not mentioned as Jeffry's by the con-

temporary, Alanus de Insulis. He wrote his commentaries on Merlin's Prophecies on it, after Henry II. had acceded, and after his five sons were born, and after one of these died, and while the other four, Henry, Richard, Geoffry, and John, were alive; *Al. Prop.* p. 90, l.; and therefore between 1168, when John was born, and 1183, when Henry died. In this work he never mentions Jeffry, tho he obviously had the book before him; but as Jeffry and others had styled it "The British History," so he refers to it three times, as the "*Historia Britonum*," pp. 34. 99. and 182., quoting each time what we find in Jeffry.

The Walter alluded to by Jeffry, was Walter Calenius, whose name occurs as archdeacon of Oxford in 1110, in the Cartulary of Abingdon, and also in 1138. *Tanner, Bib.* 147. He was the *JUSTICIARIUS* of Henry. *Ib.*

Thus the British book was brought into England by one of Henry's great legal officers, his justiciarius — exactly such a source as it would have come from if our supposition be just that it originated from Henry's policy.

Henry's connexion with Wales and Bretagne is very apparent. Of his four bishops, who were residing in his court in Normandy, and whom he sent to the council called by Calixtus, to Rheims, in 1119, two were Welsh bishops: Bernard, bishop of St. David's, and Urban, bishop of Glamorgan. *Ead.* 124. These were also two of the four prelates who attended him at Abingdon, on the consecration of the bishop of Chester; *ib.* p. 137.; as if they were his most confidential prelates; and in his wars in Normandy he is represented as having collected a large number of Breton knights. *Al. Bev.*

After this book came out, we find it was very early transmitted to the most celebrated abbey in Normandy — that of Bec, from which both Lanfranc and Anslem had proceeded; the place most likely to give it credit in Normandy.

For all these reasons it seems a warrantable inference, that the British History which Jeffry latinized, was composed or adopted to suit the policy of Henry I. and to counteract the effect of Turpin's book, and was patronized by him and his successors for its political effect. Henry's literary taste favors the supposition.

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CHAP. VII.

On the Lays and Fables of Marie. — On the style of the Norman Trouveurs, and its progress into the present French.

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THE most interesting of all the Anglo-Norman fictitious poetry, are the lays of Marie.¹ Being taken from Breton tales, they are extremely curious, as they show the ideas, imaginations and feelings, of which some of these consisted; and as no other have been preserved that can compete with them in antiquity, they may be considered as presenting to us some of the Breton tales in their most genuine form. They are far more pleasing in their incidents and their mode of narration, and for their conciseness, fancy and impression, than any of the endless stories in their myriads of verses of the old romans.

As she calls herself Marie, and says she was of France², it is reasonably inferred that she was a native of that country; and most probably, from her connexion with England, of its province of Normandy. She addresses herself to a king³, whom she afterwards calls Henry⁴; and as she speaks of him as knowing English, it is generally admitted that this was Henry III.⁵ Former writers knew only her fables,

¹ M. Roquefort has printed her lays, fables and other poems, in two volumes 8vo. Paris, 1820. The chief MS. of her work is in the British Museum, Harl. No. 978, whence M. de la Rue recommended it to public notice, in his memoir printed in *Archaeol.* vol. xiii. pp. 36—67.

² She names herself several times. In her first tale, "Oiez Seigneurs! ke dit Marie." Vol. i. p. 48. In her work on the Purgatory of St. Patrick, "Je Marie," vol. ii. p. 499; but at the end of her fables she thus more fully describes herself "Marie ai num: si sui de France." Vol. ii. p. 401.

³ In the prologue to her lays, "En l'honor de vos, nobles reis." p. 44.

⁴ "Le rois Henris qui moult l'amor de translata puis en Engleiz." Vol. ii. p. 401. Her words imply that Henry turned them into English, and she, afterwards, into French, p. 402.

⁵ See M. Roquefort's remarks on this fact, pp. 12, 13; and yet it may be Henry, the son of Henry II., who died 1183.

till M. de la Rue observed the MS. of her lays in the British Museum.⁶ Her fables are dedicated to a count William⁷, who is believed to have been William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, the natural son of Henry II.⁸ That her poems were in high repute in her day, we learn from her contemporary Denys Piramus.⁹

She evinces great anxiety for literary reputation; evidently thinks her tales will produce much moral improvement in society; talks of her own merit, and intimates that she had enemies who disturbed her.¹⁰ That her Lais afford much information on the manners of the thirteenth century; that her descriptions are faithful and amusing; that she fixes attention by the choice of her subjects, and by the interest she gives them; that she frequently speaks to the heart by the situations of her heroes, by the catastrophe, and by her power of transferring her own feelings to the reader; and that her diction is simple and natural, and tho free and rapid, yet omitting no detail; and that she may claim the praise of good taste, pleasing thought, and an unaffected sensibility¹¹, are the just commendations of her editor, which no one who studies her writings will be disposed to dimi-

⁶ See his Essay on her poems in the *Archaeol.* vol. xiii.

⁷ "Pur amur le cunte Willaume." P. 401.

⁸ Roquef. p. 20. But M. Meon, in his publication of the curious old work, "Le Roman du Renart," Paris, 1826, has added an ancient piece, called "Le Couronnement du Renart," which is addressed to William count of Flanders, who was killed at a tourney in 1251. He thinks this to have been the person whom Mary calls "Le cunte Willaume," and that this *couronnement* is her composition. The roman itself contains 30,360 verses. It is a severe satire on the manners of the twelfth century, and acquired so much notice as to be cited by Gautier de Conci, who died in 1236.

⁹ He thus speaks of them :

"Ses lais soleient as dames plaie
De joie les oient et de gre,
Car sunt selun lor volente,"

B. Mus. MSS. Domit. A 11.

¹⁰ See her prologue to her Lais, pp. 42—46; and the beginning of Gugemar, p. 48.

¹¹ M. Roquefort's notice, pp. 14, 15.

nish. His remarks, that her fables display a distinguished good sense, a sprightly simplicity in the mode of telling them, and a justness in their moral application, and that even Fontaine may have studied them to his own benefit¹², are equally unexceptionable. We have before observed, that her Lais are all Breton stories, and they prove that fairy tales were prevalent in Bretagne. I once thought it unlikely that Bretagne could have had any connexion of mind with Arabia, or the east, to whom fairies and genii seem most appropriated; but since I have observed that Marbodius, who died 1123, and was bishop of Rennes, in Bretagne, professed to have translated his poem on precious stones from one made by Evax, king of Arabia, and in that poem makes several allusions to the Arabs¹³, I cannot but feel, altho this ascription of his work to such a source may have been a fiction, yet that it rather indicates that the Breton mind had, as Mr. Warton thought, some acquaintance with Arabian literature, at least in reputation, and had so much respect for it, that it was creditable in Bretagne to refer to it.¹⁴ Yet fairies were not unknown in Wales, and therefore may have been naturalized in Bretagne from that country.¹⁵

¹² Roquef. *Ibid.* p. 21.

¹³ This work of Marbodius was in Latin, and has been quoted in this volume before. What Duclos saw, and called the most ancient poem in the old French that was known (*Acad. Inscript.* vol. xxvi. p. 302.), is but a translation of it, the date of which is not certain. Du Than's poems are older. In this translation Marbodius thus mentions Evax :

Evax fut un mult riche reis
Lu regne tint des Arabais.
Mult fut de plusieurs choses sages ;
Mult aprist de plusieurs langues :

and makes him contemporary with Nero.

¹⁴ See before, p. 213.

¹⁵ M. Roquefort has published with the Lais, a liberal French translation of them which may be read with pleasure. The lays are fourteen :—Lai de Gugemar, son of Oridial, lord of Leon, in Bretagne; Lai d'Equitan, lord of Nantes; Lai du Fresne, containing the history of a noble lady of Bretagne, an exposed child; Lai de Bisclaveret, a Breton knight; Lai de Lanval, also a Breton knight; Lai des

Several of Marie's tales are founded on the agency of supernatural beings, tho of the more agreeable kind, and of Breton origin. There seems to have been in every age, and yet to be in every country, a taste for the supernatural. There are few bosoms which have not some sensibility to its impressions. All have at times mysterious feelings, which it is a labor to suppress. We tend both to believe and to desire something superior to humanity, and thus nature herself has given us that impressibility to which writers of genius have so often appealed, and seldom appeal entirely in vain. It is pleasing to many to dream of the improbable.

That the human mind has sympathies, which cannot be defined, for the unknown, which it is unable to penetrate; and for the invisible, which it is ever desiring to animate and embody, is shewn by the amusement which even they who deride the fancies of their forefathers, yet find in pourtraying chimerical imaginings of their own. Even these will still regale themselves with creating beings, places and events that have no reality on earth. They find a gratification to themselves in peopling the obscure and unseen with inhabitants that exist only in their own inventions.¹⁶ Imagination, especially in youth,

deux Amants (there is yet, near Rouen, the priory des deux Amants); Lai d'Ywenee, a Breton knight; Lai du Laustic, on the adventures of two knights of Bretagne; Lai de Milon, a similar knight; Lai du Chaitivel, the survivor of four who fought for a lady of Nantz, in Bretagne; Lai du Chevre Feuille, an episode of the romance on Tristan; Lai d'Eleduc; Lai de Graelent; Lai de l'Epine, all on knights of Bretagne. Mr. G. Ellis has given an analysis of them in his Specimens of early Romances: and the observations upon them of the last editor of Warton's History, vol. i. deserve perusal; tho he mistakes in saying, p. lxxxv. that I have "produced Alfred's apophthegms as the first specimens of English prose." What I suggested was, that the additions of his own thoughts, which Alfred had inserted in his Boetius, might be considered as the first specimens of moral essays in our country. My opinions on the commencement of English prose, will be seen in a subsequent part of this Work.

¹⁶ Manfred, Frankenstein, the Monk, St. Leon, Goethe's Faustus, Undine, the Ghost Seer, and a crowd of German productions, are evidences of the secret craving of many, even where no established belief is favored, for something that is not human, but which is superior to man, and capable of inflicting evil upon him, or of imparting to him some superior good.

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is eager to attempt to frame something better than what we see, and to muse on agencies superior to any that are known to be possessed. It would seem, that man must cease to feel before he ceases to fancy; and that until thought is torpedied by death, he will still continue to do both. This tendency to be interested by supernatural machinery is not wholly unserviceable; it acts as a check on materializing theories. These divest life of all its sublimity, and of hope's sweetest paradise, and turn the man into an instinctive brute. But all fancies of superhuman beings lift up our eyes to something better than ourselves; they lead us to look beyond our material world to some invisible and immaterial agency, which commands and can control it. They suggest possibilities which it is delightful to contemplate; and tho their landscapes be wild, and the agents fantastic, yet they keep the mind from believing that our fleshly structures are the real and only beings of the man. All tales of genii, fairies and apparitions, operate insensibly to create within us a sensation of spiritual existence which no abstract reasoning can produce. It is absurd now to fear that the reality of these dreams of fancy should be believed—and therefore their impressions cannot injure. Hence all tales of this sort, which interest without demoralizing, may be classed among those amusing gaieties of the sportive fancy, which increase the intellectual happiness of life; and as our richest pleasures are now derived from the mind, it is policy to multiply and to vary, not to diminish them. Taste may lawfully make these fictions more tasteful, and reason more reasonable in a reasonable age; but neither society nor true philosophy would gain any thing by their merciless and indiscriminate proscription.¹⁷

¹⁷ As those supernatural fictions or effusions of the imagination which prevailed

Of Marie's unearthly beings, the predominant fancy is that of affectionate fairy ladies ; and we find

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among the nations from whom England has derived portions of its population, and some of which have obtained occasional credence among us, form a part of the history of the mind of the Middle Ages, a few remarks may be permitted on this curious subject.

The principle of all supernatural imaginations or beliefs seems to be an indelible and invincible persuasion or supposition, that we are existing amid powers and agencies superior to those of man.

Wherever this impression is not united and confined to the real Deity with whom it naturally tends and was intended to link the intellect and the feeling, the perverted and misled fancy will then devise the beings for itself, whom it believes to be about us ; and thus acting, it will attach itself to supposititious chimeras of its own adoption or creation.

It is in vain for some to say, that what we cannot hear, or see, or feel, cannot really exist ; because we all know this assertion to be delusive and untrue. We cannot see pestilence, as it moves from house to house, tho we behold the bodily frame corrupting under its power—we cannot see thought, altho we hear the sounds to which it forms the human voice—we cannot see the feelings of love, sorrow, gratitude, joy, anger or revenge, altho we can contemplate the pantomimic movements of the limbs or external muscles of the face, which these emotions severally occasion. We fully perceive, that there are invisible powers and agents in nature which put its natural elements into various and often terrible action ; and therefore no argument, that what they dread is a nullity because unseen, can ever destroy the general persuasion of the reality of supernatural agency, nor prevent the human fancy from indulging and accrediting supernatural imaginations of some sort or other. The Atheist has them as much as others.—We perceive the German unbelievers trembling under their fate or destiny, evil eyes or stern necessity ; and the French sceptics having analogous subjects of secret apprehension. In all, it is the common feeling, attaching itself to different objects.

But as every notion on this subject beyond what the Scriptures have revealed, must be the creature of human invention, so every fancy of this description must resemble and exhibit the opinions and superstitions of the age and country. The fictions of the mind are but pictures of its hidden self, and therefore the supernatural machinery of every country will be peculiar to itself, and differ as much from that of others as their more common state of mind and manners is usually found to do.

GIANTS and DWARFS of more than human power were among the most ancient and popular superstitions of our country ; and the oldest now alive may yet remember the nursery tales and books which in their childhood they heard and believed of those dissimilar monsters. They came with our Saxon and Danish ancestors into our island. The giants are mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon poem on Beowulf ; and the Latin work on the conflict between Guy of Warwick and Colbrand the Giant, is noticed by Hearne as still subsisting. The ancient book of Heroes written by the knight Wolfran, who flourished about 1207, thus states in its preface the popular theory on the origin of the giants, dwarfs and heroes, which prevailed both in Scandinavia and the north of Germany. They are all referred to the creation of the Deity.

“ First, He produced the DWARFS, because the mountains lay waste and useless ; and valuable stores of silver and gold, with gems and pearls, were concealed in them. He made them right wise and crafty. They knew the use of gems, and that some of them gave strength to the wearer, and others made him invisible, which were called fog caps. They built themselves hollow hills. They had kings and lords, and He gave them great riches.

“ He created also the GIANTS, that they might slay the wild beasts and serpents ; and thus enable the dwarfs to cultivate the mountains in safety. But after some time the giants became wicked and unfaithful, and did much harm to the dwarfs.

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them in her lays exhibited in one of these most pleasing forms, and named "Fees;" so that this word is

Then He made the HEROES, who were of a middle rank between the dwarfs and giants, to come to the assistance of the dwarfs against the unfaithful giants, the beasts and the serpents. Their mind was ever bent on manhood, battles and fights. Among the dwarfs were many kings, who had giants for their servants: for they possessed rough countries, waste forests, and mountains near their dwellings. The HEROES paid all observance and honor to the ladies, protected widows and orphans, did no harm to women except when their life was in danger, and often shewed their manhood before them, both in sport and in earnest. The heroes were all noblemen, and no one was a peasant. From them are descended all lords and noblemen." Weber North. *Antiq.* p. 42. The last part of the Book of Heroes exhibits the dwarfs and their subordinate giants in their traditional habits and activity. *Ibid.* pp. 146—166.

The FAIRIES appear to have been a Celtic imagination, and first appear to us in the lays of the British colonists of Bretagne, as we have already shewn in the poems of Marie, noticed in the preceding pages. This province has still her fairy rock; her fairy grotto, a fairy valley; a fairy cavity and a fairy mountain: on this last, a MS. ancient poem says—

In Bretagne we shall find
A fountain and steps,
On which if you throw water,
It blows; it thunders and it rains.

Roquef. Marie, vol. i. p. 33.

Our British ancestors also cherished this fancy; for Arthur's sister was the fairy Morgana, whom Jeffrey of Monmouth, in his MS. Latin poem, represents to have conveyed the dying king from the fatal field of Camlan to her magic isle of Avalonia. Fairies are also noticed in some of the earliest lays of the Troubadours, as if they had been an indigenous fancy of the Provençal regions. The count de Pestiers mentions them in one of his pieces: "The fairies have so appointed it." He calls them "Fadaz." *Poetes François*, vol. i. p. 5.

These ladies have also been a prominent part of the popular superstitions of the Irish, and are even acting upon their mind and conduct at the present day. They also appear in the tales and traditions of the Indians of North America.

There is no sufficient reason to suppose that these fairies originated to us from the Peris of Persia or Arabia, and to have been transplanted out of Spain with the Arabian literature. They have an anterior chronology, and it may be also said, that it is a mistake to suppose that any popular superstition arises in a country from any literary composition. It originates from the traditions of its earliest population; accompanies their migrations, and descends with their descent. It is retained because it is believed, and is only used and talked of for the same reason. Much as we like the Arabian Nights, nothing can engraft its Genii and other machinery on the public faith or mind; nor can our writers imitate them, for want of the actual credence. Both Dr. Hawkesworth and Dr. Johnson, and also Dr. Ridley, have made some interesting tales with personages to whom they have given the name of Genii, but they are not at all the genii of Arabian story.

The WITCHES and WIZARDS of the Middle Ages were the legacies left us by our Roman colonists and conquerors. This classical nation, and their Grecian preceptors, fully believed and have fully described these disagreeable beings. They are among the most revolting offspring of the imagination, without any of the graces or charms which usually attend the fictions of the fancy. Theocritus, Lucian, Plutarch and Apuleius so abundantly notice and pourtray them, that there is no difficulty in tracing them to this respectable origin.

The belief in APPARITIONS has never been absent in our island, from the "Scin-lac" of the Anglo-Saxons, to the ghosts and spectres so interesting to our childhood, and still not wholly discredited by a large portion of our maturer understand-

at least as ancient as the year 1200. Our ancestors certainly believed their existence. But it is not necessary now to say seriously with Spenser in his pleasing lines,

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“That all their famous antique history,
Of some, th’ abundance of an idle brain,
Will judged be and painted forgery,
Rather than matter of just memory :
Sith none that breatheth living air does know
Where is that happy lond of Faëry,
Which I so much do vaunt yet no where show :”¹⁸

because every one now is satisfied, that “Fairy lond” exists nowhere but in the records of the olden muses, and there it is yet pleasing to trace its unsubstantial inhabitants as our forefathers depicted them. No part of our ancient vernacular literature pourtrays them so fully or agreeably as Marie; and her representations may be contemplated as a part of the popular mind of our ancestors, as well as of the Bretons in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Extracts, showing the more imaginative parts of Marie’s Lays :

IN the first, “Gugemar,” she describes a white hart and her fawn “foun.” The knight drew his bow and wounded her foot; but his arrow flew back on himself from the fairy hart, and piercing his thigh, caused him to fall from his horse. As he lay on the ground, the moaning hart exclaimed, “Ai me! alas! I am killed; and thou Vaussau! who hast wounded me, this shall be thy destiny! never shall you have medicine, neither by herb nor root, nor by mire, nor by potion, shall

ing. This offspring of our diseased or agitated fancy entered our island with our northern ancestors. It is one of the most fixed and native traditions of the Scandinavian tribes and their German descendants. We trace it alike in their tales and histories; and it may be seen in peculiar abundance in the latter part of the Eyrbyggja Saga, of which sir Walter Scott has given an able and interesting abstract, appended to the “Illustrations of Northern Antiquities.”— See it from p. 505 to 509.

¹⁸ Spenser’s Faery Queen, book ii. p. 1.

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you be cured of the wound in your thigh, till one shall suffer for your love as great pain and grief as any woman has ever yet endured, and you shall feel as much for her; so that they who love and have loved shall wonder at it. Go, and leave me in peace."¹⁹

By the sea side Gugemar finds a vessel of ivory, with sails of silk. Nothing alive was in it. The bed was like the work of Solomon, enriched with gold and precious stones, and made of cypres and ivory. Its quilt was African gold tissue. Its coverlet was a sebelin, cut from Alexandrine cloth. Two candelabras of fine gold, with gems worth a treasure, enlightened the apartment. It moved of itself over the sea.²⁰

Her *Bisclaveret*.

FORMERLY many men became garwalls, and had their houses in woods. A garwall is a savage beast; his rage is so great that he devours men, does great mischief, and lives in vast forests. The Bretons call them "*Bisclaveret*."²¹

A "ber" (a baron) and beau chevalier had married an amiable woman. He loved her, and she him; but every week she lost him for three entire days, and never knew where he went. She urged him to tell her why he was thus absent, and he at last confessed, "Lady, I become a *bisclaveret*, and go into yonder great forest, into the thickest of its woods, and live on prey and roots. I go quite naked." She asked him where he put his clothes? "Lady, I will not tell you this, because, if I should lose them, or be seen, I should remain always a *bisclaveret*." She importuned him; and he then added, that in an old chapel in the forest, in the hollow of a great stone, under a bush, he placed his apparel until he resumed it to return home.

Abhorring such a husband, she revealed his secret to a young chevalier, who went and seized the garments. The *bisclaveret* returned to her no more, and she married the chevalier.

¹⁹ Marie's Lays, pp. 56—58.

²⁰ Ibid. pp. 60—62.

²¹ Ibid. p. 178. The French story of Mons. Oufse is built on the idea, that he fancied himself to be a loup-garouz, or man-wolf. The garwall of Mary is the loup-garouz of the more modern French.

A year afterwards, the king hunted in the forest where the bisclaveret dwelt; the dogs discovered and chased him, with all the company. He became much torn and wounded, and was nearly taken, when he ran to the king, and holding his stirrup, and kissing his leg and foot, implored his mercy. The king exclaimed, "See, my lords! this wonder; how this beast humbles himself; he has the sense of a man; he cries for mercy; drive the dogs behind; take care that no one hurts him; the brute has understanding; my peace shall remain with him, and I will hunt him here no more."

The king turned back, and the bisclaveret followed him and would not leave him. The king became attached to him, and kept him in his palace. He was all day among the knights, and lay down in the evening near the king. He was so frank and debonaire, and so careful to hurt no one, that every body loved him.

The king some time afterwards held his court, and summoned all his barons to it; his wife and her new husband came among them. As soon as the bisclaveret saw this knight, he flew upon him, and seized him with his teeth, till the king threatened him with his rod. Twice he again tried to bite his enemy. All wondered at this peculiar conduct; it was thought that he had lost his reason. When the feast ended, every one departed home.

Some time after, the king went to hunt in the forest where he was found; the bisclaveret accompanied him. The wife besought an audience of the king, and came richly dressed; the animal flew upon her, and tore off her nose. All were then going to cut him in pieces, when "un sages hom," a wise man, remarked to the king, that as the creature injured no one else, he must have some cause of complaint against the knight and lady, and counselled that she should be imprisoned till she discovered why the beast hated her. This was done; she confessed her conduct, and that he might be her husband.

The king had the clothes brought that had been taken, and gave them to the bisclaveret, who took no notice of them. The prudent man suggested that he would not put them on in public, and advised that he should be left alone in his own room, with the garments. This was done, and the king sometime afterwards entering his apartment, saw a baron sleeping in his bed.²²

²² Marie's Lays, pp. 178—200.

Her *Lanval* is founded on a fairy lady.

WHEN Arthur distributed his gifts to his counts and barons, and to those "de la table raunde," he gave none to the chevalier *Lanval*, the son of a distant king, who was serving him.

Lanval, mortified to be so overlooked, resolved to quit the court, and mounting his steed left the city, *Carduel*, and travelled till he reached a meadow, thro which a stream was flowing.

As he felt his horse tremble he dismounted, and letting the animal feed at its pleasure, he folded his mantle, reclined his head upon it, and lay in pensive meditation. Looking towards the river, he saw two damsels coming from it, more beautiful than were ever seen before, and richly clothed in purple. The eldest carried a basin of enamelled gold finely made, and the other a napkin.

They advanced to him as he lay, and he, who had been well taught, rose immediately on his feet. They saluted him; and one said, "Sire, *Lanval*! my lady, who is very courteous and beautiful, sends us for you; come with us—we will conduct you safely. See, there are her pavilions."—He went. The queen *Semiramis*, or the emperor *Octavian*, never had a more splendid tent. A golden eagle of inexpressible value was on its top. No king on earth could have one so costly. Within this reposed the lady, surpassing in beauty both the lily and the new blown rose. She was reclining on a bed so handsome, that its cloth was worth a castle. Her mantle was of white ermine, covered with *Alexandrine purple*; and as the heat caused some part to be uncovered, a neck and face were seen whiter than the *May-thorn* flowers.

She called him; he sat down. She told him, that for his sake she had left her country; that she loved him, and if he would be *preux* and courteous, no emperor, queen or king, was so happy as he should be. He answered her with sympathetic feeling. She promised him wealth so abundant, that the more he gave, the more he would have. They married; but she annexed one condition to his felicity: "Tell no one of me, or you will immediately lose me; if our love is made known, you will never see me again." He vowed silence and fidelity. She added, "now rise and go away, you cannot remain longer here; but when you wish to speak with me, let it be where a person may meet his beloved without reproach or villany, and I will come, but no one except you will see or hear me." The damsels brought

him the richest dress; he washed his hands, sat down to a repast, and was then led to his horse, on which he returned to the city. He was continually looking back, unable to understand his own adventure.

He entered his hotel, and kept a liberal hospitality, without knowing whence his resources came; he treated richly every knight who came; released prisoners; clothed the jongleurs, and gave presents to every one.

Unfortunately, the queen of Arthur became attached to him. Her vilifying reproaches roused him to declare, that he loved and was loved, and that any one of those who served his lady excelled her in heart, face, beauty, understanding, and goodness. The queen accused him falsely to Arthur, who ordered him to be burnt if he did not justify himself.

When alone in his apartment, he called his fair one, but she came not to him; he had violated the condition in talking of her, and he saw her no more. The king put him on judgment before his barons; and one of them proposed, that to vindicate himself, Lanval should produce before them the lady he had boasted of; he told them that this was not in his power.

As the barons were about to pronounce judgment, two damsels on white horses, in robes of silk, of a vermilion color, appeared, and asked the king for canvass and materials to encurtain a chamber, where their lady might be lodged: two others, still handsomer, came mounted on Spanish mules. Soon afterwards appeared a lady, wonderfully beautiful and superbly dressed, on a little palfrey, with splendid housings; she had a falcon on her wrist, and a greyhound followed her. Lanval raised his head, and saw that it was his beloved. She advanced to Arthur: "King! I have loved your vassal; the queen was wrong: if my presence is to acquit him, let your barons release him." Lanval was pronounced innocent, and the fairy lady led him to Avalon, that delightful island, where they lived happy.²³

Another of her tales exhibits a *Transformation*.

THE young wife of an ancient lord was shut up by his fears in a tower. One day she saw at her window the shadow of a great bird. It flew into her room, placed itself by her, and soon became a handsome and genteel knight, and solicited

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²³ Marie's Lays, pp. 202—250.

her affection. She asked him if he believed in God: he said, he did believe in his Creator, "who is, and was, and will be, the life and light of sinners." He added, that if she would order her chaplain to perform the divine service, he would take her form, and receive the eucharist. He did so. He then bade her conceal their acquaintance, as he must die if she discovered it. An old attendant, by hiding herself, saw him enter and depart as a bird. The husband was informed of it, and had placed at the window some steel blades, as sharp as a razor, which pierced him when he next came to it. Covered with blood, he flew away. She escaped from the tower; traced him by his blood to a cottage—to a meadow—to a city—and to a castle, where she found him dying on a bed, of which the drapery and surrounding chandeliers were worth all the gold of a kingdom. His son was to avenge him. The husband and some friends travelling afterwards to a distant city, came to a rich abbey, in the chapter-hall of which they saw a large tomb, covered with rich gold, embroidered tapestry, and surrounded with twenty wax tapers, burning in golden chandeliers, amid incense of amethyst. They inquired whose it was, and were answered, "The best and noblest, and most beloved knight that ever lived: he was the king of this country; no one was so courteous; he was slain for a lady's love, and since he died we have had no lord." The wife exclaimed to the son, "It is your father who lies there; this old man killed him." She gave him the king's sword, and fell dead. The youth then beheaded her ancient spouse.²⁴

Her *Graelent* again displays a fairy lady.

THE lay of *Graelent* is founded on the incident of his seeing a fair lady bathing near a fountain in a forest. She promises to love him truly. "But one thing I forbid you—you must not say a word by which our attachment can be discovered. I will then give you most richly money, clothes and silver, and night and day I will be with you: tho you should see me go away, yet you may laugh and talk with me. You shall have no companion that can see me, nor know who I am. *Graelent*! You are loyal, preux, courteous and handsome; for you I came to the fountain; for you I have suffered many a pain. Take care that you boast not of it, or you

²⁴ Marie's Lays, pp. 272—313.

will lose me. You must remain a year near this country, but you may be errant for two months; then repair hither, for I love this country. Now depart. Nones have struck. I will send my messenger to you."

He returned to his hotel, and looking out of his window at the forest now so dear to him, he saw a varlet leading an ambling palfrey to him—none was so beautiful, so swift, or so gentle. "I am the messenger of your friend; she wills me to be with you; I will pay your debts and take care of your household." The varlet then opened his trunk, and took out a spacious coat, "coute," rich stuffs and ornaments, which he spread on the bed, and plenty of gold and silver, and rich apparel. Graelent, thus provided, rewarded all who had been kind to him, and ordered his host to keep his house full of good provision, and to invite the poorer knights of the city who wished to live with him. His host did so, and went in search of the poor knights, prisoners, pilgrims and crusaders, brought them to the hotel, and took care to honor them. All night, instruments of music were played, and other delights followed. In the day he was richly apparelled. He gave great gifts to harpers, to prisoners, and to players. There was not a burgess of the city to whom he did not lend money, or who did not do him as much honour as they performed to their lord. His beloved was often with him. There was not a tournament in the country in which he did not distinguish himself—the knights greatly loved him.

The king had the habit, on his festive days, of shewing his queen to his barons, and asking them if the earth contained a finer woman. Graelent never acquiesced in their preferring eulogies. This roused his displeasure, and Graelent was at last excited to tell the king, who inquired if he knew her superior. "Yes, one worth thirty of her."

The enraged queen insisted on his producing her competitor. A year was allowed him—but he had broke the spell; she visited him no more. The year expired: the king accused him of insulting his wife by a falsehood. The appointed judges were about to condemn him, when two beautiful damsels in laced dresses appeared, and dismounting from their palfreys, told the king that their lady would come and release the knight; two others, more handsome, followed, and then the Fairy lady was seen. Her manner was grand, her countenance mild, her eyes sweet, her face lovely, her movement charming. She was magnificently clothed in purple embroidered with gold—her mantle was worth a castle, and her steed, with its trappings, at least a thousand

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pounds—all pressed forward to behold her, and every one praised her.

She came on horseback, before the king, and then dismounted and addressed him. She blamed Graelent for what he had said, but appealed to the king himself, whether she was more beautiful than his queen. This could not be denied. Graelent was released; and when she urged her palfrey through the city, he eagerly followed her, imploring her mercy; but she answered not a word. They at length reached the forest, where the river was flowing in a pure and lucid stream. She sprung into it. Graelent was about to follow, when she exclaimed—"Fly—enter not—if you attempt it, you will be drowned." He regards her not, and plunges in. She catches his bridle, and leads him to the bank—again cautions him not to follow her, and disappears under the water. He persists in going into the river. The waves began to overpower him, when the maidens of the lady entreated her to pity and to forgive him. She relented, and drew him out; had his wet garments taken off, covered him with her mantle, and then conducted him to her own country, where the Bretons say he is living still. The fairy horse, missing his master, withdrew to the forest, and was never at peace again. He was always striking the earth, furiously neighing, and allowed no one to take him. The report was, that every year at that season he was seen at the river-side seeking his master, neighing and calling for him.²⁵

The fables of Mary claim an Englishman's attention, from the fact, mentioned only by her, that one of our kings, named Henry, translated those of Æsop from Latin into English, which she afterwards rhymed into her Norman French. This must have been our Henry I. or else Henry II.; but the probability seems to be, that it was Henry I.; both of whose queens were attached to letters, and who was himself distinguished by the title of "Beau Clerc." Mary's general style is an easy, concise, natural and intelligent narration.²⁶ She has annexed a "moralité" to each; and some of these do credit to her good sense

²⁵ Marie's Lays, pp. 486—540.

²⁶ Some of these Le Grand has amusingly translated in his Fableaux, vol. iv.

and moral taste, and furnish many particulars of the manners of her day. - CHAP. VII.

It gives us rather a painful view of society to read after the fable of the hares and the frogs —

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They ought to think of this,
Who wish to move away
And abandon their ancient place,
What will come afterwards to them.
They will never find a country
Nor reach a land
That they can be in without fear,
Or without labor, or without grief.²⁷

Toil and sorrow almost all must expect to share; but that no place could be lived in without alarm, is a strong picture of a lawless and disorderly period. But how could it be otherwise, since the following *moralité* was no doubt taken from her own experience, when she added it to the fable of the two wolves and the lamb :

These are the *rich* robbers—
The *sheriffs* and the *judges*,
On those whom they have
In their judicial territory.
From covetousness, a false occasion,
They find sufficient to confound them,
And compel them into their courts;
There they score their flesh and their skin,
As the wolves did to the lamb.²⁸

To the fable of the dog suing a sheep she adds ;

This example shews you
What many men prove,
Who by lying and by tricking (*trichin*)
Frequently implead the poor,
And adducing false witnesses,
Force the poor to pay them.
They care not what befalls the unhappy,
So that they share the profit.²⁹

²⁷ Roquefort's Marie, vol. ii. p. 161.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 67.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 77.

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The oppression of the rest of society by the great, is also implied in many other moralités. We will only add another, on the wolf and the crane :

So it is with a bad lord,
If a poor man works him honor,
And then asks his reward,
He will never receive any ;
Altho in his administration
The great ought to thank him for his life.³⁰

The following is a specimen of her more serious moralités.

The wise man ought rationally
To beseech the Omnipotent God,
That He would do his own pleasure :
From this great good may come :
For God better knows what will suit us,
Than hearts which change and move.³¹

³⁰ Roquefort's *Marie*, vol. ii. p. 85. If "Le Couronnement de Renart" be Marie's, it may be seen in M. Meon's edition of it, Paris, 1816.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 393. Her Purgatory of St. Patrick, p. 411, has been pleasingly abridged by Le Grand, vol. v. p. 126.

A supposition as to the possible Authoress :—

In our total ignorance about this *Mary*, there is no harm in starting a new conjectural possibility, which suits the intimations which she has given of herself in her poems. But I propose this merely as a suggestion, not to be pressed as an historical certainty, nor to be confounded with it. Conjectures are not facts, and I would wish not to mislead the reader on any subject.

Eleanor, the queen of our Henry II. had by her first husband, Louis VII. of France, a daughter named *MARIE*, who was married to the count of Champagne. *Gesta Lud.* p. 150. *Aim.* 525. She thereby became countess of Champagne during the reigns of our Henry II. and Richard I. Her husband was a great patron of poets and romance writers. He invited them to his court, and liberally rewarded them. Her mother, queen Eleanor, was also a great favorer of the Troubadours ; and Marie herself was so much attached to their "gal licence" as to hold cours d'amour, and to give judgment on the questions there submitted to her by knights and Troubadours. One of these is dated 1174. See the Chapter on the Troubadours, in our fifth volume of this History. She survived her husband, and died in March 1197. *Rigordus*, p. 198. Thus our king Henry II. was her father-in-law, and his sons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffry, were her brothers by her mother's side. Of these, Henry was crowned king of England by his father in his own lifetime ; so that England had then at the same time two king Henrys, in the persons of Henry II. and his eldest son. Her brother Geoffry was made count of Bretagne, and died in her lifetime. She attended his burial, and was in the French court at Compeign in 1196, when the count of Flanders did homage to Phillip for his dominions (*Reg.* p. 197.), where she died in the next year. She was sister to both Phillip the reigning king of France, and to Richard the reigning king of England, to Phillip by her father, and to Richard by her mother. She stood therefore in the singular position of being equally related to both countries and connected with the most distinguished

Besides the two descriptions of the Anglo-Norman poetry already noticed, the history and the romance,

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persons in both, and therefore probably familiar with the language of each. Queen Eleanor survived her daughter, for in 1199 she did homage to Philip for Poitou. Reg. p. 200.

Now, in applying these facts to Marie the poetess, we find that what this lady mentions of herself, may be comprised in the following circumstances.

In the conclusion of her fables she says,—

I will name myself for remembrance :
I am named Marie. I am of France.

For the love of the count William,
The most valiant of this kingdom,
I have undertaken to make this book,
And to translate it from English into Roman.
They call this book Esop's,
Who worked and wrote it.
From Greek into Latin it was turned.
He, king Henry, who greatly liked it,
Translated it then into English,
And I have rhymed it in Francez.

Roq. Marie, vol. ii. p. 401.

In the prologue to her Fables, she mentions a king without naming him.

In honor of you, noble king,
Who are so pruz and courteous,
To whom every joy inclines,
And in whom all that is good has root,
I have applied myself to collect the lays,
To put them into rhyme and recount them.
In my heart I think and say,
Sire ! that I would present them to you.
If it will please you to receive them,
You will cause me to have great joy ;
Every day I shall be bound to you for it.
Accuse me not of presumption,
If I dare to make you this present,
But hear the beginning.

The usual idea, but entirely a supposition, is, that this king was Henry III. and that count William was Long Sword, earl of Salisbury.

But if this Marie was the countess of Champagne, then the king whom she thus addresses would be her brother king Henry, at that time reigning with his father, or her brother Richard I; tho it might also be their parent Henry II. But the affectionate terms she uses, would suit better one of her brothers.

That her stories are all Breton lays, would suit the countess Marie, because Geoffray her brother was the reigning count of Bretagne while he lived.

The peculiarity required by the intimations she gives of herself, that she was well acquainted with both the French and English languages, corresponds exactly with the social position of the countess, as we have already remarked.

That the count William should be the earl of Salisbury, will also coincide with our theory; for he was the illegitimate son of her mother's husband, and therefore by him, was the natural brother of her maternal brothers, Richard, Henry, and Geoffray. As such, he must have been as well known to her as they were; and from his high character and qualities, may have been greatly liked by her. If the count of Flanders was the William she alludes to, the countess Marie was both

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NORMAN
VERNA-
CULAR
POETRY.

Lives of
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the clergy also wrote in verse the lives of Saints, and moral treatises.³² Their rimed biography, however, added nothing to the national poetry, altho one of them, Denis Piramus, in the reign of Henry III., really added, tho unheeded, to the national history.³³ In their moral treatises in verse, a greater approach to poetry was exhibited. The poem of bishop Grosteste was at least an allegory, with some effort at description³⁴; and the stories introduced by Wadigton, in

allied to this nobleman and acquainted with him. If it should be thought unlikely that such a countess should write poetry, we may recollect that she herself describes an English king, Henry, having translated into English what she turned into French. What a king had done, a literary princess might do. Her brother Richard wrote Provençal poems; and in a later age a French princess, Margaret de Valois, composed a volume of French tales. Her rank will account for the high estimation in which Denis Pyramus described her works to have been held among the ladies of quality in the reign of Henry III.

Hence the supposition that Marie, the authoress of the *Lais and Fables*, was Marie the countess of Champagne, seems to have a stronger foundation than any other which has been suggested.

³² As Guerne's *Life of Thomas à Becket*. It contains about 6000 lines, in stanzas of five lines of the Alexandrine cast, riming together, which he thus describes—

Le vers est dune rime en cinc clauses cuplez
E bons est mes langages e en france fui nez.

Harl. MS. p. 270.

Chardre's *St. Josaphat and the Seven Sleepers*, comprises between four and five thousand lines. He mentions the preference given to the romans of fiction—

Ke plus-tost orrium chanter
de Roulant e de Olivier
e les batailles des duze peres.

Cott. MS. Calig A 9.

See M. de la Rue's *Dissertation, Archaeologia*, vol. xiii. p. 234.—We see how anxiously these rimers sought for reputation, in Chermans, who wrote *La Genesis de St. Marie*. He takes care to say—

Jeo ay a noum Chermans ne ubliez mye mon noun.

Harl. MS. No. 270.

³³ His work is called the *Life of St. Edmund*. It is, in fact, a rimed excursion history of East Anglia. But it is remarkable for giving a truer account of Ragnar Lodbrog, the Danish sea-king, than any of the Saxon chroniclers furnish. It makes him, as he was, a powerful and cruel pirate, renowned for his exploits on many a shore; and declares Ingutr, Hubba, and Biorn to have been his children.—Cott. MS. Domit. A 11. As this is almost the only ancient document we have that approaches the true history of these incidents, I have cited the passage at length in the 4th edition of the *Anglo-Saxons*.

³⁴ It is in the Harl. MS. No. 1121. After treating of Paradise and the fall of man, it begins a strange allegory, with the account of a king, who had a son and four daughters; the son was our Saviour; the daughters were Mercy, Truth, Justice, and Peace. The son enters a castle "bel et grant;" and the poet occupies two long columns in describing it. This castle was the Virgin Mary! See extracts from it in M. La Rue's *Essay in the Archaeologia*.

his Manuel des Peches³⁵; are occasionally told with traits that shew a few of the first faint gleams of poetical feeling. There are some other poems of the Anglo-Normans not unworthy the notice of the antiquary.³⁶ One of the most curious of these, for its subject, is the Institutes of Justinian in verse, already alluded to.³⁷

The character of the Anglo-Norman poetry, from its happy consequences to our taste and intellect, merits a distinct contemplation.

The verbal style of the Anglo-Saxon poetry was the arrangement of their words into short lines, with a simple cadence without rime, and with some alliteration. Omissions of their particles, and forced inversions, were also used. This form was not a very valuable style of poetical diction, except that it was, perhaps, the parent of our Miltonic blank verse: but it was at least harmless. This epithet, however, can-

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Style of
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³⁵ This very curious work is in the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS. No. 4657 & 377. He thus names himself—

De dei seit beneit chescun hom
Ky prie pour Wilham de Wadigton.

³⁶ In the MS. containing Chardre's work, is a dialogue between youth and age, intitled, *Le Petit Plet*, containing about 1800 rimed lines.—The anonymous continuation of the *Brut* of Wace, contains the remarkable fancy of the council held by the conqueror to determine the dispositions of his three sons. See *La Rue's Dissert.* vol. xiii. p. 242.—Among the Harleian MSS. is the poem called "*Le Sermun de Guichart de Beau lieu*;"—and another poem, of moral precepts, by *Hells de Quincestre* (Winchester), which he says he takes from *Cato*—

Ki vult savoir la faitement
Ke Katun a sun fiz prent
Sen Latin nel set entendre
Ci le pot en romanz aprendre.—MS.

In the king's library at Paris, there is a translation of *Dares Phrygius* into French rimes, by *Godfrey of Waterford*, an Irishman of the jacobine order, in the thirteenth century.—*Warton*, vol. i. p. 23., from *Mem. Lit.* vol. xvii. p. 736.

The reader who wishes to enlarge his knowlege of the history of ancient romance, will be gratified by *Mr. Weber's "Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, from the earlier Teutonic and Scandinavian Romances;"* and by the elaborate accumulation of curious circumstances in the last editor's preface to *Warton*, which, however, are rather materials for thought than the establishing of any certain system.

³⁷ The author of this was *Richard D'Annebaut*, an Anglo-Norman. *Archaeol.* vol. xiii.

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defects.

not be justly applied to the mental character of their poetry; that was of a vicious cast. It consisted, wherever it departed from prose, of abrupt transitions, ambitious metaphors, and repeated periphrases.

From these peculiarities arose a barbarous species of poetry, which it was impossible even for genius to improve. The inversions and transitions occasioned perpetual obscurity, and, in conjunction with their violent metaphors, precluded the presence of nature or elegance, feeling or beauty. The metaphor and the periphrasis could be exalted only into extravagancies and absurdity. The more their genius labored to excel in this savage dress, it became but the more fantastic; in striving to be original, it could only commit more daring outrages on language and common sense. This effect appears in the poems of the Northern scalds, who continued the Saxon style after the Anglo-Saxons had abandoned it; and it must be obvious to every one, that when poets had to struggle with each other to express objects so common and so hacknied, as ships and heroes, kings and swords, by new metaphors or periphrasis, the more active their fancy, the more unnatural must have been its creations. In this strange competition, ships were not only called — the keels that ride the surge, the ploughers of the ocean, the chariots of the waves, and the floating pines — which are strong, yet perhaps allowable phrases; but by these poets they are also styled — the wooden coursers of Gestils, the sky-blue doves, the snorting steeds adorned with ruddy gold, the monsters of the deep³⁸ — which are in the worst taste of uncultivated imagination. To call the sword a blue

³⁸ See the *Hrafnas Malom*, or Raven's Ode, of Sturla, on Hacon's expeditions against Scotland, published with a Translation by the Rev. J. Johnstone, 1782.— In other Northern poems, ships are called a crane, a serpent, the ravens of the harbour, the wooden oxen, the oxen of the bays; and wounding another is expressed as sprinkling the tongue of the wolves. So shields are termed, the clouds of battle; gold, the earth of the serpent; and the sea, the belt of the Islands. See Snorre's *Heimskringla*.

serpent, and arrows the southern flies boiling up from the caverns of the quivers³⁹, are extravagancies of absurdity which may indeed be paralleled in the modern Persian⁴⁰ literature, but which European taste has long learnt to disavow.

The Norman conquest, which introduced not only a new sovereign, but also a new race of landed proprietors, into England, of foreign language and with foreign manners, abolished this bloated style. The Anglo-Saxon harpers were unintelligible to the Norman barons⁴¹, and were therefore banished from the halls of the great, and the court of the prince; and with them their Anglo-Saxon poetry disappeared. How fortunate an event this was to the real improvement of the English mind, will be felt by all who take the trouble to study the specimens of the loftier species of the Anglo-Saxon poetry, which we have in *Beowulf*, and the usual poems of the Northern scalds. Such is the obscurity and peculiarity of the poem of *Beowulf*, that no industry would now suffice to make it completely intelligible.

The intercourse between Normandy and Denmark diminished, as the power of the French monarchy became attenuated among its feudal lords. The Normans, enjoying their national independence secure from foreign insult, had no occasion for further aids of their rude kinsmen in the North. Hence their domestic connexions with Scandinavia had so completely ceased in the eleventh century, that their language retained scarcely a vestige of their northern origin. Of course the poetry of the scalds became unfashionable and unpopular in Normandy, when it

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³⁹ Our Ethelred, in his *De Bello Standards*, has this violent metaphor. *Decem Script.* vol. i. p. 345.

⁴⁰ Einaut Ollah, in his *Tales*, has carried this style of poetry to that happy excess which ensures its own depreciation.

⁴¹ Ingulf says, that the Normans so abhorred the English speech, that even their grammar was taught to the boys in the schools Gallice, not Anglice. P. 71.

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The
simpler
character
of the
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was no longer intelligible. It would need as much translation as the Anglo-Saxon; and it had no attractions, when translated, that could be put into competition with the minstrels of Provence or Bretagne.

These minstrels came with one quality that had an irresistible effect on a people beginning its mental cultivation; and this was, their easy intelligibility. No poetry could be more humble in its kind, than the popular lays of the minstrel, and the larger effusions of his clerical rivals, as far as we can judge from their few remains and abundant imitators. As compositions, their chief merit was that plain simplicity, which, to the low state of the common intellect of society in their days, was found the most popular. As poetry, it had but one characteristic, which may be expressed in one word — rime. Rime was the great distinction between the prose and poetry of the vernacular language of Normandy, in the twelfth century; and for a considerable interval, it had nothing else to boast of. The use of this peculiarity by the Anglo-Normans, unquestionably arose from its prevalence in the poetry of their neighbours, the Franks, the Bretons, and the Provençals.⁴²

The obligations which we are under to these Norman Trouveurs for their style, and therefore the beneficial improvements which they introduced in both

⁴² The Troubadours contributed somewhat to the sudden rise of the Anglo-Norman poetry; for two of its earliest versifiers, Sanson and Wace, mention two of their favorite compositions, the Tençon and the Serventeis: Thus Sanson —

Ki eue lait corre e purer
 Chef de tencons le oi nomer
 Cil ki sa lange ne refraine
 Lait eue aler de boche pleine
 E ki sa boche ne refraine
 De tencons est chief e fontaine.

MS. Harl. No. 4388.

And Wace —

Mais ore puis jeo leinges penser
 Livres escrire e translater
 Faire rumanz e serventeis
 Tant truverai tant seit curteis.

MS. Bib. Reg. vol. iv. c. 11.

the thought and feeling of our countrymen, as well as into the modes and power of expressing them, have not been sufficiently appreciated. We are too familiar now with language to think of the original difficulties of primeval composition, altho no attainment of human science is more honorable to mankind, or must have every where been more arduous and wonderful than the formation of an exact, copious, expressive, forcible and harmonious language, and the precise and flexible connexion of it with the instantaneous, multifarious, and ever-varying emotions and perceptions of the human soul. For the most part, it has been the gradual and imperceptible production of the mind, under its successive wants, impulses and experience.⁴³ But men in all ages and countries have arisen, who have successfully exerted themselves to add new words and phrases, to give more softness and melody, to invent new synonymes, new compounds, new metaphors, and new discriminations of diction. We see this manifestly in the artificial Sanscrit. We feel it in the Greek; and we have it acknowledged by Cicero; and we can trace it ourselves in the classical Latin, and in the modern word-compounding German. The process is still more visible in the French and English. The Anglo-Norman Trouveurs first improved their own language, which has become that of modern France; and the English

⁴³ M. Auguis has well described some part of this process in the formation of the French tongue from that of the Norman Trouveurs. "Notre langue, qui commença à naître environ vers le dixième siècle, et qui a changé tant de fois jusqu'à Louis XIV. n'a pas moins varié dans la prononciation et dans l'orthographe que dans les éléments qui la composent; et à mesure que la nation s'est polie, et que la société s'est perfectionnée, on a cherché à adoucir les sons âpres et rudes qui étoient si multipliés dans la langue de nos pères, et que les barbares du Nord avoient apportés avec eux. L'euphonie insensiblement rendit les mots plus harmonieux et plus doux, le nombre des consonnes qui se heurtoient diminua: l'organe glissa plus mollement sur des prononciations qui le fatiguoient. On supprima des lettres à l'oreille: on adoucit surtout l'aspérité des finales: quelquefois on introduisit des e muets pour servir comme de repos entre des syllabes dures; mais la langue écrite qui devoit suivre du même pas la langue parlée, resta encore longtemps en arrière." Les Poetes Fran. jusqu'à Malherbe, Disc. Prel. vii.

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mind taught by them so to think and speak in their Roman French, rapidly introduced into our Anglo-Saxon English all their cultivation, as soon as it turned its genius and literary labors to that language, which has now become our vernacular speech, and may yet diffuse itself to be the prevailing language of the largest part of the world. This triumph will depend upon the continued and superior excellence of our future thinkers and writers.

That language which combines in its compositions the greatest quantity of verbal beauties, intellectual power, elegant taste, pure ethics, and the best sympathies and emotions of the heart, is the most likely to become the most studied, the most universal, and the most permanent tongue. Every English author should therefore strive to continue and increase the charms of his native diction, and to connect it with the noblest and most interesting pursuits and effusions of the cultivated, moralized and sanctified spirit.

Personal fame, useful patriotism, and the sublimest philanthropy will be sweetly blended in the effort. Base subjects, trifling littlenesses, unprofitable rubbish, and mischievous extravagancies, will then no longer degrade the British press; nor withhold it from the sovereignty to which it is fully qualified to aspire, and which every misleading author contributes to prevent it from attaining.

Mankind will never, in the free action of their will, extensively or continuously patronise the mischievous, or the inferior, in any department of human action or inquiry.

We may consider six languages as having pretensions, and some of them as actually contending to become the habitual speech of our Norman ancestors; and through them of all France. They carried with them their *Norwegian* tongue from their rough

northern ocean; they settled themselves close by the *ancient British* in Bretagne, divided only by hedges and rivers; they found in France, in which they at first prowled for booty, and with which they always maintained a favorite intercourse, three languages, that had been there struggling for predominance; the *ancient German* of the Franks⁴⁴, the *Provençal* of the southern provinces⁴⁵, and the more latinized *Romane*⁴⁶ of the interior and northward districts; and they became the chief proprietors of land in an *Anglo-Saxon* population.

With all these languages to choose from, they dropped, by a process untraceable now, their native Norwegian. They avoided the Franco-Theotic, the Breton and the Provençal; and before they invaded England, had naturalized indelibly among them that *Romane* tongue, which, in its old form, has survived to us in the Anglo-Norman remains⁴⁷, and in its newest form constitutes the modern French. It has been regretted by one of the latest writers on the ancient poets of France, that instead of this the Provençal did not become the national language.⁴⁸ He

⁴⁴ The remains of their Franco-Theotic language have been collected by Schelter, in his *Thesaurus*. Its grammar is in *Hickes Ant. Sept.* Its most ancient monument is the oath of Louis the German, transmitted to us by *Nithardus*.

⁴⁵ *M. Raynouard's Choix des Poesies des Troubadours*, contains some of the specimens of their language and poetry. *Auguis*, in his *Poetes Francois* before *Malherbe*, begins with some of the Provençal writers, but gives specimens chiefly of the *Trouveres*, and their successors, the oldest French poets.

⁴⁶ The Anglo-Norman poems are specimens of this, and their authors frequently call their language the *romanz*. Thus *Gaimar* :

“ Il purchasar mainte esamplaire
Livers engleis e par grammaire
E en *romanz* e en latin.”

MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

⁴⁷ Altho all France now uses the language of their *Trouveres*, as its national tongue, yet England has the credit of exhibiting the earliest specimen of it in the laws of *William the Conqueror*, which our *Ingulf* has preserved. Its most ancient work, in verse, is thought to be the translation of the Latin poem of *Marbodius* on the precious stones, written about 1123. *Aug. Disc. Prel. xviii.*

⁴⁸ The two languages have been called, from their words for “yes,” *Langue d’oc*, and *Langue d’oil*. “On nomme encore le Provençal, *Langue d’oc*, et le *Wallon*

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thinks it would have given to it, by its full, sweet, and sounding terminations, a finer idiom than any other.⁴⁹ But no nation can choose its diction from the taste of its literati. The uncultivated population of every country attach to it the language they use and prefer, long before poets compose, philosophers reason, or taste decides. These may engraft or prune, but cannot eradicate one speech to plant another; and therefore as our Anglo-Troveurs found their Romane or Norman French in full use at the Anglo-Norman court, and among its nobility, even when embosomed in England, they made it the language of their literary effusions. From the time at least of Hugh Capet⁵⁰, it had become decidedly the language of all the French provinces north of the Loire; and their new compositions in it completed its predominance in the amalgamated nation of the future France, and before the thirteenth century ended, France could enumerate the works of one hundred and twenty-seven poets.⁵¹

langue d'oïl. Après trois siècles d'existence, la langue des Troubadours s'éteignit par une nouvelle corruption, et parce qu'elle ne fit aucun progrès. Le Roman Wallon, que les Trouveres employoient se conserva se perfectionna, peu à peu; et c'est de ce dialecte qu'est venu le François." Auguis, Disc. Prel. from Sism. vol. I. p. 259.

⁴⁹ M. Auguis says, "Il est clair que la langue d'oc étoit plus digne de devenir la langue dominante: elle nous eut donné, par ses terminaisons pleines, douces et retentissantes, un idiome aussi beau que nul autre." Disc. Prel. xii.

⁵⁰ "Cette romancerie, proprement dite, remonte jusqu'à Hugues Capet; et se multiple prodigieusement." Aug. Disc. Prel. xi.

⁵¹ Auguis, *ibid.* Our own times and country have seemed peculiarly prolific in poets; but even in what are miscalled the dark ages, we read that "from Guillaume IX. who died 1122, to Malherbe, who was born 1556, or in 434 years, there were no fewer than 600 poets in France; nearly one and a half a year." M. Auguis's work presents specimens of the chief of these. We sing that "Time has thinned our flowing hair;" but what a havoc has he made in the Parnassus of every country!

"Tandis que l'Italiens imitoient la syntaxe latine, que leurs finales, toujours pleines, se prêtoient tout de suite à l'euphonie, et que le passage d'une langue à l'autre étoit presque imperceptible; que, pressés ou lents, doux ou âpres forts ou passionnés, sublimes et sonnans, ou simples et paisibles, leurs écrivains pouvoient donner à leur gré à la langue poétique de la souplesse et de la variété; qu'ils pouvoient raccourcir ou allonger leurs terminaisons après les quatre liquides, adoucir une quantité d'autres mots par des abréviations diverses, avoir dans des modifications de finales des modifications d'idées; en un mot, se créer, par des exceptions légères et faciles, une langue poétique entièrement séparée de la prose. Nous qui avons été leurs premiers maîtres, nous ignorions encore le genie de notre propre langue." Auguis, *ibid.* xiv.

Its antiquaries, however, complain, that the language was not improved adequately to such a literary use of it, while the Italians, with more successful attention, or by more fortunate accidents, were giving to their tongue a superiority of euphonious beauty⁵², which no other European nation has either equalled or outdone. Francis I. drew the French out of its barbaric state⁵³, and extended to it the royal encouragement, by ordering it to be used instead of Latin in the tribunals and public acts. Marot first⁵⁴ gave elegance, melody and ease to its poetry; which Malherbe, rescuing it from the pedantry and artificial compounds of Ronsard, made more correct, regular, rythmical and select. While Amyot and Montaigne introduced many analogous improvements to its prose; Corneille added to verse new dignity and force, and Racine blended with it all that sweetness, charm, refinement, taste and colouring⁵⁵, which foreigners as well as natives both feel and admire. Fenelon afterwards allied to his native tongue all the graceful simplicity, intelligence, perspicuity and delicacy of his own elegant mind and pure heart.

No circumstance could have been more auspicious to the rise of true poetry in England, than to have had in its infant state such a simple and yet marking characteristic as rime. The first Anglo-Norman

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Facility of
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⁵² Auguis, Dis. Prel. xiv. Algarotti has left a very pleasing Italian essay on the French and Italian languages, which will reward perusal for its sweetness of diction and good sense.

⁵³ Auguis, *ibid.*

⁵⁴ Of Marot, who, as a poet, he calls elegant, but, as a prose writer, "Indigeste et obscur," M. Auguis says, "il s'attacha aux termes, et aux tours que le frottement de l'usage avoit le plus adoucis. Toutes les rimes agréables, toutes les phrases coulantes, échappées au hasard des vieilles pleines Françoises, il recueillit et employa."—He shewed "que la grace du François reside dans une tournure facile, vive, serrée, et surtout claire et directe." Aug. *ibid.*

⁵⁵ "Le véritable fondation de notre langue poetique, en France, fut Malherbe.— Cette correction suivie que personne n'eut avant Malherbe." Corneille added new force, and Racine gave it "plus de charme," and caused it to descend from its ancient majesty "à une jeunesse plus riante et plus douce.—Il mela plus de couleurs à ses tableaux, il perfectionna l'art des nuances; et repondit sur elle un éclat de figures et d'ornemens qu'elle n'avoit point connu jusqu'alors." Aug. *ibid.*

verses were so completely dull and barren prose, that, if they had not possessed this distinguishing feature, it is hard to conceive how their poetry could have obtained a separate growth and peculiar cultivation; yet such was the rude and feeble state of the public mind, that if the characteristics of its poetry had been a laborious difficulty, it would have made no progress, nor attracted imitation. In all the arts and sciences, men of all classes must be tempted to study, judge, and practise them, before excellence can be formed; before the chance occurs, of genius being possessed by some of the cultivators. But from the abundant consonancies which all languages retain, rime is a form of composition as easy of practice as it is a marking feature. It is a light and pliable fetter, which genius may play with as it pleases. It was so trifling a restraint to our literary ancestors, that they composed in it works which in their length might daunt even a sir Richard Blackmore. Wace has left us ten poems in Norman French, of which one alone contains 12,000 verses⁵⁶; and his contemporary, Beneoit, has bequeathed to us two historical poems that present us with at least 60,000 rimes.⁵⁷ Gaimar emulates this fertility; and many other of the estories and romans are as prolific.⁵⁸ Even the

⁵⁶ His Brut, Bib. Reg. 13. A 21. — His poem on the History of Normandy, Bib. Reg. 4. C 11 is much longer.

⁵⁷ The Harl. MS. No. 1717, on Normandy, contains about 45,000 lines; and the MS. No. 4482, on Troy, about 15,000.

⁵⁸ The roman entitled Les Gestes de Garin, Bib. Reg. 20. B 19 contains above 25,000 rimed lines. It resembles some of the Welsh poetry, in continuing the same rime for many lines together. Thus 25 lines end in *ie*—followed by 18 in *on*—and 31 in *er*. Its metrical form may be seen from six lines:

Bene chancon plest vos que je vos die
De haute estoire e de grant baronie
Meilleur ne puet estre dite noie—
A St. Denis en la mestre Abbaie
Trouvon escrit de ce ne doute mie
Dedans un livre de grant entesorie.

And see the Roman de Florimont, and indeed all the rimed romances—they are all emulously wearisome in length.

Latin language, with all its march of dignity, was found to be so ductile to this popular beauty, that Bernard de Cluny, in the twelfth century, composed a Latin poem, in 3000 verses, riming in the middle and at the end⁵⁹; and the work of Friar Armand, intitled, *Speculum humanæ Salvationis*, consists of above 5000 Latin rimes.⁶⁰ Nothing therefore seems to have been easier than to write in rime, especially when nothing else was aimed at.

The great benefit produced by the naturalization of rime in our national poetry, was the abolition of the affectations and distortions of the Anglo-Saxon style, and the introduction of the artless language of nature and perspicuity. The homely verses of our Anglo-Norman forefathers established a taste for simplicity and intelligibility, and framed a poetical diction, that permitted the heart to speak its feelings without restraint. No mental revolution could have been more beneficial. Without simplicity and perspicuity, no poetry is genuine, no genius impressive; with these essential requisites, every true grace and beauty, the most moving pathos, and the most elevating sublimity, may be happily combined. Hence, altho, by having little else than rime, our vernacular poetry was born in its humblest state, yet it thereby appeared the true child of nature. It has since grown to strength and beauty, as the national civilization has advanced. Every generation has seen it disclose new charms, and acquire new excellencies, till it has attained to such majesty, such universality, such richness, such energy, and such polish, that the nation

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⁵⁹ De Contemptu Mundi, dedicated to Peter, abbot of Clugny, about 1125. Fauchet, p. 66.

⁶⁰ Harleian MS. No. 26. and Cotton MS. Vesp. E 1. The last gives the author's name.—The *Speculum Stultorum*, MS. Titus, A 20. has nearly 4000 lines, riming in the middle; and all Walter Mapes' Latin poems are rimed apparently with great ease.

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has yet to appear, to whose superiority the genius of English poetry must do homage.⁶¹

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⁶¹ Of the Troubadours, it may be mentioned, that only three of their romances in verse have survived. M. Raynouard states these to be—1. Gerard de Rousillon; which may be placed in the beginning of the twelfth century, if not before. It is on his wars with Charles Martel, and contains above 8000 verses of ten syllables, in consecutive rimes.—2. On Jaufre, son of Dovon, one of the knights of Arthur, describing his adventures in pursuing the ferocious Taulat du Rugimon, who had struck dead with a lance one of the knights of the round table. It comprises above 10,000 verses of eight syllables: it may be referred to the beginning of the thirteenth century. The 3d is Philomena; which contains the exploits of Charlemagne in the south of France against the Saracens, written apparently before 1200. Many other romances are mentioned in the works of the Troubadours, which have perished. *Choix des Troub.* vol. ii. pp. 284—298. They have a chronicle of 10,000 verses on the war against the Albigenses, by Guill. de Tudela, p. 283.

CHAP. VIII.

On the Origin and Progress of Rime in the Middle Ages.

As rime has become the principal characteristic of all English poetry but the dramatic, in which it cannot be successfully naturalized, it deserves a more enlarged consideration.

Of all the forms of modern poesy, tho other metrical modes of verse have been tried, and with grand and pleasing effect, yet rime appears to have been the most universally liked, the most frequently praised, and the most abundantly practised. Rythm, cadence and metre may exist without it; but with all these it associates; and adds to them its own peculiar pleasurableness; and therefore in its most perfect composition may be said to present the most perfect versification of English poetry. It is a sovereign which admits of viceroys, companions, and allies, but which seems to claim to itself the superior throne, and to have the power of giving to poetry an elegance, a melody, a strength, an intonation, a sweetness, and yet also a pathos, and a grandeur, which its absence lessens, and which no substitute can so completely supply.

As its effects greatly impress, its principle, like that of all verbal cadence and rythm, must be deeply seated in the human mind. There is a charm in peculiar collocations and sequences, and in the consonancies of words, which the cultivated taste feels as sensibly, and with a gratification as agreeable, as the duly organized and accustomed ear perceives and relishes the harmonies of musical sound. This mys-

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⏟
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terious effect upon our minds has always formed one of the sweetest enchantments of poetry. What that music of the soul is, which, independently of audible sound, can be awakened and pleased by unknown sympathies with the measured order of selected words and syllabic prosody, we have yet to discover; but that there are some fine chords of melodious sensibility within us, the universal gratification experienced from peculiar combinations of syllables, well-cadenced prose, and the metres and consonancies of poetry, impressively indicates. It does not depend upon the ear, because the mind perceives and enjoys the grateful beauty without the use of any external sound. The effect is, an intellectual sensation without the instrumentality of sense; and this implies, that there must be something responsive to it in the intellect, which occasions the feeling, and makes that feeling so generally agreeable. But, however it originates, it comes in various shapes, and is producible by many verbal arrangements.¹ The ending cadence of the hexameter suited the language and delighted the nations of Greece and Rome. The pentameter, which is less rythmical to us, was yet pleasing to the latter. Their lyrical prosodies had also melodious agencies on their accordant sensibilities, which we cannot adequately enjoy. Instead of these, each of the vernacular tongues of Europe has formed from its separate capabilities, the peculiar positions of words, the succession and combination of syllables, the modes of enunciation, the pauses, flow, and measured cadences of phrase, and the connected resemblances of terminal sounds, which constitute the varieties of poetry, that every nation has appropriated to itself, and loves and cherishes with intellectual delight.

¹ The treatise of Demetrius Phalereus de Elocutione; the orations of Isocrates; and the orations and speeches of Cicero, shew how much the graces and effect of verbal elocution were studied and valued by the ancients.

Among these, rime has been our property from the æra of the Norman conquest; we have withdrawn it almost without a dissentient voice, from the colloquial poetry of the stage; but we have attached it to every other department of the Muse, with a perseverance of approving taste, which no censuring denunciation of it, as the invention of barbarian times, is ever likely to persuade us to discontinue.

It is true that it is barbaric to us in its chronology; but it is not barbaric in its primeval ancestry or its mental operation. It certainly came into English composition amid the movements and from the nations of the grand Gothic stem, who broke up the Roman empire, and who introduced the feudal system, the duel, the ordeal, the common law, the jury, and the parliament. So far, therefore, like these, it comes from a barbaric lineage; but there is no more reason to brand it as a rude barbarism, a pleasing contagion, or a degrading deterioration²; unless all the intellectual improvements which have flowed upon us from the new fountains of mind and pursuits that were opened by our Gothic forefathers, are also to be considered as barbarian innovations.

But rime cannot have had a barbarian origin, because rime is one of the chief poetical forms and graces of the most ancient, the first cultivated, and once most civilized nations and languages of the world. That it was one of the great characteristics of the ancient eastern poetry, and abounds in the Sanscrit and Chinese, in the Arabic, and in the Persian, and that it existed in the Hebrew and ancient Carthaginian, was shewn in an essay formerly

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Origin of
rime.

² Algarotti tends to give it this character in his agreeable "saggio" on rime, in the fourth volume of his "Opere." This saggio is an elegant specimen of the rythmical melody which Italian prose can receive from a refined taste.

³ Printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. pp. 169, 170. 200. To the instances there given we may add, that the Ethiopian poetry is rimed. *Lud. Hist. Æth.* l. iv. c. 2.; that the Birman poetry is sometimes in successive, and often in alternate rimes;

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published.³ Some of these nations or their ancestors were the primeval stocks of all the civilization and literary mind of the ancient world; and as rime was unquestionably used by them, we may justly infer, that from them it has descended to their branches and descendants.

That the Keltic and Kimmerian tribes entered Europe and its islands from Asia, and were therefore ramifications of the great Oriental trunk, has been shewn in the History of the Anglo-Saxons; of these the Cymry, or the Welsh, were descendants, as well as the Irish and the Gaelic nations; and among all these people, rime has been an inseparable addition to their poetical compositions; unlike in this respect to the Saxons, who used metre and cadence, without rime, in their poetical effusions. All the remains of the ancient Welsh poetry composed in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, uniformly exhibit the riming terminations.⁴ That rime, tho not made the characteristic of the cultivated poetry of the Greeks and Romans, was yet not unknown to them, I attempted to prove, not only from its forming one of the figures of rhetorical and poetical diction particularized by their critical writers on elocution, but from the instances of it which were traced from their compositions, and which seemed not to be casual.⁵ It was shewn decidedly, that it was used in the Latin popular poetry in the fourth century⁶; and an instance,

Symes Emb. Ava. vol. ii. p. 399.; and that the Malay and Javanese poetry also abound with rime.

⁴ These poems are printed in the first volume of the *Archæology of Wales*.

⁵ This idea was pursued in the second part of the above-mentioned *Essay*, pp. 189—198.

⁶ St. Austin used it in his poem against the Donatists. See the first verse of this quoted in the above *Essay*, p. 188. I owe my knowledge of this, to the worthy old Welsh bard Edward Williams, who had more knowledge of his country's antiquities than any other person, excepting Dr. Owen Pughe. He had not seen it, but had some where met with an allusion to it. This intimation that St. Austin had left something of this description, led me to search in his voluminous works till I found the poem, which was not easy, from its being printed like prose, and such the incurious editor seems to have thought it.

which I was fortunate enough to find in Aldhelm's works, that had escaped the notice of preceding inquirers, demonstrated that it was known in England in the beginning of the seventh century, and was then used in his Latin poems by this venerated ecclesiastic.⁷ The instances which I also adduced from poems of Boniface and his friends, soon after Aldhelm, confirmed this certain chronology of its existence.

But as the old assertion, that it came to us and to Europe from the Arabians, is still repeated by many, as if that wrong theory had never been confuted, it may prevent future mistake, to give in one view a succession of specimens of its previous and continued existence, beginning with St. Austin, who lived at the close of the fourth century.

1. ST. AUSTIN.—A. D. 384.

His popular Poem against the Donatists.

THIS little work of St. Austin, altho printed as if it were prose, in the edition of Paris 1531, is all rimed in E. It is in parts of twelve lines, each part beginning with a successive letter of the alphabet, and divided from each other by a repeat or chorus. The first part was quoted in the before-mentioned Essay. The second part is the following:—

Bonus auditor fortasse quærit, qui ruperunt rete?
 Homines multum superbi, qui justos se dicunt esse.
 Sic fecerunt scissuram et altare contra altare
 Diabolo se tradiderunt cum pugnant de traditione
 Et crimen quod commiserunt in alios volunt transferre
 Ipsi tradiderunt libros et nos audent accusare
 Ut pejus committant scelus quam commiserunt et ante
 Quod possent causam librorum excusare de timore
 Quod Petrus Christum negavit, dum tenetur de morte
 Modo quo pacto excusabunt factum altare contra altare
 Et pace Christi concissa spem ponunt in homine
 Quod persecutor non fecit, ipsi fecerunt in pace.

⁷ See the Essay, and also the following pages.

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I will only add the first line of the next parts:—

Custos noster, Deus magne! tu nos potes liberare—
- - - - -Dixerunt majores nostri et libros fecerunt inde—
- - - - -Ecce quam bonum et jocundum fratres in unum habitare—
- - - - -Fecerunt quod voluerunt tunc in illa cecitate
- - - - -Gaudium magnum esset nobis, si nunc nollitis errore—
- - - - -Honores vanos qui quærit non vult cum Christo regnare—
- - - - -

Justitia sequi si vultis totam causam cogitate—

It proceeds in the same manner thro the other letters of the alphabet, adding twelve lines to each initial letter, and all ending or riming in E.

2. VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS.—A. D. 570.

The first verses of one of his rimed poems were cited in the Essay. The three last verses are;—

Accedite ergo digni
Ad gratiam lavacri
Quo fonte recreati
Refulgeatis agni.
Tibi laus.

Hic gurgis est fidelis
Purgans liquore mentis
Dum rore corpus sudat
Peccata terget unda.
Tibi laus.

Gaudite, candidati!
Electa vasa regni!
In morte consepulti
Christi fide renati.
Tibi laus.

Fab. Bib. Med. v. ii. p. 545.

3. COLUMBANUS.—A. D. 615.

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Beata familia, quæ in altis habitat:
 Ubi senex non gemit, neque infans vagiat.
 Ubi non esuritur; ubi nunquam sititur
 Ubi cibo supremo, plebs celestis pascitur.
 Læti leto transacto lætum regem videbunt.
 Cum regnante regnabunt, cum gaudente gaudebunt.
 Tunc dolor, tunc tædium; tunc labor delebitur:
 Tunc rex regum, rex mundus, a mundis videbitur.

Usher Syll. p. 10.

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4. DREPANIUS FLORUS.—A. D. 650.

Besides the verses cited in the Essay, another may be inserted here.

Hic namque virtus inclita
 Plebis beatæ premia;
 Hic ipse Christo proflua
 Servat salutis gaudia.

Mag. Bib. Pat. tom. viii. p. 728.

5. ST. ALDHELM.—Died A. D. 710.

As this passage gives a firm foundation to the new fact, that rime was known and used by Aldhelm in England, *before* the Arabs invaded Spain; and therefore that it did *not* originate to us from them, I will insert it here. He says, “ut non inconvenienter carmine *rythmico* dici queat.” It had passed unnoticed by preceding inquirers. But when I had the good fortune to observe it in Aldhelm’s rhetorical work, as I was reading that for other purposes, it satisfied me that rime had not originated in England from any Arabian source. The most probable idea as to its origin in his mind, is, that he derived it from the ancient Welsh bards, with whom his connexions with Glastonbury may have brought him acquainted.

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ENGLAND.Christus passus patibulo
Atque leti latibulo
Virginem Virgo Virgini
Commendabat tutamini.

Aldhelm de Virg. p. 297. Whart. ed.

Aldhelm here not only gives us an example, but also the name; he calls it "rythmico," or rimed.

In the same work also occur—

Beata Maria!
Virgo perpetua!
Hortus conclusus;
Fons signatus;
Virgula radiceis,
Gerula floris.
Aurora solis:
Nurus patris. —Ib. p. 342.

Of Aldhelm's own poetry there is an epistle printed among the letters of Boniface, which is in Latin rime, of which the following is a specimen:—

Cumque flatus victoriae
Non furerent ingloriae
Tremebat tellus turbida;
Atque eruta robora
Cadebunt cum verticibus
Simul ruptis radicibus.
Neque guttae graciliter
Manabant, sed minaciter
Mundi rotam rorantibus
Humectabant cum imbribus.

Carmen Aldh. 16 Mag. Bib. 74.

All these specimens were written before the Arabians invaded Spain, and fully prove the anterior use of rime by a Roman in Africa, St. Austin; by a priest in France, Venantius Fortunatus; by an Irishman at St. Gall, Columbanus; by Drepanius Florus; and by an Anglo-Saxon in England, St. Aldhelm. These instances fully destroy the Arabian theory of the origin of rime.

The following specimens are from the Welsh bards, who lived between 500 and 700.

ANEURIN.—A. D. 550.

A nawr gynhornan
 Huan ar wyran
 Gwledig gyd gyfgein
 Nef Ynys Brydain.

Bwyt y Eryr erysmygei
 Pan gryssei gydywal cyfdwyreei
 Awr gan wyrd wawr cyn y dodei
 Aessawr dellt am bellt a adawei
 Pareu rynn rwygial dygymmy nei
 Ygat blaen bragat briwei
 Mad Syvno symedwydd ac gwyddydei.

Welsh. Arch. 3, 4.

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TALIESIN.—A. D. 550.

Ni chyfarchaf fi gogledd
 Ar mei teyrnedd
 Cyn pei am laweredd
 Y gwelwn gynghwystledd
 Nid rhaed ym hoffedd
 Urien nim gommedd.—Ib. 59

LLYWARCH HEN.—A. D. 600

Pen a borthav ar vy ysgwydd
 Ni'm arvollai warudwydd
 Gwae vy llaw lladd vy arglwydd!
 Pen a borthav ar y mraich
 Neus gorug o dir Brynaich
 Gwedy gwawr elorawr vaich.—Welsh Arch. 104.

MYRDDHEN.—580.

Oian a parchellan bychan breichfas
 Andaw de lais adar mor mawn en dias
 Kerddorion allan heb ran urddas
 Gwrthunawd esspyd a bryd gan was
 Heb godwyd wyneb, hebran urddas.—Welsh Arch. 137.

To the citations in the Essay from our Boniface, I will add the following, also from him, because it ex-

hibits that precise metre and rime, which nearly four centuries afterwards became the great characteristic of the Anglo-Norman poetry—the eight-syllable rimed verse.

BONIFACE.—Died A. D. 755.

Nicharde! nunc nigerrima
Imi Cosmi contagia
Temne fauste tartaria
Hoc contra hunc supplicia
Altaque super æthera
Rimari petens agmina.—Mag. Bib. Pat. xvi. 49.

The Liber Antiphonarum of the Bangor monastery, in Wales, written in the seventh, or at latest, in the eighth century, has a hymn of St. Cangill, which is rimed.

Recordemur justitiæ
Nostræ Patroni fulgidæ
Cangilli sancti nomine
Refulgentis in opere
Audite pantes ta erga
Allati ad Angelica
Athletæ Dei abdita.
A juventute florida.—Murat. Ant. p. 688.

All these specimens concur to prove the following facts:—

That rime was, in the year 384, used in the vulgar poetry of the Romans.

And in the years 570 and 650 by the Latin ecclesiastics.

And in 550, 580, and 600, by the ancient Welsh bards, and in the Bangor monastery.

And in 700, by the Anglo-Saxon Aldhelm, and before 750, by Boniface.

To these established truths we may add, that in the sixth century it was also used in the vernacular Irish poetry⁸, and is the regular accompaniment of

⁸ I learn this from Dr. O'Connor's Prolegomena. He has printed the Irish poem

their ancient historical ballads.⁹ Their language also contains words, which, in their verbal sound express it.¹⁰ Descending to later times, I have observed the following authors who have written in rime.

The MS. of the work of Theobaldus on animals has been declared to be of the eighth century; if so, it proves that rime was then in use, altho his authority has not hitherto been known or referred to. But out of his Latin verses on his twelve animals, those on two of them, the spider and the turtle-dove, are in rime. As the work has not been quoted before, I will subjoin them.

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THEOBALDUS.—A. D. 800.

The lines on the spider are very flowing and easy:

Vermis aranea licet exiguus,
Plurima fila nectit assiduus.
Qui vivere solet his studiis
Texere que solet artificitus

on St. Patrick, ascribed to Frecus Sleibhenses, from the very ancient Dungal MS., and justly placed by the Irish antiquaries in the sixth century.

It is in thirty-four stanzas. Its first and last are,

First—

Genair Patraic i Nemthur.
Asseadh adfet hi Sclebaibh,
Macan se mblíadan decc
An tan do breth fo dheraibh.

Last—

Patraic cen airde nuabhair,
Ba mor do maith ro meanuir,
Bith in gellsine meic Malre
Bha sen gaire in genuir.—xc.—xcvi.

⁹ See those quoted in the preceding 1st volume of this History, page 257, note ⁴², of the dates of 1057 and 1143.

¹⁰ Dr. O'Connor says, "The Irish ascribe no other meaning but rime to their words rann, rimh, riomh, renn, which are ancient Irish words." Prel. vol. ii. p. 58. He remarks, Bede, l. v. c. 18, that Aldhelm was educated by the Irish Malldulph, and instructed by him in Latin learning, and therefore infers, that Aldhelm took his rime from his Irish tutors. Ibid. I have no objection to his conclusion. It is not improbable; but as it is as likely, that Aldhelm was acquainted with the British bards, the Latin ecclesiastica, and St. Austin, and learnt it from them, and as it may have been used in the popular songs of England, I cannot affirm that the Doctor is as right in his deduction as he is patriotic in using it. But from whatever source Aldhelm became acquainted with it, we cannot for a moment believe that rime originated in Ireland.

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'Sunt ea rethia, musca! tibi,
'Ut volitans capiaris ibi.'
Dulcis et utilis esca sibi
Huic placet illud opus tenue
Sed sibi nil valet, nam fragile
Quælibet aura trahit in patulum
Rumpitur et cadit in nihilum.

Hos sequitur homo vermiculos
Decipiendo suos inimicos
Quos comedit, faciens miseros:
Et placet sibi inde nimium
Quando nocere potest alium.
Ille tamen vicium quandoque facit,
Cum moritur, quasi tela cadit,
Quammodo dictus aranea facit.

His rimed verses on the turtle-dove are not unpleasing.

Turtur, inane nescit amore:
Nam semel uni juncto marito
Semper adhæret, cum simul ipso
Nocte dieque juncta manebit,
Absque marito nemo videbit
Sed viduata si caret ipso
Non tamen ultro nubit amico
Sola volabit; sola sedebit
Et quasi vivum corde tenebit
Operiens que casta manebit.

His moral application of it is also rimed.

Sic anima extat quoque fidelis
Facta virili federe felix
Namque maritus, est sibi Christus.
Cum sua de se pectore replet.
Si bene vivit, semper adhæret:
Non alienum quærit amicum
Quamlibet Orcus sumpserit illum;
Quem superesse credit in ethere
Inde futurum spectat eundem
Ut microcosmum judicet omnem.

Theob. Physiologus.

OTFRED. — A. D. 870.

Petrus auur zeli mir
Bin in liob filu thir?
Ist thaz herza thinaz
Mir unarlichu holdas?

HARTMANNUS, a Monk of St. Gall.—A. D. 870.

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Tribus signis
Deo dignis
Dies ista coletur
Tria signa
Laude digna
Cœlus hic persequitur
Stella magos
Duxit vagos
Ad præsepe Domini.

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Bib. Pat. v. 27. p. 517.

ST. BERNARD.—A. D. 1100.

Sanguis Tuus abundanter
Fusus fuit incessanter
Totus lotus in cruore
Stas in maximo dolore
Precinctus vili tegmine!

O majestas infinita!
O egestas inaudita!
Quis pro tanta charitate
Quærit te in veritate
Dans sanguinem pro sanguine.

Op. p. 1656.

Pectus mihi confer mundum
Ardens, pium, gemebundum:
Voluntatem abnegatam,
Tibi semper conformatam
Junctâ virtutum copiâ.

Tu mentis delectatio
Amoris consummatio
Tu mea gloriatio
Jesu! mundi salvatio!
Veni! veni! rex optime!
Pater immensæ gloriæ!
Afulge menti clarius!
Jam expectatus sæpius.— p. 1660.

Sol! occasum nesciens!
Stella semper rutilans!
Semper clara
Sicut sidus radium
Profert virgo filium
Pari forma.— p. 1661.

1. Rimed hexameters; as those of Anselm on Lanfranc:—

*Ipse tamen tectus fuit asperitatis amictu;
Semper de vili vivens et paupere victu—
Asper in elatos: nulli pro munere supplex
Innocuusque bonis et nullo tempore duplex—
Omnes electi! precibus meritisque juvate,
Lanfrancum, vestris et nobis consociate.*

Lanf. Op. Vit. 17.

PETER.—A. D. 1140.

2. Hexameters; sometimes riming in couplets and sometimes in the middle of the line, where the author could not produce the terminal consonance. Thus Peter, a friend of Malmsbury, who calls him a versifier to be ranked among the most eminent, writes on an abbot, beginning with a studied alliteration:—

*Vir probus et prudens, vir vere consiliorum
Extera ditavit, curavit, et intima morum.
Omnibus instructus, quos tradit litera fructus.
Ad decus ecclesiæ, vertit monumenta Sophiæ
Omnibus imbutus quas monstrat physica leges
Ipsos demeruit medicandi munere reges.—Malm. 253.*

HOVEDEN.—A. D. 1199.

3. Our ancient Hoveden has tried some quatrains of Latin rime on his admired contemporary Richard I. The two first are,—

*Graves nobis admodum dies effluxere,
Qui lapillis candidis digni non fuere,
Nam luctus materiam mala præbuere,
Quæ sanctam Jerusalem constat sustinere.*

*Quis enim non doleat tot sanctorum cædes?
Tot sacras Domino profanatas ædes?
Captivatos principes et subversas sedes;
Devolutos nobiles ad servorum pedes?—Hoved. 666.*

Six others follow.

BERTERUS.—A. D. 1150.

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4. Those of Magister Berterus on the crusades, are more like some of the forms of the vernacular poetry. It ends,—

Cum attendas ad quid tendo,
Crucem tollas, et vovendo
Dicas, ILLI me commendo
Qui corpus et animam
Expendit in victimam
Pro me moriendo.

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Then follows what has been the chorus to the preceding parts:—

Lignum crucis
Signum ducis
Sequitur exercitus.
Quod non cessit
Sed processit
In vi Sancti Spiritus.—Hoved. 640.

Specimens of the rimes of the Anglo-Norman poetry may be seen in the quotations before made in this volume.

The above instances present a continuing sequence of the use of rime in various parts of Europe, from the fourth century to the twelfth, and with varied metres: and these specimens, connected with those adduced from the Oriental languages, lead us, unhesitatingly, to infer, that rime has been an appendage to poetry in all ages and countries, from its earliest composition to the present day, and is no more peculiar to the Arabians than to any other nation on earth.¹¹ It prevailed more or less in the east, the south, the west, and north parts of the world; altho some nations preferred musical melodies for their metres, instead of the riming consonancy. The

¹¹ That rime was a regular appendage to the Sanscrit poetry, we see by the Ghata Karparain, a Sanscrit poem of the tenth century, published with a translation in 1828, by M. Durtch, at Berlin.

metrical forms of classical poetry were without it; and these seem to have gained the predominance, from their ancient relation or adaptation to their musical airs.

To complete this subject, it only remains to make a few observations on that form of verse called Leonine, in which the middle of every line rimes with its termination.

ON LEONINE RIME.

IT is well known, that the verses in which the middle syllable rimes with the ending one, as those from Thierricus, in the next page, have received the appellation of Leonine rimes. How anciently they were so named, appears from the instances quoted by Du Cange, Gloss. Med. vol. ii. p. 251.

Thus, Ægidius Paris:—

Nec minus in sacris, melico sermone leonem
Ludentem historiis, et quem intepuisse dolemus.
Karolin. l. 5.

Thierricus Valliscoloris:—

His replicans clare, tres causas explico quare
More leonino dicere metra sine.—Vit. Urb. 4.

Episcopus Senogall:—

Quia passus leoninos.—Itin. Greg. 11.

Guill. Guiart:—

Et cils qui ne set en sa rime
Qu'est consonant, ou leonime.

Metulinus:—

Ut haberet leoninitatem in versu.—Grec. c. 15.

From these, and especially from the first citation, Du Cange infers that they were called Leonine,

“because they were invented by a certain Leo, a poet, who lived about the time of Louis VII. or Philip Augustus.”

This opinion is also an ancient one; for Eberhard Bethuniensis, who wrote in 1212, thus expresses, in the third part of his “Labyrinthus:”—

Sicut, inventoris de nomine, dicta leonis
Carmina, quæ tali sunt modulanda modo.

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His instance is—

Pestis avaritiæ, durumque nefas simoniæ.
Fab. Med. Lat. l. 11., p. 776.

I am not fond of opposing ancient authorities, who being so much nearer the time of personal knowlege, must have better materials for judging than we can possess. But yet this theory is so wrong as to the origin both of the verse and the name, that I cannot discharge the duty I have undertaken, of exhibiting, as far as I am able, the historical truth on the main subjects of attention in the middle ages, without ending the error, and attempting to elucidate the actual fact.

1st. There are no works of such an assumed Leo extant, and nothing known about him; and no chronology, country, parentage, profession or situation really or justly applied to him.

2d. Verses or lines thus rimed did not originate in the middle ages, but were known to both the Greeks and Romans; and such coinciding sounds are noticed as one of the verbal graces of ancient composition. See Aquila Romanus in Antiq. Rhet. p. 23.

3d. These are thus also noticed by our venerable Bede,

“Hac figura poetæ et oratores sæpe utuntur. Poetæ hoc modo.
Pervia divisi, patuerunt cærule ponti.”

De Tropis. Ant. Rhet. p. 378.

4th. Above two centuries before the arbitrary placing of this fancied inventor Leo, a long poem of several hundred hexameter verses, all Leonine rimes, was composed by a German lady, HROSVITHA, on the actions and life of Otho, the emperor of Germany, who married the daughter of our Anglo-Saxon Athelstan. She brings her work down to the year 967, about which time she finished it. The following specimen is a part of its beginning :

Et cum te libri, laudantes congrue multi,
Post hoc ascribentur, merito que placere probentur,
Ordine postremus, non sit tamen iste libellus,
Quem prius exemplo, constat scriptum fore nullo,
Et licet imperii, teneas decus Octaviani,
Non dedigneris, vocitari nomme regis.

Rer. Germ. Reub. p. 162.

5th. They were also used by MARBODIUS, who died 1123, at the age of 88, and whose poem *De Gemmis* has been already noticed. This was written in classical metre; but three others of his Latin verses are in Leonine rimes.

Thus his "*Historia Theophili Pænitentis*:"

Quidam magnorum, Vicedomus erat meritorum
Theophilus nomen, tenuit quoque nominis omen.

His Paraphrase of the Canticles :

Quem sitio votis, nunc oscula porrigat oris.

His Vita Alexii :

Prestans magnatis, summe vir nobilitatis
Stemmata Romanus, effulserat Eufemianus.

Fab. Bib. Med. l. 12. p. 47.

6th. PHILIP DU THAN wrote his poems between 1120 and 1135, entirely in them. I cite his lines on the turtle-dove, as I have given before those of Theobald, which seem to have been his original.

Turtre, ceò est oisel, simple caste e bel,
 E sun malle aime tant, que ja ci sun vivant
 Altre malle non aurat ; ne puis que il mourat
 Ja altre ne prendrat, tut tens puis le plaindrat
 Ne sur veit ne serad, signefiance jad. — Nero, A. 5.

CHAP.
 VIII.

ORIGIN
 AND PRO-
 GRESS OF
 RIME IN
 THE MID-
 DLE AGES.

These citations completely disprove the claim of any Leo, stationed near the year 1200, to the invention of this species of rime. But then, whence came the name? I submit that we may thus account for the origin of it, without creating any person for that purpose.

The Physiologus of Theobald was a poem which however moderate in its real pretensions, was a considerable favorite with our ancestors. Its being printed so soon after the discovery of printing, and its being so often referred to by authors in the middle age, prove its popularity. Now it happens, that its first subject was the lion, and that he wrote this in those middle riming lines, which were subsequently, and I think, from this very work and part, denominated Leonine.

These lines have been quoted in a preceding part of this Work¹²; and I am very much inclined to believe, that their popularity, by one of those capricious accidents which sometimes occur in human affairs, occasioned the term Leonine to be applied to this sort of verse, tho Theobald was not its inventor; as the name America became fixed on the great western continent, tho Americus Vesputius was not its discoverer.

A peculiar species of rimed Latin poetry is exhibited by our celebrated GOWER, in part of his MS. Latin Chronicle of his own times. It exhibits a complication of rime, which must have been learnt from the Welsh bards of the middle ages, as they occasionally use it as a favorite difficulty; and it does

¹² See before in this volume, p. 463.

BOOK
VI.LITERARY
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ENGLAND.

not appear in any earlier works. It consists of a series of the same middle and final rimes continued for several lines. The following is a specimen from Gower's address to Henry IV.

O recolende *bone*, pie rex, Henrice ! *patrone*
Ad bona *dispone*, quos eripis a Pharaone.
Noxia *depone*, quibus est humus hic in *agone*,
Regni *personæ*, quo vivant sub *ratione* ;
Pacem *compone* ; vires moderare *coronæ* ;
Regibus *impone* frenum, sine *conditione* ;
Firmaque *sermone*, jura tenere *mone*.

Rex *confirmatus*, licet undique *magnificatus*
Sub populo *gratus*, vivas tamen *immaculatus*
Est tibi *prelatus*, Comes et Baro, villa *senatus* ;
Miles et *armatus* sub lege tua *moderatus* ;
Invidus, *elatus*, nec avarus erit *sociatus*.
Sic eris *ornatus*, purus ad omne *latus*.

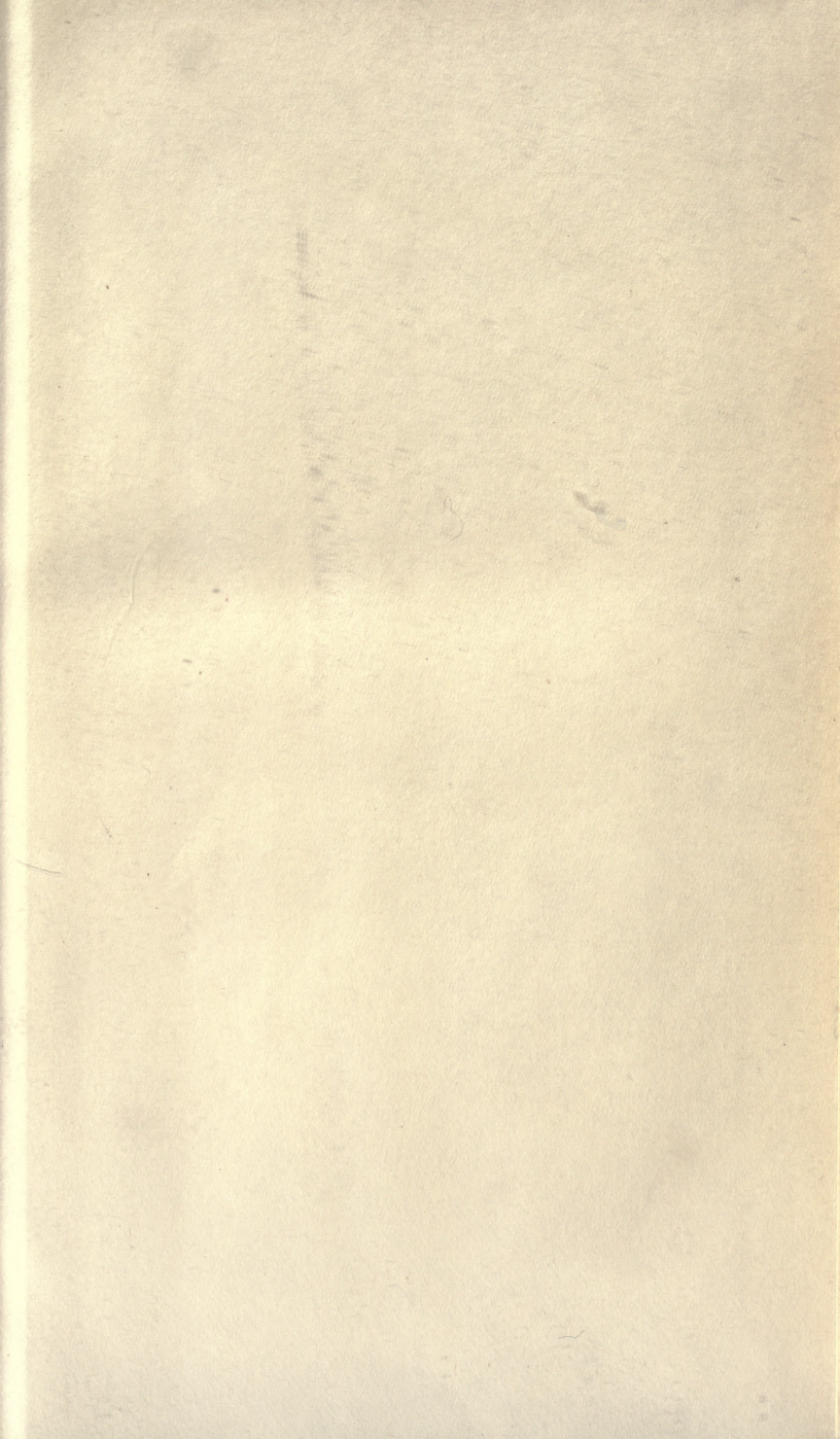
Cotton MS.—Titus, A 13. p. 166.

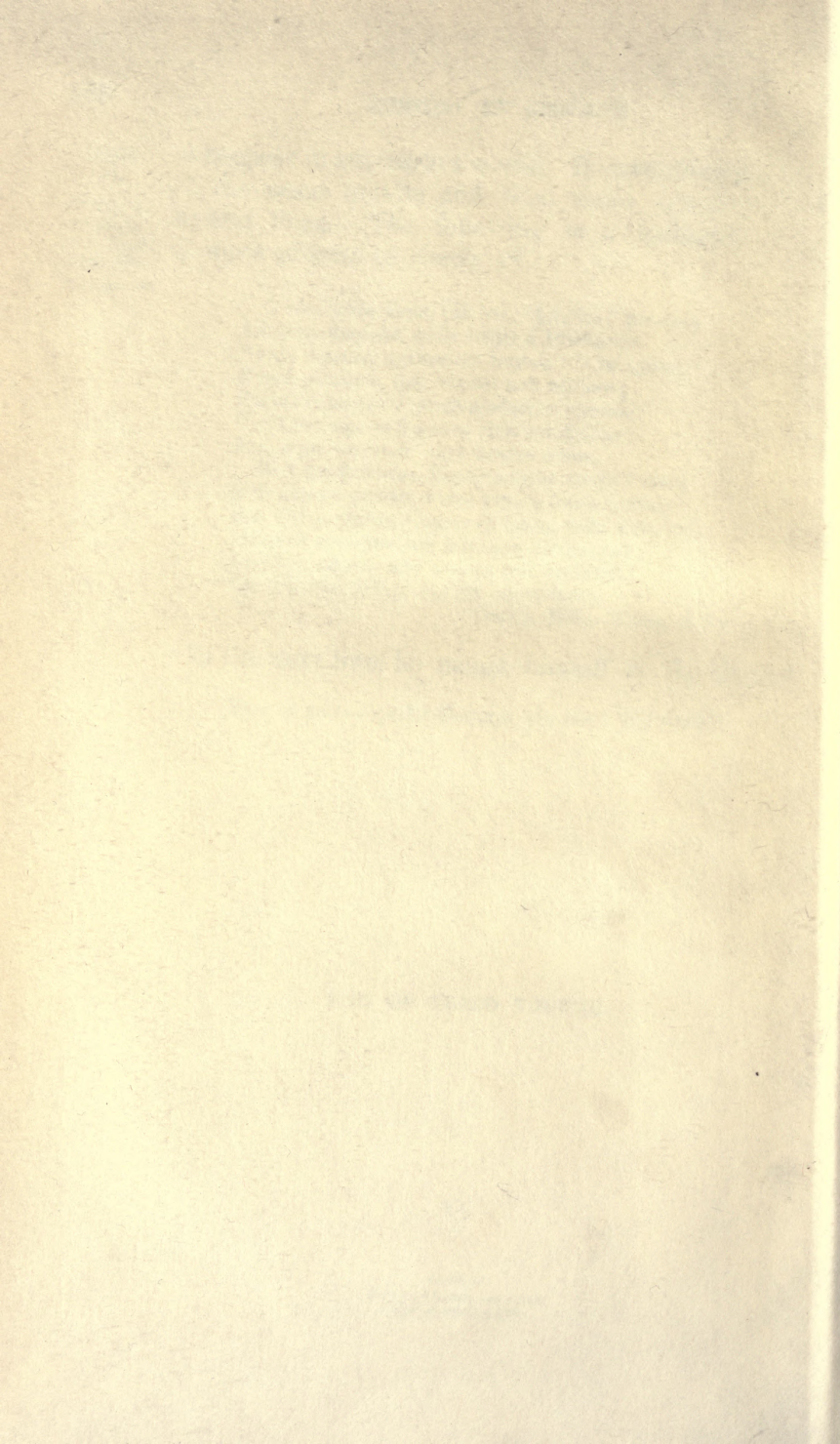
In the next line, he names himself as the author :

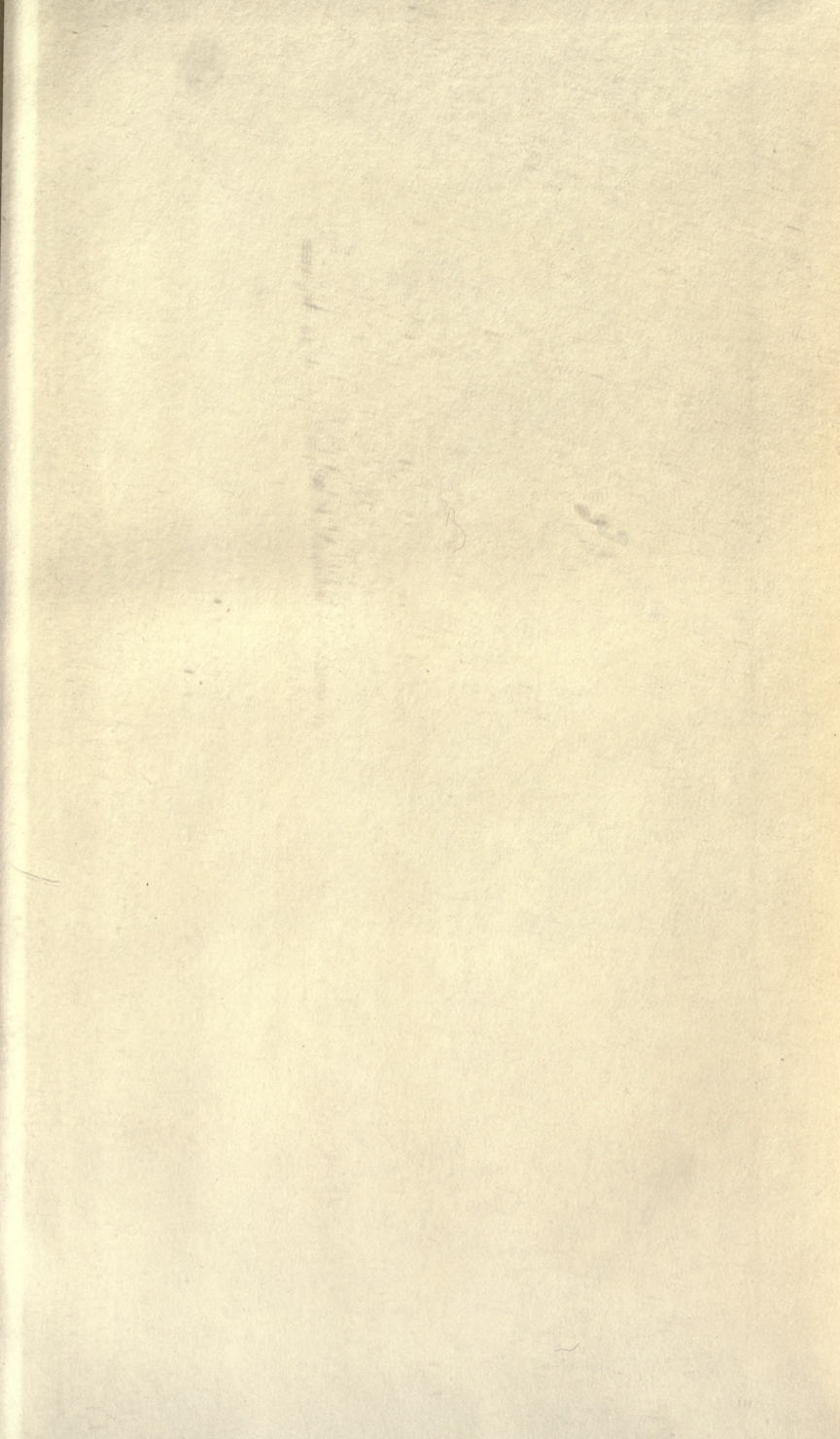
Hæc ut amans quibit GOWER, pie rex ! tibi scribit.

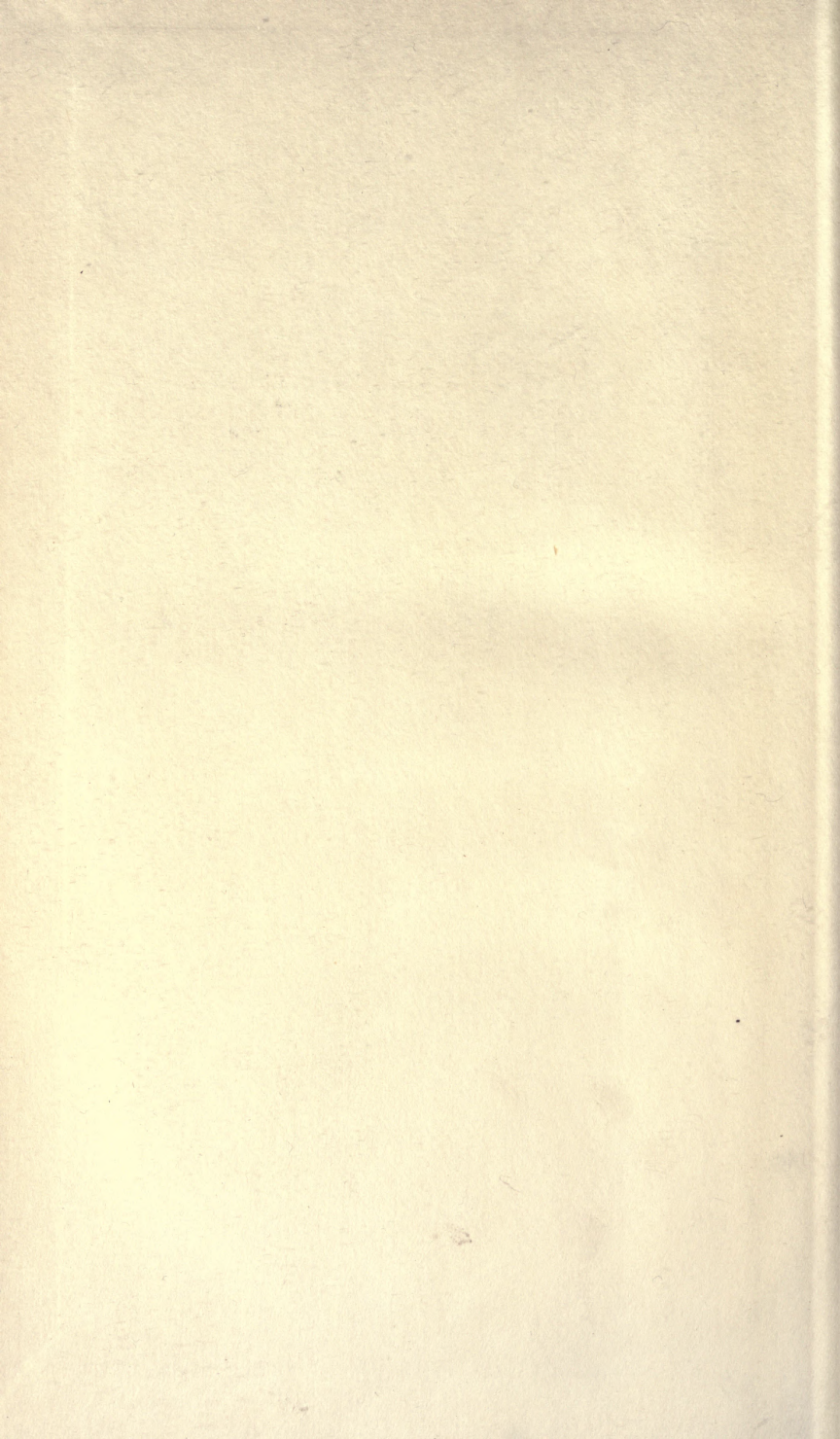
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