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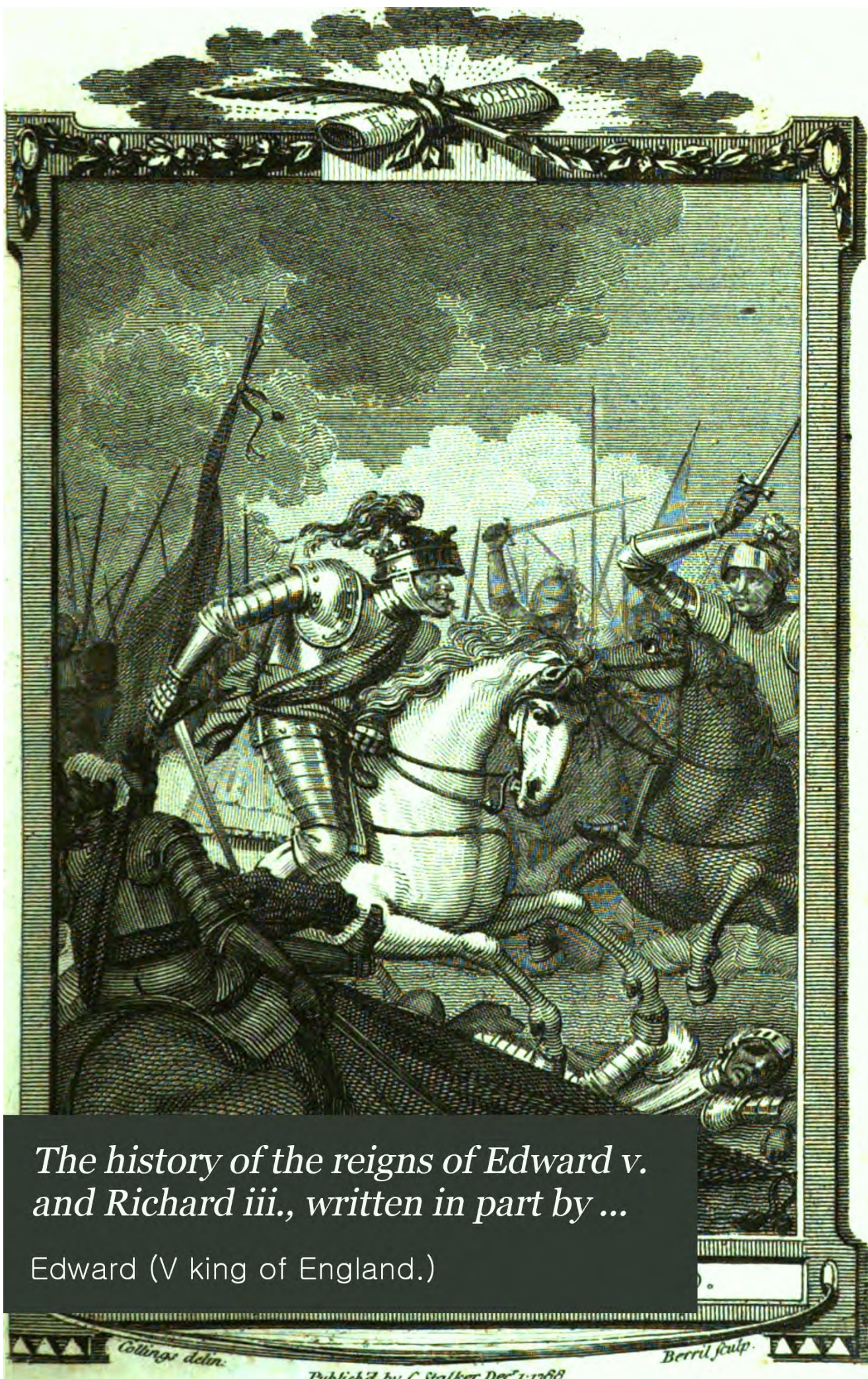
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*The history of the reigns of Edward v.
and Richard iii., written in part by ...*

Edward (V king of England.)

Y H O W ...

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Design of the most interesting SITUATION in the BATTLE of BOSWORTH FIELD, *to face Page 70.*

ENGLISH

ENGLISH HISTORY.

BY EMINENT MEN.

EDWARD V. AND RICHARD III.

BY SIR THOMAS MOOR*.

BY the death of King Edward IV. the first prince of the York line, the inheritance of the crown descended by the right of succession to his eldest son Edward, then Prince of Wales, who from that day, viz. April 9, 1483, was stiled King of England, and proclaimed such by the name of Edward V. being then about thirteen years of age †. In his father's sickness, which was something long, and though lingering was judged mortal, necessities of state, and the peace of the nation, had obliged that king to separate his nobles and kindred from him; which gave them an opportunity of forming new contrivances and schemes among themselves to be put in execution after his death; which, notwithstanding the king's foresight

* Sir Thomas Moor was born in Milk Street, London, in 1480; and was the son of Sir John Moor, one of the Judges of the King's Bench: so that his knowledge of the mysterious transactions which happened in the lives of those two princes, must have arisen from recent events; and his public stations in the succeeding reigns, no doubt, enabled him to acquire whatever information was necessary to complete his HISTORY, of which we need not say any thing in commendation. Shakspeare, it seems, took the incidents of his celebrated tragedy of Richard III. from these pages.—In 1530, Sir Thomas was appointed Chancellor of England by Henry VIII. and the strict regard which he paid to justice and impartiality, in the discharge of this high office, served to confirm the opinion which had been previously entertained of his integrity and honour. At length he displeased his royal master, by *maintaining* that the divorce of Queen Catherine was illegal: he was arraigned and tried on ill-supported and frivolous pretences of high treason; and, being found guilty, was condemned to be hung, quartered, and drawn. This sentence, however, was afterwards changed by the king; and he was beheaded on Tower-Hill, July the 5th, 1535.—E.

† This prince was born in September 1470. His mother, Queen Elizabeth, was delivered of him in Sanctuary; whither she was escaped from the Earl of Warwick, who had driven her husband King Edward out of England. The Abbot and Prior of Westminster were his godfathers, the Lady Scroop his godmother, and the whole ceremony of his christening as mean as a poor man's child.—Sir T. MOOR.

and endeavours to prevent, proved fatal to his son. The Prince of Wales was sent down to Ludlow in Shropshire, that by his presence he might compose the disorders of the Welch; who, though not in actual rebellion, yet were grown so unruly, and disobedient, to their governors and superiors, that the magistrates, with all their power, were not able to suppress the dissentions and disorders, robberies and wrongs, committed by them. The wisdom of this action appeared in the present effect it had upon them: for the Welch, who have always been very affectionate to those princes who have borne the title of their principality, as being memorials of their ancient liberty and dominion, shewed a wonderful respect to him; and, though but a child, were more obedient to him, than ever they were known to their ancient magistrates. The queen, who had a mighty sway over the king's affections, and never more than at this time, had so framed matters, that, for the security of her son the prince, as well as for their honour and interest, all her own kindred and relations were placed in the greatest offices about him; by which contrivance she thought to secure his right and their power, against all her and their enemies; for the queen's brother Anthony Woodville Lord Rivers, a wise and valiant man, was appointed his governor; and Richard Lord Grey, the queen's son by her former husband, with others of her friends and kin, had other offices about him; and that London the regal seat might be kept to her son's interests, in his absence, Thomas Grey her eldest son, being created Marquis Dorset, was made governor of the Tower, and not only the arms of that magazine, but the king's treasure, put into his hands. These things the ancient nobility of the nation, of whom Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham, and William Lord Hastings, chamberlain to King Edward, were the chief, bore with much indignation, as knowing, that if the queen and her kindred were so insolent and imperious when they had a king over them, who, though too willing to yield to their humours and desires for the queen's sake, yet kept them within some bounds of modesty and subjection, they would grow most intolerable when they had a young prince under their command, and might abuse his power as they pleased, to fulfil their wills, and so they should be in greater danger and contempt under the new king, than they had been under the old; though even by him few of them were trusted, or regarded. These presages of unhappy times, made them entertain the thoughts and resolutions of getting the prince into their power, if the king should die, and to put him under the government of the Duke of Gloucester, who might justly claim that place, as the next prince of the blood, and their uncle by father's side, and would certainly put the affairs of the nation into the right current, by honouring and entrusting the ancient nobility more. But whether they had communicated their designs to the Duke of Gloucester or no, is uncertain, because he was then at York, being lately returned from his expedition to the borders of
Scotland,

Scotland, whither he had been sent by his brother to repress the sudden invasions of those people; who, upon the breach with Lewis XI. the French king, were grown very troublesome neighbours to the English. This duke remaining here unemployed, began to cast his thoughts upon the succession to the crown, and to consider how many things made for his title, though his brother's children stood between it and him, in the eye of the world; which yet ought to be no hindrance to his claim, if justice and right were on his side. And first, he called to mind, that in the attainder (17 E. 4.) of his brother George Duke of Clarence, it was alleged against him, "That to advance himself to the kingdom, and for ever to disable the king and his posterity from inheriting the crown, he had, contrary to truth, nature, and religion, viper-like destroying her who gave him life, published, that King Edward was a bastard, and so no way capable to reign; and that he himself therefore was true heir of the kingdom, and the royalty and crown belonged to him and his heirs. As also that there was a report grounded upon vehement presumptions, that the Duke of Clarence himself was a bastard." Which malicious calumnies, though he did not believe, and was more loath to alledge against his mother as true, yet he thought they might be thus far serviceable to him, that since both his brothers were now dead, or dying, he was the only legitimate issue of Richard Duke of York; and so unquestionably the right heir to the crown, if the issue of his brothers were either thereby, or any other ways made incapable of it. And as to the children of the Duke of Clarence, they were rendered incapable of the crown by the attainder of their father, and need not that bastardy be pleaded against them. The only bar of his title was then the children of his brother King Edward, by the Lady Elizabeth Grey; the marriage with whom having at first begotten a great contest, and being violently opposed by his mother the Duchess of York upon this ground, because he was before married to the Lady Eleanor Butler, widow of Thomas Lord Butler, Baron of Sudesley, and daughter of John Lord Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury; he resolved to search narrowly into the truth of it, not only to vindicate his own right, but to keep the royal line from the foul blot of an illegitimate succession. This inquiry he made by men both diligent and faithful, by whose labour he got the depositions of several persons concerning it; and among others, (as Philip de Comines relates) the testimony of Dr. Thomas Stillington, bishop of Bath, to this effect, according to the words of the author: "Le evesque de Bath (lequel avoit este conseiller du Roy Edward) disoit, que le dit roy avoit promis foy de mariage à une dame de Angleterre, & que il avoit nommé Dame Eleanor Talbot, & que le roy avoit fait la promesse entre les mains du dict evesque, & dit aussi c'est evesque, qu'avoit apres espouse, & n'y avoit, que luy, & ceux deux." Which is thus Englished: The bishop of Bath, a privy counsellor of King Edward,

ward, said, That the said king had plighted his faith to marry a lady of England, whom the bishop named the Lady Eleanor Talbot, and that this contract was made between the hands of the said bishop, who said that afterwards he married them, no persons being present but they two, and he the king charging him strictly not to reveal it. These proofs the duke caused to be drawn up into an authentic form, and consulted the most eminent doctors and proctors of the civil law, who unanimously gave their judgments, that King Edward's children were bastards, the king having another wife before their mother; and consequently that Richard Duke of Gloucester was the only undoubted heir to the Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who was adjudged to be the true heir to the crown of this realm by authority of parliament. And thus the Duke of Gloucester having cleared up his title to the crown kept it secret, till he should have a fair opportunity after his brother's death to vindicate his own right, with as little disturbance to the peace of the nation, and dishonour to his nephews, as was possible; though it is probable, that one Potter of Redcross Street without Cripplegate, a servant of the duke's, who was privy to the business, unwarily discovered it, by telling one Mistlebronke, who brought him the news of King Edward's death; "Then," says he, "will my master the Duke of Gloucester be king!" which words, though startling to him, yet the grounds of them not being known, made little noise, till the Duke of Gloucester was on the throne.

These foundations of discord being laid, though privately, in the life of the father, received a perfection immediately after his death, and began with the reign of the son; though to satisfy the king on his death-bed, the two parties had shaken hands as friends, and promised to forget all former injuries. For the queen, as if she had been conscious that her pride had been too great to be forgiven, presently after her husband's death, writes down to her brother the Earl of Rivers to raise such a body of men, as might be sufficient to defend him against the lords, and bring her son up to London to be crowned, that it might not be in the power of her enemies to keep him from the actual possession of the throne; which order the said earl as carefully obeyed. On the other side, the Duke of Buckingham, as zealous to carry on the design of himself and his party, to take the king out of the hands of his mother's kindred, sent a trusty servant of his, named Purcival, to the city of York, to propound their design to the Duke of Gloucester, and to offer him, if need required, a thousand stout fellows to assist him in the effecting of it. The Duke of Gloucester looking upon this tender as the first step to his greater design, willingly complied with the proposal, and sending the messenger back with many thanks to his master, and other private instructions, contrived a meeting soon after about Northampton; where the two dukes, with all the lords and gentlemen their friends, and nine hundred men in their retinue, came at

the time agreed on. Here they entered into a consultation immediately upon their arrival; and the Duke of Gloucester, who was the chief man in the action, communicated the necessity and reasonableness of the undertaking, to all the lords and gentlemen assembled, in words to this effect: "That it was neither reasonable, nor tolerable, to leave the young king their master in the hands and custody of his mother's kindred, who, to engross all honour to themselves, would exclude the rest of the nobility from their attendance on him, though all of them were as ready and willing to perform all the services of a good subject to him, as themselves, and many of them a far more honourable part of his kindred than those of his mother's side, whose blood, (saying that it was the king's pleasure to have it so) was very unfit to be matched with his. But granting it allowable for the king to do as he pleased, yet that all the ancient nobility should be removed from the king's presence, and only the least noble left about him, is neither honourable to his majesty, nor to us, and must in the issue be both dangerous to the nation in general, and unsafe to his majesty; for will not this strangeness make the king's most potent friends either turn his utter enemies, or become very indifferent to his service, when they see their inferiors both in birth and power in greatest authority and credit with him, and themselves likely to live in disgrace for ever, because the king, being in his youth framed to the love and liking of them, and to a dis-taste of others, will very hardly in his riper years alter his affections. They could not but remember, that the late King Edward himself, although he was a man of age and discretion, yet was often so over-ruled by his wife and her friends, that he did many things inconsistent with his own honour, our safety, and the nation's welfare, merely to advance them and establish their power. And if the friendship of some persons had not prevailed more with the king, sometimes, than the suits of his kindred, they had before this brought some of us to ruin, as they did some of as great degree as any of us. And though indeed those dangers are now past, yet as great are growing, if we suffer the young king still to remain in their hands, who, we see, value not the destruction of any that stand in the way of their designs, or the road to their greatness. Will they not engross all honours, and places of trust, to themselves; and, whenever they have occasion, abuse his name and authority, to any of our destructions? Can we imagine, that their old resentments are so quite buried, that they will not remember to revenge them upon the least disgust, and now their pride is armed with authority, become implacable to most of us, to whom they have ever had malice enough to ruin us, and wanted nothing but what they have now, authority, to vent it upon us? That these things considered, it was their greatest wisdom to take the young king out of their enemies hands, and not suffer things to continue in the posture they are now in any longer: for though indeed there appears an outward friendship
for

for the present, which was and is the effect more of the king's desire than their own; yet we shall find, that their old enmity will revive with their power, and their long accustomed malice will be strengthened with their authority, in which if we endure them once to be settled, it will not be in all our powers to oppose them effectually; and therefore now is the time to prevent all mischiefs, by taking away the cause of them."

These words and persuasions moved all present to engage heartily in the business; and the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Hastings, who were men both of great power and interest, shewed such a forwardness in the attempt, that all the rest were encouraged by their example to be assistants and followers of them; and many, which were not present were drawn in by the Duke of Gloucester's letters, to promise their help in the same affair, if there were further occasion.

While the lords were thus consulting, and contriving to get the king into their hands, without the knowledge or privity of the queen and her friends, the Duke of Gloucester received the news that the Lord Rivers had gathered a strong body of armed men, and with them was ready to bring up the king to London to his coronation; which unexpected report surprized them much, because it broke all their measures at once, it being impossible for them, though they had a good number of attendants, to effect their design, if he were brought to London under a strong guard; especially considering, that as on the one hand the Earl of Rivers was a valiant and experienced soldier, so if they should gain the king by force, besides the danger of the king's person, it would look like an open rebellion: whereupon the Duke of Gloucester and his friends rather chose to overturn force by policy, and to that end privately ordered some of his friends, who were about the queen, to represent to her, "That as it was no ways necessary to bring the king to London with an army of attendants, as though he were to pass through an enemy's and not his own country, so it would be dangerous to the king's person and government; for whereas now all the lords seemed to be perfect friends and to study nothing but the honour of the king, and the triumph of his coronation, if they see the lords about his royal person, whom so lately they thought their enemies, to gather great numbers of men armed about them in the king's name, they will immediately suspect and fear that those men are intended not so much for the king's safety as their destruction, and so they would take themselves obliged for their own defence to raise an equal force, and fill the nation with uproar and confusion, to the danger of the king and breach of the peace: and therefore such methods of action ought carefully to be avoided, especially since her son was a child, and in the beginning of his reign." These reasons seemed plausible to the queen, who was not suspicious of the evil design, and very willing to submit to any thing for the good of her son, and his quiet settlement;

settlement on the throne, and therefore without delay wrote letters to her brother the Lord Rivers, ordering him to dismiss all her son's extraordinary attendants and guards, and hasten to London with only his own household servants and usual retinue. The Duke of Gloucester also, much about the same time, sent letters to the Lord Rivers, with full assurances of duty and subjection to the king his nephew, and love and friendship to himself; so that he, seeing all things calm and peaceable, concurred readily with the queen's desires; and, leaving his armed men behind him, came up with no greater number of followers than was necessary to shew the king's honour and greatness. In their way, about Northampton, the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, with their retinues, had lain some days, and hearing of the king's arrival, met him at Northampton; but because that town was not big enough to hold both their companies, they advised that the king should go forward to Stony-Stratford, to lodge there, and they would stay at Northampton, inviting the Lord Rivers to lodge with them, that they might enjoy his company that evening. The Lord Rivers, hoping to improve his friendship with them by compliance, dismissed his company, and took his lodgings with the dukes, who feasted him that night with all demonstrations of joy, and signs of friendship, till they parted with him to his lodgings. But as soon as he was gone, the two dukes, with a select number of their friends, entered into a consultation, and spent the greatest part of the night in it: what their resolutions were, the next day's actions shew. In the morning they got up very early, and by private orders had all their servants ready to attend them, before the Lord Rivers or his servants were stirring. The keys of the inn, wherein they all were, they took into their own custody; and pretending that they themselves would be the first in the morning who should be at Stony-Stratford to attend the king, they sent a certain number of their retinue to line the way, and suffer none to enter that town, till they should arrive to wait on his majesty; for the dukes were resolved (as it was given out) to be the first that morning who should go to the king from Northampton. All this was done without Lord Rivers's knowledge or advice; who therefore, when he came to hear it, was very much surpris'd at the thing, and so much the more, because neither himself nor servants were permitted to go out of the inn. His thoughts were in a great hurry, and what the reason should be, he could not conjecture. He easily saw through their weak pretences, and began to fear that his last night's cheer might prove a bait to falshood and treachery: fly he could not, if he were guilty; but not being conscious of any wrong done them, which might provoke them to revenge, he resolved to go to the dukes, and demand of them the reason and cause of this action; which he accordingly did: but instead of giving him an answer, they quarreled with him, and told him with great passion, "That he was one of them who had
laboured

laboured all he could to alienate the king's mind from them, and stir up a dissention between the king and his nobles, that he might bring them and their families to confusion: but now they would take care that it should not lie in his power."—The Lord Rivers was an eloquent and well-spoken man, and began to make his defence calmly and coolly; but they would hear no excuses, nor suffer him to make answer; and, committing him to the custody of some of their servants, till they should give further orders concerning him, they mounted their horses, and rode in haste to the king at Stony-Stratford. When they were come into the royal presence, (the king being ready to mount to leave room for their companies) they alighted from their horses with all their attendants, and saluted the king upon their knees, who received them freely and favourably, not mis-trusting in the least what had been done. They pretended that they came only to wait on his majesty in his journey, and to that end the Duke of Buckingham called aloud to the gentlemen and yeomen to keep their places, and march forward. But before the king was out of the town they picked a quarrel with the Lord Richard Grey, the queen's son and the king's half brother, charging him in the king's presence, "That he and the Marquis Dorset, with his uncle the Lord Rivers, had conspired together to rule the king and realm while the king was in his minority; and to that end had stirred up divisions among the nobles, that by subduing some of them, they might destroy the rest: and for the more effectual accomplishment of this their design, the lord marquis had entered into the tower of London, and had taken from thence all the king's treasure, and sent several ships to sea with it, that none might be able to oppose him." The king, who not only was young, and unexperienced in state affairs, but having been absent some time, was ignorant of such matters of fact as his brother was charged with, yet gave a very judicious answer to the accusation, That he could not tell what his brother the marquis had done; but in good faith, he said, he dare well answer for his uncle Rivers, and his brother Richard, that they were both innocent of any such matter, having been continually with him. The Duke of Buckingham replied, that they had kept the knowledge of their actions from his good grace; and forthwith they arrested the said Lord Grey, with Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawse, in the king's presence; and then, instead of going forward, returned back again with the king to Northampton; where they displaced all such persons, who had any offices about the king, as they could not confide in, and entered into serious consultation about their further proceedings. The king was much troubled at these dealings, and wept because he had not power to defend himself or his friends; but the lords had now obtained their designs, and valued not who took, what they did, well or ill: yet they gave the king

all

all the respect of good subjects; and promised the queen's kindred that all should be well: but when they left Northampton, they sent them to divers prisons in the north for a time, and at length, though they pretended they should have a fair trial to answer to several misdemeanors which they had to lay to their charge, they were all brought to Pomfract Castle in order to their execution.

These actions of the lords being done under a shew of friendship, and carrying in them something of violence and treachery, begat a great amazement in all places where they were known, and few men construed them, as the lords wished, but looked upon them as the prologues to the king's destruction. The queen, who was particularly certified of the same night, that the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, and others of their party, whom she looked upon as her implacable enemies, had taken her son the king, and imprisoned her brother Rivers, and son Richard Grey, with other of her friends, in places remote and unknown, fell into a bitter passion of grief, and bewailed the destruction of her child, and other friends, cursing the hour in which she credulously harkened to the persuasions of her false friends; and by ordering her son's guards to be dismissed, had exposed him and her kindred to the malice and base designs of her enemies. But since to indulge herself in her just grief, and neglect a provision for her own, and those children's safety whom she had with her, would make her case worse than it was at present; therefore she resolved to lay aside her sorrow for the present, and get herself, the Duke of York her second son, and her five daughters, with what goods were necessary for her use, into the Sanctuary at Westminster; and thereupon at midnight ordered her servants, and what help could be had, to remove them with all speed thither; where being received into the abbot's lodgings, she and her children and all her company were immediately registered for sanctuary persons, and so looked upon themselves, as in an inviolable fortress against their enemies power or malice. The Lord Hastings, who was chamberlain, was at the same time at court; and, though a conspirator with the lords, yet made a quite different interpretation of the lords actions; because he, being truly loyal, and heartily desiring the welfare of the king, believed that they had no further intent, than to take him out of the government of the queen's kindred, whose insolencies were intolerable, and from whom he himself, in the late reign, was often in danger of his life: he was therefore much pleased to see the queen and her friends in such a fright, and not doubting but the nation would be much better governed than before, and the king much happier in the hands of the ancient nobility, rejoiced to see the downfall of the queen, and her relations, whose pride they had felt long enough in the late king's reign; but that he might give the nobility about the court a true information of the lords actions, he dispatched a messenger the same night to Dr. Rotherham, archbishop of York, and then lord chan-

cellor, who lived in York Place by Westminster, to assure him, "That the lords intentions were honourable, and for the nation's welfare: and though the imprisonment of the queen's kindred, and the queen's fears, who was flying in great haste and confusion into Sanctuary, had no good aspect; yet he should find that all things would in the end prove well." The archbishop, who was awaked out of his first sleep by his servants, and something amazed at the suddenness of the news, replied, "Sayest thou, that all shall be well? I can't see what good can be expected from such demeanour. Pray tell him, that be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as we have seen it:" and so he sent the messenger back again to his master. But the archbishop was in too great a disturbance to return to his rest; and therefore immediately rose, and calling up all his servants, went with them armed to the queen at her palace, and carried the great seal along with him. He found all things there in a tumult, the servants removing trunks and household stuff, to carry them into the Sanctuary: the queen he saw sitting upon the floor on mats, lamenting her own and her children's miseries and misfortunes. The archbishop, who was no ways engaged in the conspiracy against her, much compassionated her case and grief; and, endeavouring to comfort her, told her the message which he had received from the Lord Hastings not an hour before, by which he was assured, that matters were nothing so bad as she imagined; that the king was in safe hands, and doubted not but all would be well. The queen, who had an invincible odium to Hastings, as soon as she heard his name, replied, "That nothing was to be believed that came from him, being one of them that sought the destruction of herself and her blood." The archbishop seeing her not thus to be comforted, assured her, for himself, that he would be constant to her; and if the lords should deal ill with the prince, and crown any other person king besides her son, he would on the morrow crown his brother the Duke of York, whom she had then in Sanctuary with her: "And that, Madam," says he, "you may be certain of my integrity, lo! here I leave with you the great seal of England, the badge of regal power, without which nothing of moment in state affairs can be done. His father, your husband, gave it me, and I here return it to you, to keep it for his children, and secure their right; and if I could give you any greater testimony of my loyalty, I would do it:" and so he departed to his own house in the dawning of the morning, not considering what he had done in resigning the seal. The next day the city of London was in an uproar, and divers lords and gentlemen took arms, and assembled great companies of citizens and others for their own defence, till they should see what the lords intended; for the general report was, that what was done to the Lord Rivers, and the others with him, was but a blind to the people: the real design of the nobility was to keep the king from his coronation, and deprive him of his right; and this they were the more confirmed in, because great numbers
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of the Duke of Gloucester's servants and friends were about the city and on the Thames, who examined all that passed, and kept any persons from taking Sanctuary. In these tumults, Archbishop Rotherham, fearing lest there should be a just occasion to shew his authority, and troubled that he had delivered up the great seal to the queen, to whom it did not belong, without the king's order, sent privately for the seal again, and obtained it. In the mean time, the Lord Chamberlain Hastings, whose loyalty was not questioned, and who was supposed not to be ignorant of the lords intentions, went into the city to appease the tumults; and, calling the lords and gentlemen together who headed the commonalty, told them, that though the suddenness of the lords actions was surprizing, because the reasons were not generally known; yet he could assure them, that the Duke of Gloucester was true and faithful to his prince, of which he had given many undeniable proofs in his brother's reign, and would continue the same to his son: that the Lord Rivers and Grey, and the knights apprehended with them, were imprisoned for certain conspiracies plotted against the life of the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, as would appear evidently at their trials, which was designed shortly to be had before all the lords of his majesty's council: that their taking arms in such a riotous and seditious manner would prove of very dangerous consequence to themselves, if they did not speedily lay them down, as they had without just reason or cause taken them up; and therefore he advised them to depart to their dwellings, and not pretend to judge or censure the actions of their superiors, who meant nothing but the common good, till they knew the truth of their designs, lest they themselves should be the only damages to the public, and hinder the king's coronation, which the lords were coming up to London to effect with all convenient speed. With these words the chamberlain so pacified the discontents of the citizens, that all things were for the present at quiet.

By this time the lords, who seemed as zealous for the king's coronation as his uncle had been, and behaved themselves with such wonderful reverence and respect to the king, even from the time that he came into their hands, that he suspected no ill designs in them, were upon their march to London, which caused the people to be the more easy, since they thought that now they should soon discern their intentions. By the way, as they passed, the Duke of Gloucester assumed nothing upon the account of his birth or greatness, but demeaned himself as a dutiful subject; and that he might give a demonstration to the people of the treacherous and cruel designs of the Lord Rivers, and the queen's friends, against himself and the Duke of Buckingham, the duke's servants shewed the barrels of harness which they had privily conveyed in their carriages to murder them; and though indeed some laughed at the weakness of the suggestion, because if they really intended to have

so used them, the harness had better been on their backs than in barrels; yet they pretended they were seized before the plot was come fully to execution; and so aggravated matters, that the common people believed the truth of it, and cried out, "That it will be a great charity to the nation to hang them." When the king and dukes drew near the city of London, Edmund Shaw, goldsmith, then mayor, and William White and John Matthews, sheriffs, with all their brethren the aldermen in scarlet, and five hundred commoners on horseback in purple-coloured gowns, met them at Hornsey Park, and with great honour and reverence conducted him through their city to the Bishop of London's Palace, near St. Paul's Church, on the 4th of May.

In this solemn cavalcade the behaviour of the Duke of Gloucester to the king was very remarkable, for he rode bare-headed before him; and often with a loud voice said to the people, "Behold your prince and sovereign!" giving them on all occasions such an example of reverence and duty as might teach them how to honour and respect their prince: by which actions he so won upon all the spectators, that they looked on the late misrepresentations of him as the effects of his enemies malice; and he was on all hands accounted the best, as he was the first, subject in the kingdom. At the bishop's palace he did the king homage, and invited all the nobility to do the same; by which he put his loyalty out of dispute with the nobles, as he had done before with the commons. Within a few days after, a great council of the nobility met to settle the government, and chuse a protector according to the usual custom in the minority of their kings; and the Duke of Gloucester was without the least contradiction appointed to manage that honourable station, not only as the king's uncle, and the next prince of the blood, and a person fit for that trust, as of eminent judgment and courage; but as one that was most loyal and loving to the king, and likely to prove the most faithful in that station. By this council was the archbishop of York much blamed for delivering the great seal to the queen; and, being deprived of his counsellorship, the seal was given in the beginning of June to Dr. John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, a wise and good man, and of very great experience in state affairs. Several other inferior officers of the court were displaced, and others more fit put in their room. The Lord Chamberlain Hastings was continued in his office, with some others whom the protector and council had no great objections against; and so the council being dissolved, the protector betook himself to his double care: 1. Of the king, to content and please him, as well as educate and crown him. 2. Of the state and people, to rule so well as might be for the king's honour, and general good and welfare of the nation.

King Edward, who was now under the sole care and government of his uncle, Richard Duke of Gloucester, made protector by the nobility, and general approbation of the people, being displeased at
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the violent actions of the lords towards his mother's relations, whom not only continual converse, but nature, had endeared to him, and seeing his mother and brother in Sanctuary, as if she had feared the same hard usage, if not worse, was not contented with the present disposition of affairs; and though he being young, could not help what was done, yet he could not willingly submit to it. The protector, who was a very sagacious person, and shewed all readiness to satisfy the king's will, and discharge his station well, soon discerned the causes of the king's uneasiness, and considering how much the reasons of the king's grief reflected upon his reputation, as well as hindered his designs in bringing the king to his coronation, (for why should the queen with her children continue in Sanctuary, unless it were that she was jealous of some wrong and injury from him, who having the supreme power now in his hands, could only hurt her? And what a lame ceremony would the coronation be, if the queen and the king's only brother bore not a part in it, but instead of that were deterred from it) he resolved to remove these rubs in the way of his government and designs; and to that end calling a council, he delivered himself to this purpose: "Let me perish for ever* if it be not my greatest, my continual care to promote the happiness and welfare of the king my nephew, and all my brother's family; being sensible, that not only the nation's but my own ruin is the unavoidable consequence of their misfortunes: and therefore since it hath pleased you, who are the nobles of the land, and to whom it belongs chiefly to provide for the good government of it, in the minority of the king, to confer that weighty employment of ruling all upon myself, as I shall always look upon myself only as the king's and your deputy, so I shall, in all difficult matters of state, look upon you as my helpers and assistants, and not dare to move one step without your council and advice, that so I may have your approbation in all I do, that it is for the good of the king and welfare of all. In the management of the station you have placed me in, I do find that the queen's continuance in the Sanctuary with her children, is such an invincible impediment in the execution of my place, that I cannot but propound the manifest inconveniences of it; and so much the rather, because I expected, that so good a settlement as your lordships had made in the last council would have removed her womanish fears, and she would have returned to court to the contentment of his majesty and us all: but since she persists in her mischievous purposes, it is evident, that if fear drove her into the Sanctuary, it is nothing but malice that keeps her there; for she, who is no impolitic woman, sees several unavoidable mischiefs redounding to the public, and to his majesty, by this her action, which, had she not some ill designs, she would carefully avoid. And first,

* This speech did not begin with a curse, according to the copy in Holinshed, nor is it entirely the same as in Holinshed. P. 717.

what greater affront can be offered to you of his majesty's council, than for the queen and children to remain in Sanctuary? Will not the people upon so unexpected a resolution make these inferences from it, That doubtless they are in very great danger, and that you who are in power are her implacable enemies, since neither her son's authority, nor her own and children's greatness, are sufficient to secure them, but they are forced to seek protection from the church, which is the asylum of the greatest criminals? And what an intolerable injury is this to you? But if you shall think fit to pass this wrong over, yet his majesty's discontents are not to be overlooked, who, wanting the company of his brother, with whom chiefly he uses to recreate himself, leads a melancholy and discontented life, which doubtless, if not timely prevented, may endanger his health; for the good state of the body does not long last, usually, when the mind is disturbed. Sorrow of mind drieth up the bones, especially in youth; and want of moderate recreation and suitable company begets a dulness and pensiveness, which brings diseases and distempers on the body, which proves fatal. Wherefore, since even kings themselves must have some company, and they are too great for their subjects generally, it seems necessary that his brother, who comes nearest an equality with him, should be sent for to him, that he may refresh himself with him. And thus we may hope that the king will not only be satisfied and pleased, but we shall be freed from the ill opinion which certainly all foreign princes have of us; for as long as he continues in Sanctuary, they will either censure us as cruel or tyrannical, or deride us as impotent or weak. But besides, the coronation of the king being the main thing now in agitation, how can we proceed in it with any heart or earnestness, while the queen and Duke of York are in Sanctuary? What sort of men shall we be thought, who at the same time we crown one brother, so terrify the other, that he is forced to abide at the altar of the same church for his safety. Who can with satisfaction officiate at this great ceremony, while the Duke of York, whose place is next to the king, is absent from it. It is therefore my opinion, these reasons and considerations being well weighed, that some honourable and trusty person, who cannot be doubted to tender the king's wealth, and reputation of the council, and is in credit with the queen, be sent to her to demand the release of the Duke of York: and for this office, I think no person better qualified than the most reverend father my lord cardinal*, the archbishop of Canterbury, who may be the most prevailing mediator in this matter, if he pleases to take the trouble upon him; which, of his great goodness, I do believe he will not refuse, for the king's sake and ours, and the wealth of the young duke himself, the king's most honourable brother, and for the comfort of

* Cardinal Thomas Bourchier, descended of the noble family of the Bourchiers, earls of Essex.

my sovereign lord himself, my most dearest nephew, considering that it will be a certain means to stop the mouths of our enemies abroad, and prevent the ill constructions of censorious persons at home, and avoid the ill consequences which arise from it, both to his majesty, and the whole realm. And though the cardinal may go no further in treating with the queen, than to persuade her by the best arguments of reason and necessity to yield to our desires, which his wisdom knows best how to use and apply; yet if she prove so obstinate and wilful, and will yield to no advice and counsel which he can give; then it is my opinion that we fetch the Duke of York out of that prison by force, and bring him into the king's company and presence; in which we will take such care of him, and give him such honourable treatment, that all the world shall perceive, to our honour and her reproach, that it was nothing but her frowardness and groundless suspicion, that first carried, and then kept him there. This is my judgment in this affair; but if any of you, my lords, are of contrary sentiments, and find me mistaken, I never was, nor by God's grace ever shall be, so wedded to my own opinion, but I shall be ready to change it upon better reasons and grounds."

When the protector had thus delivered his mind to the council, they all approved of his motion, as a thing good and reasonable in itself, and honourable both to the king, and the duke his brother; agreeing with him, that the archbishop of Canterbury was the fittest person, in all respects, to be a mediator between the queen and them; not doubting, but by his candour and wisdom this business might easily be effected, and the queen without more ado persuaded to deliver him. Nor did the archbishop at all refuse the office, which much became his station, being to compose a growing difference among persons of the greatest quality: but he with the lords spiritual present told the council with submission, "That as he consented to the motion that the Duke of York should be brought to the king's presence out of the Sanctuary by persuasions, and would himself do his best to effect it, since they had pleased to impose that task upon him; yet he could not by any means consent to that proposition, That if the queen refused to deliver him, he should be taken out of Sanctuary by force; because it would be a thing not only ungrateful to the whole nation, but highly displeasing to Almighty God, to have the privilege of Sanctuary broken, in that church, which, being at first consecrated by St. Peter, who came down above five hundred years ago in person, accompanied with many angels by night to do it, has since been adorned with the privilege of a Sanctuary by many popes and kings; and therefore, as no bishop ever dare attempt the consecration of that church, so no prince has ever yet been so fierce and indevout as to violate the privilege of it: and God forbid, that any man whatsoever shall at this time, or hereafter, upon any worldly advantages or reasons, attempt to infringe the immunities of that most holy place, that hath been the defence and
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safety of so many good men's lives. However, he said, he hoped they should not be driven to use such extremities; and doubted not, when the queen, who was a person of known judgment and understanding, once heard their reasons, she would for her son's sake, the king, readily yield to their desires; and if it otherwise should happen, he would so perform his part, that they should be convinced, that there wanted no good will or endeavour in himself, but the queen's dread and womanish fear was the only cause of it." The Duke of Buckingham, who impatiently heard the archbishop's objection against taking the duke out of Sanctuary by force, immediately resumes the discourse, and in a passion replies with an oath, "Womanish fear! say you my lord? Nay, womanish frowardness! for I dare take it upon my soul, that she knows she has no just occasion to fear any danger to her son or herself. But as to herself, here is no man that will contend with women, and I would to God some of her kindred were so too, and then should the contest be soon at an end with them. Yet I dare be bold to say, that none of her kindred are the less beloved for the relation they have to her, but because of their own demerits, and for joining with her in her malicious designs. However let it be granted, that we love neither her nor her kindred, yet there can be no just ground to infer from thence that we hate the king's brother, who, though her son, yet is also a-kin to us; and if she desired his honour, as we do, and had not more regard to her own will than her son's welfare, she would not be so obstinate, but would be as unwilling to keep him from the king's presence, as any of us are; some of whom, at least, she must acknowledge to have as much wit as herself, and cannot doubt of their fidelity and love to the duke, who they would be as loath should come to any harm as she herself can be, and yet they would have him from her to continue with the king, if she will tarry there; but if she pleases to come out herself with him, and her other children, and take up her habitation in such a place where they may be with honour to herself and them, every man of us shall be better content than if she sends him alone. Now if upon these grounds she refuses to deliver him, denying to follow the wisdom of those, of whose ripe judgment and fidelity she hath had good experience, it is easy to discern that it is her frowardness, and not her fear, that is the cause of it. But we will suppose that her distrusts are invincible, through the greatness of her fears, (as what can hinder her from fearing her own shadow, if she will so much indulge her passions) we have the greater reason to take heed how we leave the duke in her hands: for if she causelessly fear his hurt out of Sanctuary, she may also fear that he may be fetched from thence, (for it is easy for her to imagine, that if we be resolved to have him from her, we will not value the sacredness of the place she is in; as indeed I think good men without sin might somewhat less regard them than they do) and so for greater security convey him out of the realm; which if she should
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be so lucky as to effect, (and without any great difficulty it may be done) all the world will scorn and deride us, saying, that we are a wise sort of counsellors about the king, to suffer his brother to be cast away under our noses. And therefore I assure you, for my part, I am for fetching him away against her will, rather than, by humouring her fears and peevishness, give her an opportunity of conveying him away. And yet I shall be bold to assert, that I do not break any privilege of Sanctuary, but rather rectify one of the abuses of it: for though indeed Sanctuaries, as they were appointed and used under the Jewish law, were, and still may be, of very good use in several cases, as to be a refuge for such men as the chance of sea or their evil debtors, have brought to poverty, to protect them from the cruelty of their creditors; and because the title to the crown of these realms hath often come in question, in which contests each side counts the other traitors, and the conquering side, though sometimes the worst rebels, treats the adverse party as such; it is necessary there should be a refuge in this case to the unfortunate: but as for thieves and murderers, whereof these places are full, and who seldom leave their trade when they have once begun, it is an horrid shame that any Sanctuary should save them; and especially wilful murderers, whom God himself commands to be taken from the altar, and put to death. Yet if we look into our Sanctuaries, as now they are managed, how few are there whom necessity of their own defence, or their misfortunes, have driven to take shelter there? But on the other side, what numbers are there in them of thieves, murderers, and malicious and heinous traitors, and especially in the two chief ones in this city, the one at the elbow, and the other in the very midst of it? Insomuch, that if the good they do were balanced with the evil, we shall find it were better for us to be without them, unless such as are in power would effectually correct their abuses, and amend them. And, indeed, it is a gross shame, not to be endured, to see St. Peter made a patron of thieves, prodigals, knaves, and whores! Surely, neither God nor that apostle can approve of these abuses; and therefore they may be reformed with thanks of both. Let Sanctuaries then continue, in God's name, in their full force, as far as religion and reason will permit; and I am sure no lawful privilege granted to them can hinder us from fetching the Duke of York from thence, where he neither is nor can be a sanctuary-person. A Sanctuary serveth to defend the body of man, who is in danger from not only some great, but unlawful hurt. And what danger is that duke in? Is not the king his brother, and all we, his special friends? As he has never done any man an injury, so no man designs him any wrong; and then what grounds can there be for him to be left in Sanctuary? Besides, men come not to a Sanctuary, as to baptism by godfathers, but they must ask it themselves if they will have it; for none but such as can alledge their just fears and dangers, ought to be admitted thither. And how can the Duke of York be justly entertained or kept there,

who cannot through his infancy require it; and if he were sensible of the place he is in, would rather desire to be released from it? So that I think, with the clergy's leave, it is no breach of privilege, if he and many others be taken by force out of it. And to convince them of it more fully, let me ask them a few questions. If a man go into Sanctuary with another man's goods, may not the king, leaving his body at liberty, take them out of Sanctuary, and restore them to the right owner? Can either pope or king, privilege a man from paying debts, that is able to pay them?" Several of the clergy present agreed, that by the laws of God and the church, a sanctuary-man may be delivered up to pay his debts, or restore stolen goods, his liberty being allowed him to get his living by his labour. Then the duke said, "There is the same reason to do it, if a man's wife ran from him to Sanctuary, or a child take Sanctuary because he will not go to school, and many like cases. And therefore I conclude, that since he can be no sanctuary-man who hath no discretion to desire it, (for I never yet heard of sanctuary-children) nor malice to deserve it, whose life and liberty can in no wise be in danger, he that taketh such an one out of Sanctuary, to do him good, breaks no privilege of that holy place."

When the duke had finished this long discourse, it was generally agreed by all the lords, both spiritual and temporal, that if the queen would not deliver up the duke by persuasions, he should be forced from her by the king's authority. But it being judged convenient that all fair means should be first tried, the cardinal, with several lords to accompany him, was sent into the Sanctuary to the queen; the protector, and the rest of the council, going into the Star-Chamber at Westminster to expect the event. When the cardinal was come into the queen's presence, after all dutiful salutations, he delivered to her the cause of his coming, saying, "That he was, with those other lords, sent by the protector, and the privy council, to her majesty, to let her know how much her detaining of the Duke of York in that place was scandalous to the public, and disliked by the king his brother; it being an action that must needs produce ill effects: that the king himself was much grieved at it, and the council offended, because it looked as if one brother was in danger from the other, and could not be preserved by the other's life: that it would be a very great comfort to his majesty to have his natural brother in company with him; nor would it be of less advantage to the young duke himself, because it would confirm and strengthen their loves to be brought up together, as well at their books as sports: that in the king's court the duke could only live answerable to his state and condition: that it would much please the protector and council to send him to the king's presence, and in effect might prove of no small advantage to her friends, that were in prison. Upon which accounts, as he was sent by his majesty and council to demand the duke of her, to be brought to his brother; so he could not but earnestly

neftly entreat her to comply with a thing fo very reasonable, and every way convenient." The queen, who was of a fharp wit and graceful fpeech, answered the cardinal, and faid, " My lord, I cannot deny, but it is very convenient that my fon, the duke, fhould be in the company of his brother the king, as well for fociety, as love's fake ; but fince they are both fo young, as that it is the moft fuitable for them to be under the government of their mother, it is better for the king to be with me here, than that I fhould fend the duke to him : though was it really otherwife, that duty obliged the duke to go to him, yet neceffity, in this cafe, creates a difpenfation, becaufe he hath been of late fo forely afflicted with difeafes, and being not perfectly recovered, is in fo great a danger of a relapse, (which generally phyficians fay is more fatal than the firft ficknefs) that I dare truft no earthly perfon as yet with the care of him. For though I doubt not but that he might have fuch about him as would do their beft to preferve his health, yet fince I have ordered him all along, and am his mother, it muft be allowed by all men, that as I am the moft able, fo I fhall be the moft affectionately careful and tender of him. And, for thefe reafons, I hope both the king and his council will difpenfe with his abfence awhile, till he is perfectly recovered, and in health ; and before that, I cannot endure to hear of parting with him."

The cardinal hearing this reply, answered, " No man, good Madam, doth deny, but that your majefty is the fitteft perfon to take care of all your children, and I am fure the council will be very glad to hear that it is your pleasure fo to do ; yea, they would beg it of you, provided you would be contented to do it in fuch a place as is confiftent with their and your own honour ; whereas, if you refolve to tarry in this place, then they judge it more convenient that the duke fhould be with the king at liberty, to the comfort and fatisfaction of them both, though with fome fmall danger to his health, than to remain in Sanctuary, to the difhonour of the king, duke himfelf, and the whole council : for it is not always fo neceffary that the child fhould be with the mother, but there may be reafons fometimes of taking him from her, and that for the beft ; as your majefty knows there was, when your eldeft fon, then Prince of Wales, and now king, was fent to keep his court at Ludlow for his own honour and the good order of the country, of which your majefty was fo well convinced, that you feemed contented with it."

The queen grew a little warm, and fmartly retorted, " Not fo very well contented neither at that feparation ! though the cafe is much different now : for the prince was in good health, the duke is now fick ; for though the height of the diftemper is paff, yet he is weak, and not fo fully recovered, but that without great care he may fall into a relapse ; in which condition, while he remains, I wonder that the protector and council fhould be fo earneft to have him from me, fince, if the child fhould grow fick again and mifcarry, they would incur

the censures of some ill dealings with him. And whereas you say that it is dishonourable to my child, and to them, that he remain in this place, I think the contrary; for certainly it is most for their honour to let him abide, where no man can doubt but he will remain safest, and that is here, so long as I continue here; and I do not intend to leave this place and endanger my life with my friends, who, I would to God, were rather in safety here with me, than I were in hazard with them." "Why Madam," saith the Lord Howard, "do you know any reason that they are in danger?" "No truly," said she roundly, "nor why they should be in prison neither, as they now be: but I have great cause to fear, lest those, who have not scrupled to put them in prison without cause, will as little value to destroy them without law or right." Upon these words the cardinal winked upon the lord to put an end to that discourse; and then added himself, "That he did not doubt but that those lords, who, being of her kindred, remained under arrest, would, upon a due examination of matters, discharge themselves well enough of any accusation alledged against them: and as to her own royal person, there neither was, nor could be, any kind of danger." "How shall I be certain of that?" said the queen. "Is it that I am innocent? It doth not appear that they are guilty. Is it that I am better beloved of their enemies? No; but rather they are hated for my sake. Is it that I am so nearly related to the king? They are not much further off. And therefore since it seems to me, that as I am in the same cause, so I am in like danger; I do not intend to depart out of this place. And as for my son, the Duke of York, I purpose to keep him with me till I see how businesses will go; for the more greedy and earnest some men are to have him into their hands without any substantial cause, the more fearful and scrupulous am I to deliver him." "And the more suspicious you are, Madam," answered the cardinal, "the more jealous are others of you; lest, under a causeless pretence of danger, you should convey him out of the nation; and so if they permit him to remain with you now, it shall not be in their power to have him for the future. Wherefore it is the opinion of many of the council, that there is a necessity of taking the Duke of York immediately into their care and government; and since he can enjoy no privilege by Sanctuary, who has neither will to require it, nor malice or offence to need it, they judge it no breach of Sanctuary, if you finally refuse to deliver him by fair means, to fetch him out of it; and I assure you, Madam, that the protector, who bears a most tender love to his nephews; and the council, who have an equal care and respect for your children; will certainly set him at liberty, unless you resign him to us, lest you should send him away." "Ay," says the queen, "hath the protector, his uncle, such a love for him, that he fears nothing more than that he should escape his hands? I unfeignedly declare, that it never so much as entered into my thoughts to send him out of this place into any foreign parts; partly because his health will not bear

bear any journies, and partly because, though I should not scruple to send him into any part of the world, where I knew him out of all danger; yet I do not think any place more secure than this Sanctuary, which there never was any tyrant so devilish, who dare violate; and I trust that the Almighty God will so awe the minds of his and my enemies, as to restrain them from offering violence to this holy place. But you tell me, that the lord protector and the council are of opinion that my son cannot deserve a Sanctuary, and therefore may not be allowed the privileges of it. He hath found out a goodly gloss, as if that place which can protect a thief or wicked person, is not of greater force to defend the innocent, because he is in no danger, and therefore can have no need of it; which is an opinion as erroneous as hellish. But the child, you say, cannot require the privilege of a Sanctuary, and therefore since he has no will to chuse it, he ought not to have it. Who told the protector so? Ask him, and you shall hear him require it. But suppose it were really so that he could not ask it, or if he could, would not, but would rather chuse to go out; I think it is sufficient that I do require it, and am registered a sanctuary-person, to make any man guilty of breaking Sanctuary to take my son out of it by force and against my will. For is not the Sanctuary a protection in that case as well for my goods as myself? No man can lawfully take my horse from me, if I stole him not, or owe nothing; and surely much less my child. Besides, by law, as my learned council sheweth me, he is my ward, because he hath no lands by descent holden by knights service, but only by foccage; and then I being the guardian of my son by law, no man can take him by force from me, without injustice, in any place, and without sacrilege from hence. And, upon this right, I do insist and require the privilege of Sanctuary for him, as my pupil and infant, to whom alone by law the care of him belongs: and if this triple cord may be broken; I mean, the right which I have to keep him with me by the law of man, as his guardian; by the law of nature, as his mother; and by the law of God, as being in Sanctuary with him—If all this be not enough to secure him from any human force, I think nothing under heaven can. But I do not despair of safety, where I have always found so much. Here was I brought to bed of my son, who is now king; and though his enemy reigned, and might have used the same or like pretences to have taken us both from Sanctuary, yet he did not: and I hope no man will have the boldness to act contrary to all former precedents, but the place that protected one son, will be as great a security to the other; for to be plain with you, my lord, I fear to put him into the protector's hands, because he hath his brother already; and since he pretends to be the next heir to the crown after them, notwithstanding his sisters, if they any ways miscarry, his way to the throne lies plain and easy to him. Now, this is so just a cause of fear, that even the laws of the land teach me it, which, as learned men tell me, forbids every man the guardianship
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of them, by whose death they become heirs to their inheritance: and if the law is so careful of such as have the least inheritance, how much more ought I to be fearful that my children come not into his power, who, by their death, will have the kingdom for his inheritance. By these reasons I am confirmed in my resolutions of keeping my son in sanctuary with me, and my right so to do; and think them so far to outbalance the protector's frivolous reasons, of keeping his brother company, and being dishonourable to him, that I cannot alter my mind: for I have reason to think, that whoever he proves a protector to, he will prove a destroyer to them, if they be once in his hands and power. I know the protector and council have power enough, if they have will, to take him and me from this place; but whosoever he be that shall dare to do it, I pray God send him shortly need of a sanctuary, but no possibility to come to it!"

The cardinal seeing the queen grow more and more passionate by discoursing, and to reflect sharply upon the protector, which he was unwilling to hear, because he believed them inconsiderate effects of passion, thought it time to break off arguing with her; and therefore, to bring all things to a conclusion, said unto her, "Madam, I will not dispute the matter longer with you: it is equal to me whether you deliver him or not. I am, with these lords, but the messenger to know your resolution; and beg you will but tell us plainly, whether you will, or will not, deliver him to us? For though, if you resign him to us, I durst pawn my own body and soul to you for his safety; yet, if you deny it, I will immediately depart, and finish my trust, resolving never to engage in the matter again, since I see you so resolute in your own judgment, as if you thought both me, and all others, lacked either wit or honesty; wit, in that we, not perceiving the protector's ill designs, were made the tools of his wicked craft; honesty, in that, knowing his intentions, we have laboured to bring your son into the protector's hands to destroy him; an execrable treason, which, as ourselves abhor, so, we dare boldly say, was far from the protector's thoughts, and cannot be imputed to any in this case; but you must brand the whole council with short-sighted advice and disloyalty to their prince."

These words of the cardinal's being peremptory and short, much amused the queen; being put to it on a sudden to resolve whether she would send him or no. The cardinal she saw ready to depart, and the protector and council were near, she knew; what to do she could not tell: she feared that by delivering him, she cast him into the mouth of ruin; and by keeping him, she did but provoke the protector and council to be more rough and severe with them both. She saw there was no way to save him from the protector's hands, but by conveying him out of his knowledge or power; which, though she wished, yet she had no way to effect it: wherefore she resolved to make the best use of necessity, and since the protector must have him, take the best way to secure him in his hands. She considered
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that her fears were but grounded on vehement presumptions, and therefore hoped things might not prove so bad as she imagined. She could not doubt of the cardinal's sincerity and loyalty to her son; and though she indeed feared he might be deceived, yet she did not believe either he, or the lords present, would be any ways accessory to his destruction: and for these reasons she thought it better to deliver him to them, who were ready to pawn their honour and lives for his security, and would therefore look upon themselves engaged for his safety, than suffer him to be taken from her; and thereupon taking her son, the Duke of York, in her hand, she led him to the cardinal and lords, and with great earnestness said to them, "My lord cardinal, and you my lords, I am not so opiniated of myself, or ill-advised concerning you, as to mistrust either your wisdom or fidelity, as I shall prove to you, by reposing such trust in you, as, if either of them be wanting in you, will redound to my inexpressible grief, the damage of the whole realm, and your eternal shame and disgrace: for, lo! here is my son, the person whom you desire; and though I doubt not, but that I could keep him safe in this Sanctuary from all violence, yet here I resign him into your hands. I am sensible that I run great hazards in so doing; no whit less than my fears suggest: for I have some so great enemies to my blood, that if they knew where any of it lay in their own veins, they would presently let it out; and much more in others, and the nearer to me the more zealously. Experience also convinces us all, that the desire of a kingdom knows no kindred. The brother in that case hath been the destruction of the brother, and the son of his father: and have we any cause to think the uncle will be more tender of his nephews? Each of these children are the other's defence, while they are asunder; if one be safe, they are both secure; but being both together they are in great danger: and, therefore, as a wise merchant will never adventure all his goods in one ship, so it looks not so politically in me to put them both under the same hazards. But notwithstanding all this, (whether rightly foreseen or no, I leave to you to think on, and prevent) I do here deliver him, and his brother in him, to your keeping, of whom I shall ask him again at all times before God and the world. I am confident of your fidelity, and have no reason to distrust your wisdom, power, or ability to keep him, if you will make use of your resolution when it is required; and if you are unwilling to do that, then I pray you leave him still here with me: and that you may not meet with more than you did expect, let me beg of you, for the trust which his father ever reposed in you, and for the confidence I now put in you, that as you think I fear too much, so you would be cautious that in this weighty case you fear not too little; because your credulity here may make an irrecoverable mistake." Having thus spoken, she turned to the child, and said to him, "Farewel, mine own sweet son! the Almighty be thy protector: let me kiss thee once more before we
part,

part, for God knows when we shall kiss again." And then having kissed him, she blessed him, and turned from him and wept! and so went her way, leaving the child with the lords weeping also for her departure.

The cardinal and lords having obtained their desire thus, and gotten the Duke of York from his mother, immediately led him to the Star-Chamber, where the protector and lords of the council staid in expectation of him. The protector received him with all the seeming kindness and respect that was due to him, as the king's brother and his nephew; and, taking him in his arms, kissed him, and said, "Now welcome, my lord, with all my very heart!" and the same day carried him to the king his brother, who was at the bishop of London's palace near St. Paul's church. Here he left them a few days together; and because all things were in a great forwardness for the coronation, which he was zealous to promote, he caused the king and the duke his brother to be removed to the Tower, the usual place from whence that solemnity began, with much pomp and state. But now the protector was at a stand how to proceed: he looked upon himself as the lawful king of these realms, by the judgment of such as were best able to determine such doubts; but yet, since his brother's children were generally presumed the true heirs, and their illegitimacy not understood, or disregarded, he was afraid to claim his right against the common opinion, and yet as loth to throw it up himself, as he must do by crowning his brother's son. There was almost a necessity the coronation should go forward; it had proceeded so far, that the nation would grumble extremely at the expence, if it were now laid aside; and on the other side, if his nephew were crowned, he must give up his right, and not only deprive himself but his children: wherefore he resolved with himself to seem as earnest as ever in carrying it on; and to that end, appointed a council of such lords as he knew to be most faithful to the king his nephew, of whom the Lord Hastings the chamberlain, and Lord Stanley, were the chief, to assemble *De die in diem* at Baynard's Castle, to consult and contrive the ways and ceremonies for the coronation of his nephew: but in the mean season he contrived secretly to make known his own title to certain persons that he could confide in, and, by delaying the coronation, try how far his own interests might be advanced, that he might obtain his right peaceably and quietly; but being sensible how great prejudices he was to encounter with on all hands, he knew he must proceed very warily in it. The Duke of Buckingham, in all his motions, hitherto had been his chief friend and assistant. He in a manner had made him protector, and it would be such a disobligation if he should not make use of him in his councils, that he certainly would turn his enemy, and, being of such mighty interest, would pull him down, as he had set him up. And yet he could hardly hope for any encouragement from him; because, though the duke

duke was a mal-content in the days of the late king, yet he seemed very loyal to his son, as if he had buried the enmity to his father in his grave. But the protector knew old enmity is easily revived; and to prepare the Duke of Buckingham for his designs, he suborned certain persons about the duke, to represent to him the king's displeasure for imprisoning his mother's kindred, and into what a miserable dilemma he had run himself by that action; for if they were released they would bear him an immortal grudge, and if they were put to death, he was sure to incur the king's anger so much, that he could hope for nothing but misfortunes on all hands; for the king did not refrain from such expressions as shewed, that whenever he had power he would revenge it upon him to the utmost. These relations struck him with a fear of danger, and predisposed him to lay hold upon any opportunity of securing himself; which the Duke of Gloucester, who laid the train, soon offered him: for a little after, inviting him to a conference, he desired him to assist him in taking upon him the crown of England as his right, shewing him the judgment of the civil lawyers concerning the illegitimacy of his brother's children, and promising, as the reward of his faithful services to him, that his son should marry the duke's daughter; that he would give him the earldom of Hereford with all the appurtenances, which though his inheritance, yet had been unjustly kept from him by his brother; and, lastly, that he would allow him a large share of King Edward's treasure, and so much of the wardrobe as should furnish his house, and settle upon him and his posterity the office of high constable of England, which his ancestors by descent, for many generations, had enjoyed.

The Duke of Buckingham was not hard to be won to engage in such an action as secured him from his present fears, and afforded a prospect of so much gain and advantage; and so became a zealous actor for the protector in making him king, for he soon brought many of his friends into the same design; and, with the protector, constituted a council, which sat at Crosby's Place, (the protector's mansion-house) to contrive the most artificial and politic ways to settle the crown upon his head; but they were to meet very secretly and privately.

This council had not sat long, but both their persons and their actions were discerned: for Cardinal Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, John Morton, bishop of Ely, the Lord Stanley, Lord Hastings, and other persons of quality, who were busy to order the coronation, perceived that notwithstanding their endeavours, matters moved slowly, and they saw cause to suspect contrary motions.

The common people began to murmur at the delays of the coronation, and talked as though there were some bad designs on foot, though no man could guess at what was really intended; but it was generally looked upon as a bad omen, that the protector took upon

him a state and magnificence above his place, and would endure none but his own servants about the king; who gave an unkind welcome to all persons, that either desired to see the king, out of curiosity, or wait on him out of duty; as though they would tell men, that they must seek the king elsewhere, viz. at their master's palace; which was soon so well understood by such as expected any honours and preferments at court, that the protector was flattered and caressed as king; while his nephew was little regarded, and bore only an insignificant name.

These actions increased the jealousy of the lords who sat at Baynard's Castle to direct the coronation; and the Lord Stanley, who was a wise and sagacious man, began to declare openly to his brethren, "That he much disliked these doings, and could not believe that two different councils could produce any good effects: we are conscious of the loyalty and integrity of our actions, but who knows what the cabal at Crosby's Place talk of and contrive? I fear what we are building, they are plucking down; and unless we could unite, or know their councils, ours will be in vain." "Peace, my lord," said the Lord Hastings; "never fear or misdoubt any thing: I durst assure you, upon my life, all is well, or at least nothing ill is intended against us: for while one man is there, who is never absent, I am sure there can be nothing propounded which shall sound ill to me, but it will be in my ears as soon as it is out of their mouths almost." This the Lord Hastings meant of one Catesby, a lawyer, who was his special confidant, and being put into a considerable trust in the counties of Leicester and Northampton, where this lord's interest and power lay, merely by his means, was reputed by him so faithful and grateful, that he would neither do, nor suffer to be done, any things injurious to his patron; which, indeed, he had great reason to have done, but he much deceived him, as will after appear, and so was the chief instrument of working the protector's will and aims; for the lords generally saw so many signs of distrust, that had they not relied entirely on the Lord Hastings's word, whom they knew firm and loyal, they had all departed every man to his own country, and provided for their own safety, which had certainly broken all the protector's measures; for they were men of great power and interest with the people, and could easily have kept matters in the right current, had they been at home; but Catesby carrying all fair to Hastings, and he persuading them that nothing could be done amiss till he should know it and advertise them of it, they trusted to him, and denying their own senses almost, to construe all things for the best, laid themselves open to ruin, and made way to the protector's designs, which both himself and his council were vigilant to improve.

The former jealousies of the council at Baynard's Castle were soon known to the protector and the Duke of Buckingham; and though they would not seem to be sensible of it, yet they took

up resolutions with themselves, either to win them over to their side, or, if not, to secure them from being their enemies; and to this end they shewed great favour to the Lord Hastings, who much influenced the actions of all the rest; and kept him much in their company, hoping by familiarity and friendly endearments to dispose him to a compliance with their designs, which they not long after caused Catesby, his familiar acquaintance, to propound to him, but at some distance, lest his refusal should betray all; for if they could gain him, they were sure of the greater part of the rest. Catesby, who had now forgotten all former obligations, and was courting greater favours, readily undertook the employment; and coming to the Lord Hastings, who had not yet the least mistrust of him, after much other discourse about the present circumstances of affairs, asks his opinion about the title and claim that the protector had to the crown; insinuating, that if it might lawfully be done, it would be better that an experienced person and a brave commander should rule than a child. The Lord Hastings, who was firmly loyal to King Edward's children, presuming upon Catesby's fidelity, freely opened his mind to him without any circumlocutions; and having shewed him what jealousies the council had of the protector's actions, with indignation expressed his utter dislike of it in words to this effect: "That he had rather see the death and destruction of the protector and the Duke of Buckingham, than the young king deprived of the crown; and that if he discerned any designs that way, in any persons whatsoever, he would engage his utmost power and ability against them." These words, which it is believed the Lord Hastings would never have spoke, had he suspected either the mission or treachery of Catesby, were carried to the protector immediately, and represented to him, not with the mollifying terms of a friend, but aggravations of an enemy; because he hoped, by his death and the protector's favour, which for this ill office alone he had reason not to doubt of, to obtain most of the rule and trust which that lord had in his country, and so his ruin would be his own making.

The protector received the account of Hastings's aversion to his designs with much trouble and regret; not for the disappointment only, but because he had a great love for him, who had always been his friend, and had done him many kindnesses in his brother's days; and therefore engaged Catesby to win him, if possible: but Catesby, willing to see his downfall, represented him so irreconcilable to his proceedings, that he changed the protector's love into hatred to him, and made him lay hold upon any slight pretences to take away his life, without which he saw he must meet with a great impediment in the road of his ambition; and so the way was agreed upon in this manner: The protector called a great council at the Tower on Friday the 13th of June, on pretence of concluding all things for the coronation, which drew on apace, the pageants being making day and night at Westminster, and victuals killed ready for it. The

lords of this council assembled early in the morning, and sat close to their business to settle every thing for that solemnity.

The protector came about nine o'clock to them and having saluted all the lords very courteously, excused himself for coming to them so late, saying merrily, that he had played the sluggard this morning. Then he sat down and discoursed awhile with them about the business in hand, and was very pleasant and jocose in all his speeches. Among other things more serious, he, by the bye, said to the bishop of Ely, "My lord, you have very good strawberries in your garden at Holborn; I desire you to let us have a dish to dinner." "Gladly, my lord, will I do that!" quoth the bishop; "I wish I had some better thing as ready for your service as they:" and thereupon sent his servant in all haste for a dish of strawberries. A little after this, the protector obliging them to go on in their councils, requested them to dispense with his absence awhile, and so departed.

In the space of little more than an hour he returned again, but with such an angry countenance, knitting his brows, frowning and biting his lips, that the whole council were amazed at the sudden change. Being sat down, he said nothing for a good while, but at length spoke with great concern, and asked them this question: "What punishment do they deserve who had plotted his death, who was so near in blood to the king, and by office the protector of the king's person and realm?" This question he had raised out of Catesby's account of the Lord Hastings's words and discourse, which he so represented to him, as if he had wished and contrived his death. The lords of the council were much startled at it; and, thinking with themselves of whom he meant it, returned no answer. The Lord Hastings, who was always familiar with him, and thought this general silence not respectful, replied, That they deserved to be punished as heinous traitors, whosoever they were. Then said the protector, "And that hath that sorceress my brother's wife, (meaning the queen, but disdainful to call her so) with others her accomplices, endeavoured to do." These words begat fresh fears and disturbances among them, because they most of them favoured the queen: but Hastings was well enough content that the crime was not laid upon any that he loved better, though he liked not that the protector had not communicated it to him, as he had done his designs to put the queen's kindred to death; (which was by his advice and approbation to be done that day at Pomfret Castle.) The protector still went on in his complaints, and said, "See in what a miserable manner that sorceress, and Shore's wife, with others their associates, have by their sorcery and witchcraft, miserably destroyed my body!" and therewith unbuttoning his left sleeve, shewed them his arm, fleshless, dry and withered; saying, "Thus would they by degrees have destroyed my whole body, if they had not been discovered and prevented, in a short time." This proof, which the protector thought to give of his accusation, convinced the council that he had only a mind to quarrel

quarrel with them, for they all knew that his arm was never otherwise; and that as the queen was too nice to engage in any foolish enterprize, so, if she had done it, she would not have made Shore's wife, whom of all women she most hated, because she was her husband's best-beloved concubine, one of her council.

The Lord Hastings, who, from King Edward's death, had kept Shore's wife, (for whom he had a great kindness in the king's life, but in reverence to him forbore her) was inwardly troubled to hear her, whom he loved, and knew to be innocent of any such thing, so highly and unjustly accused, and because he had made the first answer to the duke's question, he took himself obliged to return as modest an answer as he could to his accusation; and therefore said, "Certainly, my lord, if they have indeed done any such thing, they deserve to be both severely punished." But this answer discovered the Lord Hastings's opinion so much, that he thought the accusation false and forged, that the protector in anger caught hold of his words, and said, "Do you answer me with if's and and's, as if I charged them falsely? I tell you, they have done it, and thou hast joined with them in this villainy!" and therewith clapped his fist down hard upon the board, at which sign several men in arms rushed into the room, crying, "Treason! treason!" The protector seeing them come in, said to the Lord Hastings, "I arrest thee, traitor!" "What me, my lord?" said Hastings. "Yea, thou traitor!" said the protector: whereupon he was taken into their custody. In this bustle, which was all before contrived, a certain person struck at the Lord Stanley with a pole-ax, and had certainly cleft him down, had not he been aware of the blow, and sunk under the table; yet he was wounded so on the head, that the blood ran about his ears.

Then was the archbishop of York, bishop of Ely, and Lord Stanley, with divers other lords who were thought averse to his designs, imprisoned in several places in the Tower; and the Lord Hastings ordered forthwith to confess and prepare himself for his death; for the protector had sworn by St. Paul that he would not dine till his head was off.

It was in vain to complain of severity, or demand justice; the protector's oath must not be broken: so he was forced to take the next priest that came, and make a short confession, for the common form was too long for the protector's stomach to wait on; and being immediately hurried to the green by the chapel within the Tower, his head was laid on a timber log which was provided for repairing the chapel, and there stricken off. His body and head were carried to Windsor, and there buried by his master King Edward IV. late deceased, it being very convenient that he should have a place next him at his death, who had lost his life for his unmoveable loyalty to his children.

The death of this great lord, as it was sudden and unsuspected, so it may seem to have been particularly regarded by heaven, from whence

whence he had many omens of it given him either to avoid it or prepare for it, if he had had but wisdom to take a due notice of them, which are worth a particular relation, that we may see the care Providence has of men in imminent dangers.

The night before his death, the Lord Stanley had a fearful dream, in which he thought that a wild boar with his tusks had so wounded his own and the lord chamberlain's head, that the blood ran about both their shoulders. This dream had more than an usual impression upon him; and because he interpreted the dream of the protector, who gave the boar for his arms, and the wounds and blood from their heads of some imminent danger of their lives, he resolved no longer to tarry within reach of his power, but ordering horses to be got ready, sent his chamberlain to the Lord Hastings at midnight to acquaint him with his dream, and encourage him to take horse as fast as he could, and with him secure himself; for with swift horses they could get near their friends by morning.

The Lord Hastings, though awaked out of his sleep, yet being naturally a man neither melancholy nor superstitious, received the message with a smile; and said to him, "Doth my lord, your master, give so much credit to such trifles as dreams, which are usually the effect of our fears or cares? Pray tell him, that it is plain witchcraft to believe in such dreams; which, if they may be allowed foretellers of things to come, are yet so uncertain, that we may do ourselves more harm than good in following them: for who could assure him, that if there is any real danger to be feared from the boar, we shall not fall into it rather by flying than tarrying? For, if we should be taken and brought back, (as might very well happen) we should give the boar just occasion to gore us; for our flight would be such an argument of some guilt, that we could hardly avoid it; and to alledge a dream as the cause, would make us ridiculous to all men: wherefore, if there were danger, as indeed there is none, unless in his causeless fears, it is rather in flying than tarrying; and if we must fall into it one way or other, I had rather that men should see it to be from others falsehood, than my guilt or cowardice: and therefore go to thy master, and commend me to him, and bid him be merry, and fear nothing; for I can assure him, that there is as little danger from the man he means as from my own right-hand." "God grant it may be so," says the messenger, and so departed. The gentleman brought the message to his lord, and made him forget his resolution; though with what mischief to himself the event proved.

Other ominous presages he had of his death that morning, which his security would not suffer him to take notice of. Before he was up from his bed, (where he had lain all night with Shore's wife) there came to him Sir Thomas Howard, son of the Lord Howard, to call him, as he pretended, and to accompany him to the council; but he was really sent by the protector to persuade him to come, if he should not intend it, or, if he designed it, to hasten him; which, though

though he managed artificially enough, yet being of the protector's cabinet-council, he was suspicious; and in the way as they passed along, he gave the Lord Hastings such an odd interruption—in his discourse with a priest which he met by the way, by telling him, though merrily, that he wondered he would talk so long with a priest; he had no occasion for one *as yet*—that he might easily have suspected he knew that he should have need of one soon: but he was a loose and careless man, and regarded it not.

In the way also, as he passed from his house to the Tower, his horse that he was accustomed to ride, stumbled with him twice or thrice so dangerously, that he had almost fallen; which thing, though it happens almost daily to persons who fall into no mischance, yet of old it was accounted a certain presage of some misfortune. Also, when he came to the Tower Wharf, within a stone's cast of the place where his head was cut off a few hours after, he met with a pursuivant of his own name called Hastings, who having met him in the same place when he lay under King Edward's displeasure, through the accusation of the Lord Rivers, the queen's brother, and was in great danger of his life, put him in mind of his former danger; and thereupon he fell into a discourse with him about it, and said, "Ah, Hastings! dost thou remember when I once met thee in this place before with an heavy heart?" "Yea, my lord," said he "very well; and, thanks be to God, your enemies got no good and you no harm by it." "You would say so indeed," said the Lord Hastings, "if you knew as much as I do now, or as you will shortly. I was never so afraid of my life as I was then: but now matters are well mended with me; mine enemies are now in as great danger as I was then, (this he said, because he knew that the protector, by his and others advice, had given order for the execution of the Lord Rivers, Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, at Pomfret) and I was never merrier nor more secure in all my life." With these words he parted and went into the Tower, whence he never came out again.—Oh the uncertain confidence and short-sighted knowledge of man! When this lord was most afraid, he was most secure; and when he was secure, danger was over his head. By him we may see the truth of David's advice, "O put not your trust in princes!" and learn to leave all to God's providence, who delivers us in dangers, and never leaves us but when we grow self-confident; of which this great man was a sad example, and ought to be a warning to us in the like case.

The protector having thus far proceeded to open himself a plain way to the crown, by removing all that appeared in opposition to it, Hastings being dead, and the lords of his party in prison, was yet at a plunge, how to justify to the nation the severity of these proceedings against him: for the Lord Hastings, though in himself no good man, as his public keeping of Shore's wife for his concubine declared, yet was had in great esteem by the king's friends, as a
 person

person of approved loyalty and good affection to King Edward's line, and by the people as a lover of the common good; and he was sensible that the news of his death, which would fly into all parts from the city apace, would cause great discontents in all parts of the nation: whereupon he thought it his wisest course to send for the lord mayor and chief citizens to him into the Tower, and give them a full account of the justice of the Lord Hastings's sufferings; that so the murmurs of the city being appeased, the nation might have no cause to repine.

This contrivance he put in execution immediately after dinner the same day; and having put on old rusty armour, which lay neglected in the Tower, and commanded the Duke of Buckingham to do the same, as if their sudden danger had caused them to take any thing that lay next for their defence, he and the duke stood ready to receive them.

When they were come, the protector told them, "That the Lord Hastings, and several other persons, had conspired and contrived together suddenly to kill him and the Duke of Buckingham that day in council; for what cause, or for what design, he could not guess, and had not yet time to search it out, because he had no certain knowledge of the intended treason before ten o'clock of the same day, so that he had enough to do to stand upon his own guard, and provide for his own defence; which though they had both done in an indecent manner, by putting on such filthy armour, yet necessity obliging them to it, they were forced to take what was next hand: that God had wonderfully protected them from the danger he hoped, now the Lord Hastings was dead; against whom, though there might seem to be something of cruelty used in so sudden an execution, without any legal trial and hearing, yet there appearing to the king and the lords of his council many reasons to believe, that if he had been kept in prison, his complices would have made a formidable insurrection in the country to rescue him, and his guilt being very evident, they judged it best to inflict the deserved punishment of his crimes upon him immediately, that the peace of the nation might not be in danger. This is the real truth of the business; and we have therefore called you hither to inform you of it, that you may, as you see cause, satisfy the people of the justice of the Lord Hastings's sufferings, which, though we were no ways obliged to do, yet out of our care to please them, we have condescended to it, and we require you thus to report it." They all answered fair, and declared their readiness to obey, as if they really believed him, though in themselves they looked upon his harangue as a plausible pretence for a foul fact; and so taking their leaves of him, departed. But, upon more mature deliberation, this was not thought sufficient to appease the people's minds; and therefore, soon after the mayor and citizens were gone, an herald of arms was sent
into

into the city to publish a proclamation in all parts of it, to this effect :

“ That the Lord Hastings, with divers other wicked conspirators, had traiterously contrived the same day to have slain the protector and Duke of Buckingham sitting in council, with a purpose and design to take upon him the government of the king and kingdom, and rule all things at his pleasure ; hoping that when those were dead, they should meet no opposition in their designs—And in how miserable a condition this nation had been, if God had left them in his hands, appeared from the former actions of the said lord, who being so ill a man, could not make a good governor. For he it was, that by his ill advice enticed the king’s father to many things much redounding to his dishonour, and to the universal damage and detriment of the realm, leading him into debauchery by his exemplary wickedness, and procuring lewd and ungracious persons to gratify his lusts, and particularly Shore’s wife, who was one of his secret council in this treason ; by which lewd living, the said king not only shortned his days, but also was forced to oppress and tax his people, that he might have sufficient to gratify his expences. And since the death of the said king, he hath lived in a continual incontinency with the said Shore’s wife, and lay nightly with her, and particularly the very night before his death ; so that it was no marvel if his ungracious life brought him to as unhappy a death, which he was put to by the special command of the king’s highness, and of his honourable and faithful council, both for his own demerits, being so openly taken in his intended treason, and also lest any delay of his execution might have encouraged other mischievous persons, who were engaged in the conspiracy with him, to make an insurrection for his deliverance ; which being wisely foreseen, and as effectually prevented, was the only means, under God’s providence, to preserve the whole realm in peace and quietness.”

This proclamation, which was very well indited (as was thought by Catesby, who was a chief actor in this tragedy) and as fairly written on parchment, though the expedition of the publishing of it was looked upon as politic and wise to prevent the discontents of the people, yet it did very little good : for when men came to compare things, and considered that the proclamation was very elegantly composed, very fairly written, and being very long was yet published within two hours after the death of the Lord Hastings, they began to suspect that the lord had foul dealings, and that his ruin being determined, it was composed and written before his death ; for the time after was not sufficient either to compose or write it in : and hence it was, that some spared not to reflect upon it. The schoolmaster of Paul’s sharply said,

“ Here’s a very goodly cast,
Fouly cast away for haste.”

And a merchant that stood by him, answered him, It was written by prophecy. Thus did the protector endeavour to palliate his wickedness

wickedness in destroying the Lord Hastings: but all was in vain; this action was too foul to receive any tolerable plea, which would pass with men of any thought at all.

The protector having done as much as could be done to excuse his cruelty to the Lord Hastings, took himself obliged to proceed against Shore's wife, whom he had accused of the same treason; lest if he should let her escape, he should betray his plot: for if she were not guilty, no more was the Lord Hastings; and if he deserved death, so did she. For this reason, he sent Sir Thomas Howard to her house, with an order of council to apprehend her person, and seize her goods, as forfeited to the king by her treason; which were both accordingly done; and her goods, to the value of two or three thousand marks, being taken from her, she was carried to prison into the Tower: within a few days after, she was brought to her examination before the king's council; and the protector laid to her charge, "That she had endeavoured his ruin and destruction several ways; and particularly, by witchcraft had decayed his body, and, with the Lord Hastings, had contrived to assassinate him." But she made so good a defence for herself, as that there appeared not the least likelihood of her being guilty: whereupon they, by the protector's order, fell upon her for her open and scandalous whoredom, which every body knowing, she could not deny. And because they would do something to her to satisfy him, they delivered her over to the Bishop of London, to do public penance for her sin in St. Paul's church, which she accordingly performed the next Sunday morning, after this manner: Mrs. Shore being deprived of all her ornaments, and cloathed with a white sheet, was brought by way of procession, with the cross carried before her, and a wax taper in her hand, to the church of St. Paul's from the bishop's palace adjoining, through great crowds of people gathered together to behold her; and there, standing before the preacher, acknowledged in a set form, her open wickedness, and declared her repentance for it. In all this action, she behaved herself with so much modesty and decency, that such as respected her beauty more than her fault, never were in greater admiration of her than now: for she being a beautiful and handsome woman, wanting nothing in her face but a little blush, this shameful act supplied that so well, that she appeared more lovely for it; and as to such as were glad to see sin corrected, yet they pitied her, because they knew that the protector did it more out of hatred to her person, than sin; more out of malice, than a love to virtue. This woman was born in London, virtuously educated, and well married to a substantial and honest citizen; but being drawn to the match rather by interest than affection, by her parents judgment rather than her own inclination, she never had that fondness for him, that joins a wife inviolably to her husband's bed. This looseness to her husband, with that natural ambition, and affectation of gay cloathing and greatness, which is usually in women much above their fortunes, though almost never so
great,

great, disposed her to accept of the king's kindness, when offered; who, besides that he was a very handsome and lovely person, could easily gratify her desires; and by fulfilling his lusts, she knew she had mastery of his gifts and treasure: and for these reasons she became his concubine. Her husband, though made unhappy by her lewdness, yet carried his resentments evenly; and after the king had abused her, never would have any thing to do with her; whether out of reverence to the king's person, or out of a principle of conscience, it is not easy to determine, though both might concur. She lived many years in King Edward's court; and though that king had many concubines, and some of them of much greater quality than herself, yet he loved her best, for her merry and ingenuous behaviour. In this great, though bad station, she demeaned herself with admirable prudence, and was not exalted by the king's favour, but always used it with as much benefit to others as to herself; for she never abused the king's kindness to any man's hurt, but always used it to their comfort and advantage: where the king took displeasure against any man, she would mitigate his anger and appease his mind; and such as were out of favour, she would reconcile. For many heinous offenders she obtained pardon, and got a relaxation, and sometimes a total remission, of large fines: and though she was the only effectual suitor almost at court for such as wanted places and preferments, yet she made little advantage to herself by it, expecting none, or very small reward, and that rather gay than rich; either because she was content with doing of a kindness, or delighted to be sought to; for wanton women and wealthy, be not always covetous. In fine, her lewdness was her only fault; and though that was great enough, yet to have a king for their bedfellow is such a mighty temptation, that if no woman would condemn her before they have the like trials, it is to be feared she would have few to cast a stone at her. She was affable and obliging, generous and charitable; and though, indeed, she was after reduced to a miserable poverty in her old age, a just punishment for her sin, yet it was a reproach to many thousands, that she was so, whom she kept from beggary; and if they had been grateful to requite her for those kindnesses in her want, which she scorned to sell in her prosperity, she might have lived to her death in a condition great enough for her birth and degree.

While the protector was thus busied at London, in making his way to the crown, and excusing himself for the death of the Lord Hastings, his bloody order, given for the execution of the queen's kindred, the Lord Rivers and Richard Lord Grey, with Richard Hawse and Sir Thomas Vaughan at Pomfract, was punctually executed by Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a great favourite of the protector's, who was a man of a desperate courage, and forward to promote all his designs. It is thought they suffered death at the same time the Lord Hastings was beheaded in the tower; who being a principal adviser in their deaths, may be a warning to us all, how we concur in the undeserved sufferings of innocent persons: for God often, and that justly, brings

the evil we do to others upon our own heads. The Lord Hastings, by advising the protector to destroy the queen's kindred causelessly, shewed him the way to do the like to himself. The manner of their execution was as barbarous as unjust. Great and heavy accusations were laid against them, but none proved. They had not so much as the formality of a trial, but were brought to the scaffold on the day appointed; and being branded in general with the name of traitors, were beheaded. The Lord Rivers would fain have declared his innocency to the people; but Ratcliffe would not suffer him, lest his words should lay open the protector's cruelty too much, and make both him and his party odious to the people; and so he died in silence, Sir Thomas Vaughan would not endure his mouth to be stopped, but as he was going to the block he said aloud, "A mischief take them that expounded the prophecy, which foretold that G should destroy King Edward's children, for George Duke of Clarence, who for that suspicion is now dead; for there still remained Richard G. i. e., Duke of Gloucester, who now I see is he that shall, and will, accomplish the prophecy, and destroy King Edward's children, and all his allies and friends, as appeareth by us this day; against whom, I appeal to the high tribunal of God, for this wrongful murder, and our real innocency!" Sir Richard Ratcliffe heard this with regret, and putting it off, said to him in scorn, "You have made a goodly appeal; lay down your head!" "Yea," saith Sir Thomas, "but I die in the right; take heed that you die not in the wrong:" and having said this, he was beheaded. He, with the other three, were buried naked in the monastery of St. John the Evangelist at Pomfract.

Then the conspirators held council among themselves, how they might bring about their wicked purposes. Their chief difficulty was to engage the city; and having gained the Lord Mayor, Sir Edmund Shaw his brother, Dr. John Shaw a priest, and Friar Pinker, provincial of the Augustine Friars, to their interest, they determined that Dr. Shaw should first break the matter in a sermon he was to preach at Paul's Cross; and the main argument he was to use for the deposing of King Edward, and the advancement of his uncle Richard, was resolved among them to be the bastardy of the two princes, sons to Edward the Fourth, which disabled them to inherit the imperial crown of this realm. Though this charge would bring the scandal of adultery on the queen, yet Richard and the conspirators did not consider much that the whole royal family would be defamed by it in the highest degree: on the contrary, (rather than fail of the sovereignty to which he aspired) the Duke of Gloucester, and his emissaries, intended to give out, that King Edward the Fourth was himself a bastard, though his mother was the parent of the protector; and in calling her an adulteress, he profaned the honour of the very person that brought him into the world. This accusation he would have at first only hinted, and spoken mysteriously, that if the people, in abhorrence of such an unnatural slander, should have been set against the

the publisher of it, there might be room to put some other construction on the words. Shaw was ordered to declare to his auditory, that King Edward had promised marriage to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, by whom he had a child; and that the Duchess of York had told him, he was her husband before God, to prevent his marrying the Lady Elizabeth Grey, whose children by King Edward were consequently bastards. He was not to mention any thing of that king's illegitimacy, unless he found his reflection on the queen's children would not take. The doctor was a famous preacher, and a vast number of persons, of all qualities, used to flock to hear him: so they thought they had gone a great way in accomplishing their designs, when they had got him to their side. Shaw was not only ready to speak what the conspirators would have him, but turned his whole discourse against the legitimacy of the young king and his brother: he began his sermon with this expression, "*Spuria vitilamina non agent radices altas*—Bastard slips shall never take deep root." He shewed the blessings that God bestowed on the fruits of the marriage-bed, and the unhappiness of those children who were born out of wedlock. Several examples, of both kinds, he used to prove the truth of his assertion. He took occasion, from what he had said, to shew the reason they had to fear that the reign of the present king would be unfortunate; and enlarged very much on the great things that they might hope for, from the government of a prince of the Duke of York's illustrious qualities, the father of King Edward the Fourth, or rather, of the lord protector, who was the only lawful begotten son of the late Duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Wakefield. He then declared, that King Edward was never legally married to the queen, being husband, before God, to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy: besides, neither he, nor the Duke of Clarence, were thought legitimate by those of the Duke of York's family, who were most acquainted with the Duchess of York's intrigues with several persons of her husband's court, whom they resembled in the face: but my lord protector, that very noble prince, the pattern of all heroic deeds, represented the very face and mind of the great duke his father: he (says the false preacher) is the perfect image of his father; his features are the same, and the very express likeness of that noble duke. At these words, it was designed the protector should have entered, as if it had been by chance; and the conspirators hoped that the multitude, taking the doctor's words as coming from the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, would have been induced to have cried out, God save King Richard: which artifice was prevented, either by the doctor's making too much haste to come to that part of his sermon, or the lord protector's negligence to come in at the instant when he was saying it; for it was over before he came, and the priest was entered on some other matter when the duke appeared; which however he left, and repeated again, abruptly, The lord protector, that very noble prince, the pattern of all heroic deeds, represents

represents the very face and mind of the great duke his father ; his features are the same, and the plain express likeness of that noble duke. The protector, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, passed through the multitude as the priest said this : but the people were so far from saluting him King, that they were struck with indignation at the preacher's base flattery and treason ; who, when he had closed his sermon, went home, hid himself for shame, and never after durst shew his face in the world. Being informed how odious he was become for what he had done, he fell, out of grief and remorse, into a consumption, of which he died in a short time. He preached this notable discourse on a Sunday which was to be preparatory to the Duke of Buckingham's oration, on the Tuesday following, to the lord mayor, aldermen and council of the city of London, assembled for that purpose in the Guildhall ; where that duke mounting the hustings, and silence being commanded in the lord protector's name, spoke to this effect ; several lords, who were privy to the secret, attending him.

“ Gentlemen, out of the zeal and sincere affection we have for your persons and interests, we are come to acquaint you with a matter of high importance, equally pleasing to God, and profitable to the commonwealth, and to none more than to you the citizens of this famous and honourable city. For the very thing, which we believe you have a long while wanted and wished for, what you would have purchased at any rate, and gone far to fetch, we are come hither to bring, without any labour, trouble, cost, or peril to you : and what can this be, but your own safety, the peace of your wives and daughters, the security of your goods and estates, which were all in danger till now ? Who, of you, could call what he had his own, there were so many snares laid to deceive you ? so many fines and forfeitures, taxes and impositions, of which there was no end, and often no necessity ; or, if there was, it was occasioned by riots and unreasonable waste, rather than a just and lawful charge, for the defence or honour of the state. Your best citizens were plundered, and their wealth squandered by profuse favourites : fifteenths, and the usual subsidies, would not do, but under the plausible name of Benevolence, your goods were taken from you by the commissioners, much against your will, as if by that name was understood, that every man should pay, not what he pleased, but what the king would have him ; who never was moderate in his demands, always exorbitant, turning forfeitures into fines, fines into ransoms ; small offences into misprision of treason, and misprision into treason itself. We need not give you examples of it ; Burdet's case will never be forgot ; who, for a word spoken in haste, was cruelly beheaded. Did not Judge Markam resign his office, rather than join with his brethren in passing that illegal sentence on that honest man ? Were you not all witnesses of the barbarous treatment one of your own body, the worshipful Alderman Cook, met with ? And your own-selves know, too well, how many instances of this kind I might name among you. King Edward gaining the crown by conquest, all that
were

were any ways related to those that were his enemies, lay under the charge of treason : thus half of the kingdom became at once traitors ; for half of the kingdom were either friends to King Henry, or relations or friends to some that were so. Though open war with invaders is terrible and destructive to a nation, yet civil dissensions are much more fatal, and to be dreaded ; with which his reign was more disturbed than the reigns of all his predecessors. But he is dead and gone ; and God forgive his soul ! It cost the people more blood and treasure to get the crown for this, than it had done to conquer France twice : half of the nobility of the realm lost their lives or estates in his quarrel ; and when the dispute was over, the peace that followed was not much safer than the war : every rich and landed man was in danger ; for whom could he trust, that distrusted his own brother ? whom spare, that killed his own brother ? or who could perfectly love him, whom his own brother could not love ? We shall, in honour to the memory of one that was our sovereign, forbear to mention who were the persons on which he was so lavish of his favours ; only it is well known, that those that deserved them most, had least of them. Was not Shore's wife his chief minister ? Was not there more court made to her than to all the lords in England ; except those that were the strumpet's favourites ? Who, poor woman, was herself chaste and of good reputation, till he deluded her to his lust, and tempted her from her husband, an honest, substantial young man, whom you all know. Indeed, I am ashamed to say it, the king's appetite, in that point, was insatiable and intolerable : no woman could escape him ; young or old, rich or poor, wife or virgin, all fell victims to his lust ; by which means the most honourable houses were defiled, and the most honest families were corrupted. You of this renowned city suffered most ; you who deserved most from him, for your readiness to serve the house of York with your lives and fortunes ; which, though he ill requited, there is of that house who, by God's grace, shall reward you better. I shall not enlarge on this subject ; you have heard it from one whom you will hearken to more, as you ought to do ; for I am not so vain as to think, what I can say will have so great authority with you as the words of a preacher ; a man so wise and so pious, that he would not utter a thing, in the pulpit especially, which he did not firmly believe it was his duty to declare. You remember, I doubt not, how he set forth, the last Sunday, the right of the most excellent prince, Richard Duke of Gloucester, unto the crown of this realm : for, as he proved to you, the children of King Edward the Fourth were never lawfully begotten ; the king leaving his lawful wife, the Lady Lucy, to contract an illegal marriage with the queen. My noble lord the protector's reverence to the duchess his mother, will not permit me to say any thing further concerning what the worthy doctor alleged of her familiarity with others besides her own husband, for fear of offending the Duke of Gloucester her son : though, for these causes, the crown of England is devolved to the most excellent prince, the lord protector

rector, as the only lawfully begotten son of the right noble Duke of York. This, and the consideration of his many high qualities, has prevailed with the lords and commons of England, of the northern counties especially, (who have declared they will not have a bastard reign over them) to petition that high and mighty prince to take on him the sovereign power, for the good of the realm, to which he has so rightful and lawful a title. We have reason to fear he will not grant our request, being a prince whose wisdom foresees the labour both of mind and body that attends the supreme dignity: which office is not a place for a child; as that wise man observed, who said, *Væ regno cuius rex puer est*—Wo is that realm that has a child to their king! Wherefore we have reason to bless God that the prince whose right it is to reign over us, is of so ripe age, so great wisdom and experience; who though he is unwilling to take the government upon himself, yet the petition of the lords and gentlemen will meet with the more favourable acceptance, if you the worshipful citizens of the metropolis of the kingdom will join with us in our request; which, for your own welfare, we doubt not but you will. However, I heartily entreat you to do it for the common good of the people of England, whom you will oblige by chusing them so good a king, and his majesty by shewing early your ready disposition to his election: in which, my most dear friends, I require you in the name of myself and these lords, to shew us plainly your minds and intentions.”

The duke stopped here, expecting the assembly would have cried out, God save King Richard: but all were hushed and silent, as if the auditory was confounded with the extravagance of the proposal; at which the duke was extremely surprisèd, and taking aside the mayor, with some others of the conspirators, said to them softly, “How comes it the people are so still?” “Sir,” says the mayor, “it may be, they do not understand you well.” The duke, to help the matter, repeated his speech with a little variation, and with such grace and eloquence, that never so ill a subject was handled with so much oratory. However the assembly continued silent. Then the mayor told the duke, The citizens had not been accustomed to hear any one but the recorder, and perhaps they would take the thing better from him who is the mouth of the city. Upon which the recorder, Fitz-Williams, much against his will, spoke to the same purpose, at the mayor’s command; and yet he managed his speech so well as to be understood to speak the duke’s sense, and not his own. The people being still as before, the duke muttered to the lord mayor, saying, “They are wonderfully obstinate in their silence!” and turning to the assembly, he said, “Dear friends, we came to acquaint you with a thing which we needed not have done, had it not been for the affection we bear you. The lords and commons could have determined the matter without you, but would gladly have you join with us, which is for your honour and profit, though you do not see it, or consider it: we require you therefore to give your answer one way or another, Whether
you

you are willing, as the lords are, to have the most excellent prince the lord protector to be your king or not?" The assembly then began to murmur, and at last some of the protector's and the duke's servants, some of the city apprentices, and the rabble that had crowded into the hall, cried out, "King Richard, King Richard!" and threw up their hats in token of joy. The duke perceived easily enough who they were that made the noise; yet, as if the acclamation had been general, he took hold of it, saying, "It is a goodly and a joyful cry to hear every man with one voice agree to it, and nobody say No. Since therefore, dear friends, we see you are all as one man inclined to have this noble prince to be your king, we shall report the matter so effectually to him, that we doubt not it will be much for your advantage. We require you to attend us to-morrow, with our joint petition to his grace; as has been already agreed between us." Then the duke and the lords came down from the hustings, and the assembly broke up, the most part of them with weeping eyes and aching hearts; though they were forced to hide their tears and their sorrows, as much as possible, for fear of giving offence, which had been dangerous.

The next day the lord-mayor, the aldermen, and the chief of the common-council, resorted to Baynard's Castle, where the protector then lay; and the Duke of Buckingham, attended by several lords and gentlemen, came thither also. The duke sent word to the protector that a great company attended, to move a business of the highest importance to him, and desired audience of his grace. The Duke of Gloucester made some difficulty of coming forth, as if he was jealous whether their errand was good or not.

The Duke of Buckingham took this occasion to shew the lord-mayor and citizens how little the protector was conscious of their design; and then he sent another messenger, with so humble and so earnest a request to be heard, that his grace came forth; yet with so much affected diffidence, that he seemed unwilling to draw near them till he knew their business. Then the Duke of Buckingham very submissively begged pardon for himself and his company, and liberty to propose to him what they had to offer, without which they durst not proceed; though it was for his grace's honour and the good of the realm. The protector gave them leave to propose what they would, saying, he believed none of them meant him any harm. The duke then set forth elegantly and pathetically the grievances of the people, and prayed him to redress them by assuming the sovereign authority, which of right belonged to him, and which the whole kingdom with unusual unanimity desired he would take to himself for the benefit of the commonwealth, as much as for his grace's honour. The protector seemed mightily surprized; and answered, That though he knew the things he alleged to be true, yet he loved King Edward and his children above any crown whatsoever, and therefore could not grant their request: however, he pardoned their petition,

and thanked them for their love; but desired them to be obedient to the prince under whom himself and they lived at that time, and whom he would advise to the best of his capacity, as he had already done to the satisfaction of all parties. The Duke of Buckingham murmured at this reply; and after having asked and obtained pardon a second time for what he was about to say, declared aloud to the protector, that they were all agreed not to have any of King Edward's line to reign over them; that they were gone too far to go back; for which reason, if his grace would be pleased to take the crown upon him, they humbly beseech him to do it; or, if he would give them a resolute answer to the contrary, which they would be loth to hear, they must and would look out for some worthy person that would accept of their proposal. At these words the protector began to comply a little, and at last he spoke thus to them: "Since we perceive that the whole realm is bent upon it not to have King Edward's children to govern them, of which we are sorry, and knowing that the crown can belong to no man so justly as to ourself, the right heir lawfully begotten of the body of our most dear father Richard late Duke of York; to which title is now joined your election, the nobles and commons of this realm, which we, of all titles possible, take for the most effectual; we are content, and agree favourably to receive your petition and request, and according to the same take upon us the royal estate, pre-eminence and kingdoms of the two noble realms, England and France; the one from this day forward by us and our heirs, to rule, govern and defend; the other, by God's grace and your good help, to get again, subdue, and establish for ever in due obedience unto this realm of England: and we ask of God to live no longer than we intend to procure its advancement." At the close of his speech there was a great shout of "God save King Richard!" The lords went up to the king, and the people departed, every man talking for or against the revolution, as he was inclined by humour or interest. It was easy to perceive, that however the thing appeared strange to King Richard, it was acted by concert with him, and what was done was only to preserve decency and order.

RICHARD III.

THE next day Gloucester went to Westminster, sat himself down in the Court of King's Bench, made a very gracious speech to the assembly there present, and promised them halcyon days from the beginning of his reign.

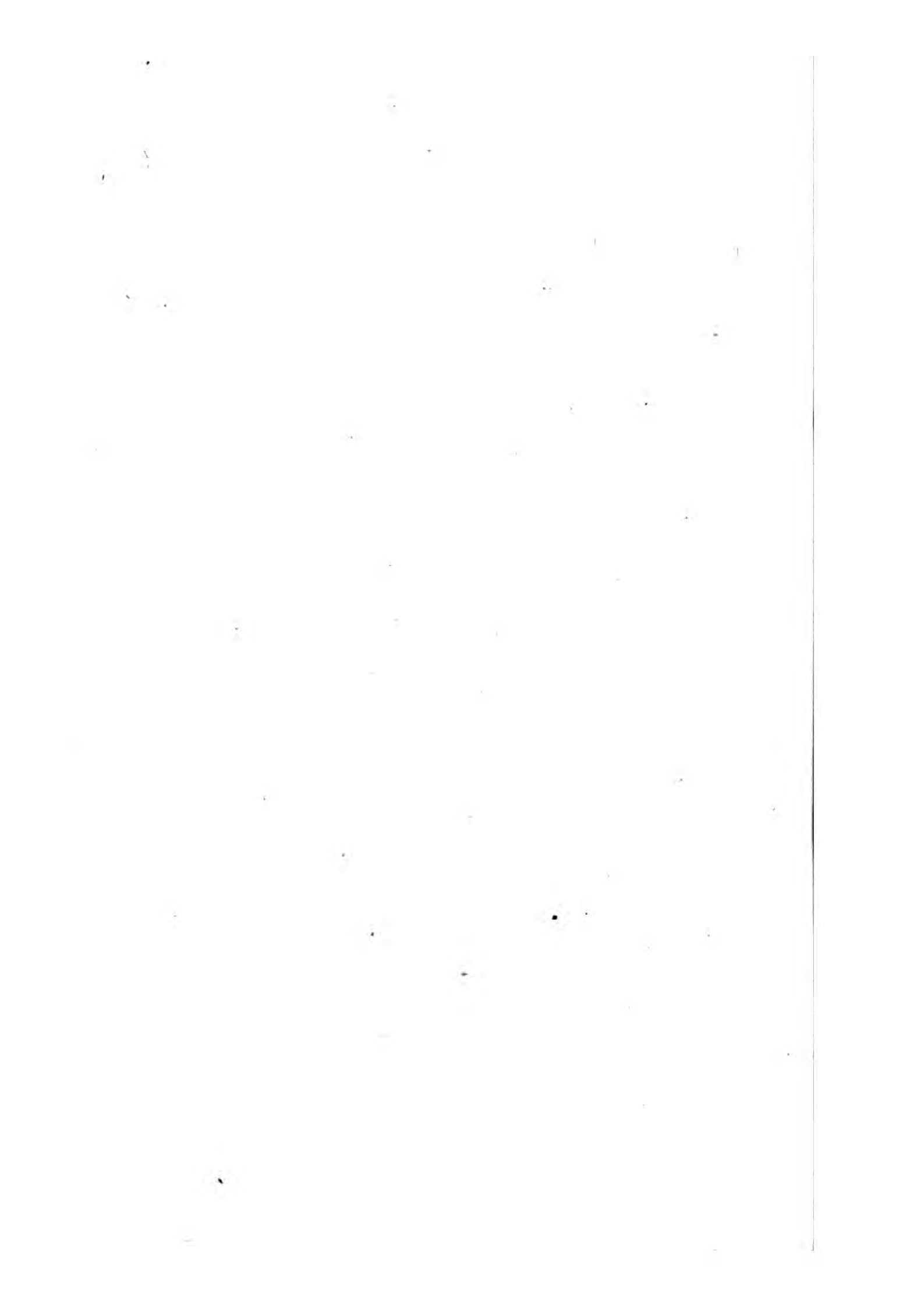
To shew his forgiving temper, he ordered one Hog, whom he hated, and who was fled to Sanctuary for fear, to be brought before him, took him by the hand, and spoke favourably to him; which the
 multitude



RICHARD THE THIRD.

Drawn from an Antient Picture by Collings, & Engraved by Barrell.

Published by C. Stalker, April 1. 1789.

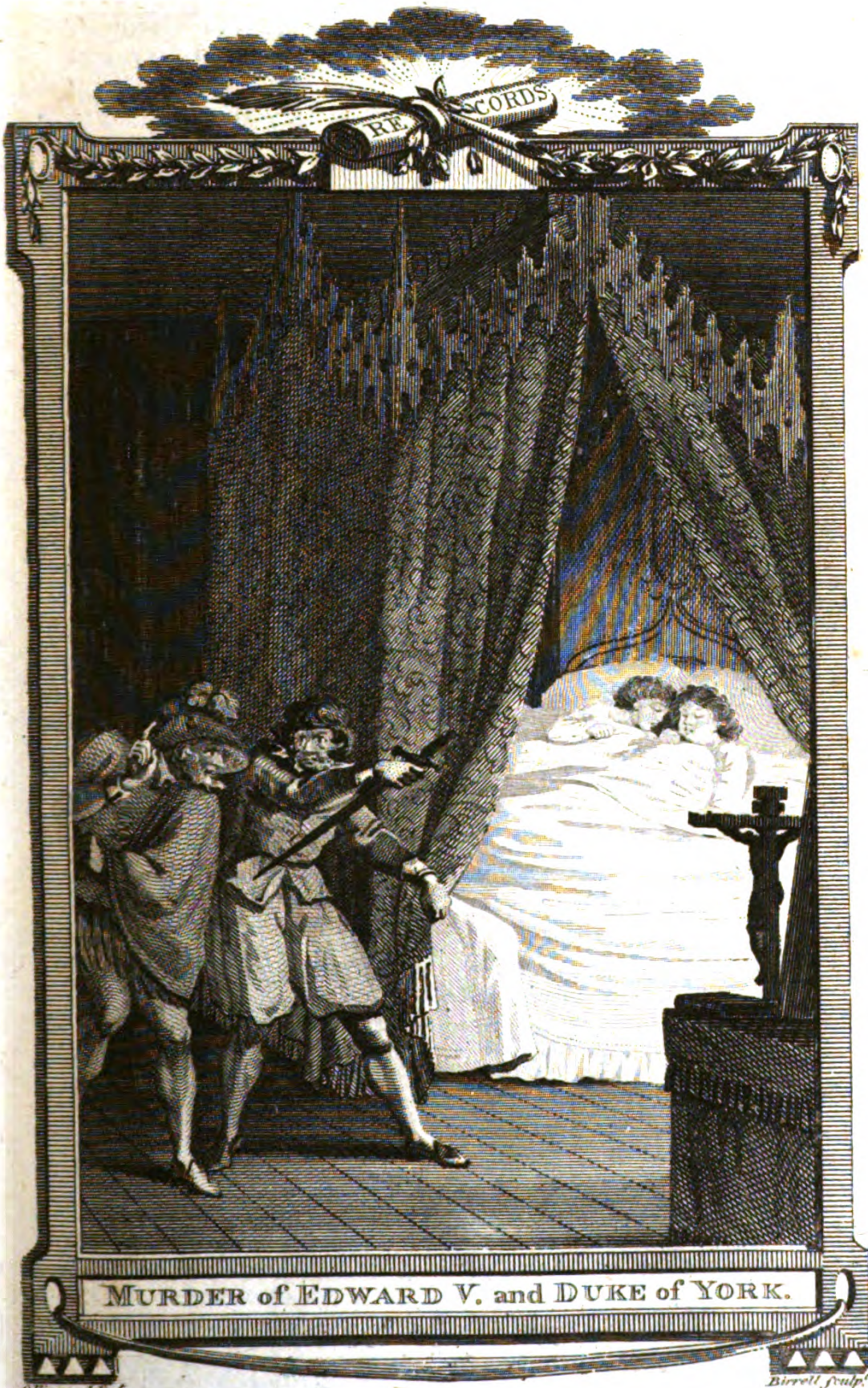


multitude thought was a token of his clemency, and the wise men of his vanity. In his return home, he saluted every one he met.

From this mock election in June, he commenced his reign, and was crowned in July with the same provision that was made for the coronation of his nephew. But, to be sure of his enemies, he sent for five thousand men out of the north; who came up to town ill cloathed, and worse harnessed, their horses poor, and their arms rusty; who being mustered in Finsbury fields, were the contempt of the spectators. The appearance of these rude fellows in arms, gave cause to the people to suspect that, as he was conscious of his guilt, he was apprehensive of its punishment.

On the 4th of July he came to the Tower by water, with his wife Ann, daughter to Richard Earl of Warwick; and the next day he created Thomas Lord Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Sir Thomas Howard his son, Earl of Surrey; William Lord Berkley, Earl of Nottingham; Francis Lord Lovell, Viscount Lovell and lord chamberlain of the household; and the Lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made lord steward of the household, the king being afraid of the Lord Strange, who was raising men in Lincolnshire, as was reported; the archbishop of York was released from his imprisonment; and bishop Morton delivered to the charge of the Duke of Buckingham, who engaged to keep him in safe custody at his manor of Brecknock. King Richard also created seventeen knights of the Bath; and his son Edward, Prince of Wales. The same day he and his queen rode through the city of London to Westminster; and the next day they were both crowned in the Abbey church with extraordinary pomp. What is most observable in the procession is, that the Countess of Richmond, mother to King Henry the Seventh, bore up the queen's train. After the ceremony was over, the king dismissed all the lords who attended his coronation, except the Lord Stanley, whom he retained till he heard that the Lord Strange, his son, was quiet in the country. He gave the lords a strict charge to see their several counties were well governed, and none of his subjects wronged. He liberally rewarded his northern men, who valued themselves so much on the king's favour, that presuming to commit many acts of injustice and oppression upon it, he was forced to take a journey into the north to reclaim them. What is ill got is never well kept; which King Richard soon shewed, by the murder of his two innocent nephews, the young king and his tender brother; whose death has, however, been much doubted of since, whether it was in his time or not; Perkin Warbeck, through the malice of some, and the folly of others, having a long time abused the world, and imposed himself upon princes as well as people, for the younger of King Edward the Fourth's sons. King Richard contrived the destruction of the two young princes in a progress he made to Gloucester, to honour the town, which gave him the title of duke, with a visit: he imagined, that while his nephews lived, his right to the crown would be called

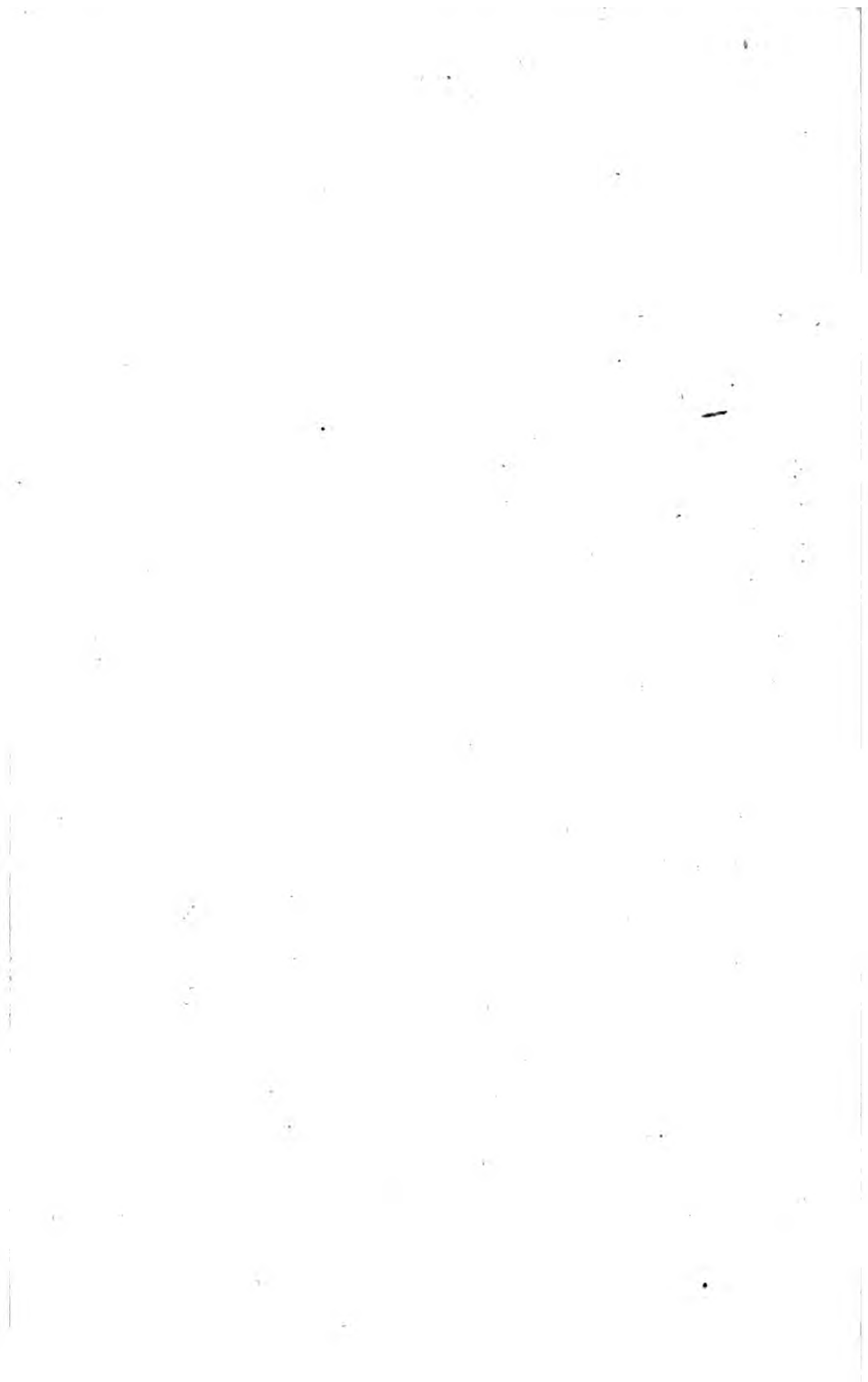
in question: wherefore he resolved to rid himself of them; and to that end sent John Green, a creature of his, to Sir Robert Brackenbury, constable of the Tower, with a letter, desiring him one how or other to make away with the two children whom he had in keeping. Brackenbury refused to do it; and Green returned to King Richard, who then lay at Warwick, with the constable's answer; at which the king was so displeased, that he said to a page of his the same night, "Alas! who is there that a man can trust? Those that I have brought up myself, those that I thought would be most ready to serve me, even those fail me, and will not do what I command them." The page replied, "Sir, there lies a man on the pallat in the outer chamber, who I am sure will think nothing too hard that you shall require him to do;" meaning Sir James Tyrrell, a brave handsome man, who deserved a better master, and would have merited the esteem of all men, had his virtue been as great as his valour. He was ambitious, and with regret saw Sir Richard Ratcliff soar above him in his master's favour. The king, knowing how aspiring he was, imagined the page had hit upon the person who was for his purpose, believing Tyrrell would do any thing in hopes of further preferment; so he went out into the chamber, where he found Sir James, and Sir Thomas Tyrrell his brother, on a pallat bed, to whom he said merrily, "What are you a bed so soon, gentlemen?" And calling Sir James to him, told him his mind, and what he wanted of him; whom he found ready to do whatever he commanded him. The next day, therefore, he sent him with a letter to Sir Robert Brackenbury, requiring him to deliver Sir James the keys of the Tower, to the end that he might accomplish the king's pleasure in certain things he had given him commandment about. Sir Robert having restored the keys to this assassin, he resolved to murder the two princes the ensuing night. When the elder, called King Edward the Fifth, was told that his uncle was crowned king, he sighed, and said, "Ah! would my uncle let me have my life, he might take my kingdom!" The person that told him so, comforted him as well as he could; and for a little while the king and his brother were well used: but afterwards they were shut up close, and one servant only allowed to attend them. Then the young king, apprehending what would be his fate, gave himself over to sorrow and despair; and the prince his brother was the companion of his grief, as well as of his misfortune. Sir James Tyrrell contrived to have them murdered in their beds, and appointed one Miles Forrest, a noted ruffian, and John Dighton his groom, a lusty fellow, to see execution done. Those that waited near the princes lodgings were removed, and way made for Forrest and Dighton to enter their chamber, unperceived of any one, at midnight. The poor youths were asleep in their beds, whom the two assassins wrapped up in the blankets and coverlid of the bed, clapped the featherbed and pillows upon them, stopped their mouths, and smothered them to death. When the ruffians
perceived,



MURDER of EDWARD V. and DUKE of YORK.

W. Burgess delin.

Birrell sculp.



perceived, by their struggling, that they were dying, and afterwards by their lying still that they were dead, they laid their bodies out naked upon the bed, and fetched Sir James Tyrrell to see them; who ordered the murderers to bury them at the stair-foot, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones. Then Tyrrell rode to the king, and gave him a full account of the murder; with which he was so well pleased, that it is said he knighted him at that time; though he seemed not to approve of their being buried in so vile a corner, they being the sons of a king: upon which, Sir Robert Brackenbury's chaplain took their bodies up, and buried them privately in a place that, by occasion of his death, never came to light. Sir James Tyrrell, when he was afterwards, in the reign of King Henry the Seventh, committed to the Tower for treason, confessed the murder in the manner we have related it; so did Dighton: and both the master and the man, and Forrest the warder, came to miserable ends, through the just judgment of God, the avenger of innocent blood. Dighton and Forrest, though they were not executed by the hangman, died in a most horrible manner, rotting away by degrees; Sir James Tyrrell was beheaded; and King Richard himself slain by his enemies, and his body ignominiously used by the rabble. He could never after be at rest; his guilt haunted him like a spectre; he was afraid of his own shadow when he went abroad; his eyes rolled in his head; his limbs trembled; and his hand was always on his dagger: his sleep was ever disturbed by frightful dreams; he would suddenly start up, leap out of his bed, and run about the chamber. Nor did he long enjoy the fruits of his bloody policy; for though the princes were removed, new enemies arose from time to time, that kept him in continual fear, through the course of his short reign. The first that conspired against him, was the very person who had been most instrumental in his advancement; the Duke of Buckingham, whose intimacy with him commenced from the death of King Edward the Fourth.

We must look a little backward into the beginning of their confederacy, the better to clear the history of this duke's misfortunes. On the death of King Edward, he sent a trusty servant of his to the Duke of Gloucester, to offer him his service, and that he would attend him with a thousand men whenever he pleased to command him. The Duke of Gloucester returned him thanks, and informed the Duke of Buckingham with his secret designs. At Northampton, Buckingham met the Duke of Gloucester, at the head of three hundred horse, and joined with him in all his undertakings: he accompanied him to London, and staid with him till after the coronation; he went with him to Gloucester, and there he took his leave of him to return home; where he was no sooner arrived, than he began to repent of what he had done, and to think he had not been sufficiently rewarded for it by the usurper. The reason of his first discontent is said to be this: some time before the usurper was crowned, it was agreed

agreed between him and the Duke of Buckingham, that the latter should have all the lands belonging to the Duke of Hereford, to which he pretended to have a title by his descent from the house of Lancaster, his mother being the daughter of Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset, brother to John Duke of Somerset, father to Margaret Countess of Richmond, mother to King Henry VII. But this title having some relation to that of the crown, the usurper would not hear of restoring him to the Duke of Hereford's estate, and rejected his petition with indignation and threats when he was in possession of the sovereignty; which the Duke of Buckingham so highly resented, that from that time forward he contrived how he might pull him down from the throne upon which he had set him. We are told he feigned himself sick, and excused his attendance at the coronation, and that King Richard should send him word, if he would not come and ride, he would make him be carried.

This circumstance of the Duke of Buckingham's discontent is not given credit to by those who consider the natures of the usurper and of the duke, being both of them the greatest dissemblers in the world: the one would not so rashly have provoked a powerful enemy, nor the other have given a jealous tyrant occasion to suspect his fidelity: the truth is, the Duke of Buckingham was a high-spirited man, and envied the glory of another so much, that when he saw the crown set upon King Richard's head, he could not endure the sight, but turned his head away. Others write, that they continued good friends till after his return home, and that the usurper dismissed him at Gloucester with rich gifts and extraordinary marks of his favour and affection: when he came to Brecknock he conversed much with Dr. Moreton, bishop of Ely, whom he had there in keeping. This prelate was a very wise, politic person, a man of learning, and of a winning behaviour. He had been always faithful to King Henry, and when he fell in with the party of King Edward, on King Henry's death, he served him as faithfully, and was one of the lords whom the usurper seized at the council in the Tower. The bishop perceiving the Duke of Buckingham was pleased with his company and discourse, thought he might improve the favour he had obtained of him to the advantage of the commonwealth, by getting him to join in a conspiracy against King Richard, towards whom he found he was not very well inclined; yet he managed the matter so warily, that he rather seemed to follow than to lead him, and brought him by degrees to open his whole mind to him, and to engage in prosecuting a design which he had formed, to bring about a match between Henry Earl of Richmond, and the Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to King Edward; by which marriage, the two houses of York and Lancaster would be united, and an end put to the long and bloody disputes between the two factions. He durst not come to the point presently, but advanced to it step by step, as he saw the Duke of Buckingham prepared to harken to it.

When

When that lord came to Brecknock first, he praised the king, and boasted what great things the nation might expect from such a prince: the bishop replied, "My lord, it would be folly in me to lye; and if I should swear the contrary, your lordship would not, I suppose, believe me. Had things gone as I would have had them, King Henry's son had been king, and not King Edward: but when, by God's providence, he was deprived of the crown, and King Edward advanced to the throne, I was not so mad as to bring a dead man in competition with a living one; so I became King Edward's faithful chaplain, and should have been glad that his son had succeeded him: however, since God has otherwise ordered it, I shall not kick against the pricks, nor labour to set up whom the Almighty has pulled down. As for the late protector, the king that now is ——" Here he stopt short, as if he had said too much already, to heighten the duke's curiosity to know what he had to say more. The duke earnestly desired him to proceed, promising him, upon his honour, that never any hurt should come of it, and perhaps it might produce more good than he was aware of; saying, he intended to consult him, and to be governed by his advice, for which cause only he had procured of the king to have him in his custody, where he might reckon himself at home, otherwise he had been delivered to those that would not have been so kind to him. The bishop humbly thanked him, and said, "Indeed, my lord, I do not care to talk much of princes, as a thing which is dangerous, though the words may be innocent; for if they be not taken in good part, they may be fatal to him that speaks them, the prince putting what construction he pleases upon them: I often think of the fable in Æsop, when the lion proclaimed, That no horned beast should stay in the wood, on pain of death: one that had a bunch of flesh in his forehead fled away in haste; the fox meeting him, asked him, Whither so fast? The beast answered, Troth I do not know, nor do not care, provided I was out of the wood, as the proclamation commands all horned beasts to be gone. You fool, says the fox, thou mayest stay, the lion does not mean thee; it is not a horn that grows in thy head: No, quoth the beast, I know that well enough, but what if he should call it a horn, where am I then?" The duke laughed at the tale, and answered, "I warrant you, my lord, neither the lion nor the boar shall resent any thing that is said here; it shall never go any farther I assure you." The bishop replied, "If it did, were the thing that I was about to say, understood as I meant it, I should deserve thanks; but taken as I suppose it would be, it might perhaps turn to your prejudice and mine." This raised the duke's curiosity still higher; upon which the bishop proceeded thus: "As for the late protector, since he is now king, I do not intend to dispute his title; however, for the good of the realm he governs (of which I am a poor member) I was about to wish, that to the good qualities he possesses, it had pleased God to have added some of those excellent virtues requisite for the governing

governing a kingdom, which are so conspicuous in the person of your grace*.”

The duke wondering why the bishop made such frequent pauses, was the more eager to have him speak his mind freely; and replied, “I cannot but take notice of your stopping so often in the midst of your discourse, which hinders my making any judgment of your opinion of the king, or your good will towards me. As for any good qualities in me, I pretend to none, and expect no praise on account of my merit. I plainly perceive you have some hidden meaning, which you reserve from me, either out of fear or shame: you may be bold and free with me, who am your friend; I assure you, on my honour, that I will be as secret in this case as the deaf and dumb person is to the finger, or the tree to the hunter.”

The bishop grew bolder on the duke's promise of secrecy, in which he was encouraged by the discoveries he made of Buckingham's hatred to the king. He resolved therefore to come to the point, and to propose to the duke, that either out of ambition, or his love to his country, he should attempt to destroy the tyrant.

To this end, he resumed his former conversation in this manner: “My singular good lord, since I have been your grace's prisoner, I have not known what it is to be deprived of liberty; and to avoid idleness, the mother and nurse of vice, I have spent my time in reading. I have read in some of my books, that no man was born for himself only; he owes a duty to his parents, that begat him; to his relations and friends, for proximity of blood and good offices; but above all to the country, whose air he first breathed; and this duty is never to be forgotten: for which reason, I consider the present state of this realm, wherein I was born; and in these considerations, I cannot help making reflections on what a governor we now have, and what a ruler we might have. In the present circumstances of affairs, the kingdom must soon decay: confusion and destruction will certainly be the sudden end of disorder and mis-rule. All my hope is in your grace: when I reflect on your valour, your justice, impartiality, your zeal for the public welfare, your learning, your sense and eloquence, I rejoice in the happiness of England, that possesses so good and so great a prince, worthy the highest dignities: but when I, on the other side, consider the good qualities of the late protector, now called king, how they are violated and subverted by tyranny, eclipsed by blind and insatiate ambition, and changed from mild and human, to cruel and bloody; I cannot forbear declaring openly to you, that he is neither fit to be king of so noble a realm, nor so noble a realm fit to be governed by such a tyrant, whose kingdom, were it larger than it is, could not long continue: God will

* Sir Thomas Moor here discontinuing his History of Richard the Third, the remainder of this reign is taken from the Chronicles of Hall and Hollinshed.

overthrow those that are thirsty of blood; he will bring horrible slaughter upon them: how many brave and virtuous persons were murdered to make way for him to the throne? Did he not accuse his own mother, an honourable and religious princess, of adultery? which, if it had been true, a dutiful child would have passed it over in silence. Did he not declare his two brothers and his two nephews bastards? And, what is still more barbarous, did he not cause those two poor innocent princes, whose blood cries aloud for vengeance, to be cruelly murdered? My heart melts when I think of their untimely fate; and my soul, with horror, remembers this bloody butcher, this inhuman monster! What man can be sure of his own life, under the dominion of a prince, who spared not his own blood? especially if, at any time, he is suspicious of his fidelity to him, and that he is carrying on ill designs against him, as every thing will be termed, that tends to the good of the public. All will be reckoned guilty by him, that are great and rich. It is enough for persons to have large possessions to provoke his wrath. Now, my lord, to conclude this discourse, with what I have to say to your grace; I conjure you, by your love to God, your illustrious line, and your native country, to take the imperial crown of this realm upon you, to restore this kingdom to its ancient splendour, and deliver it from the violence of the oppressor. I dare affirm, if the Turk stood in competition with this bloody tyrant, this killer of infants, the people of England would prefer him to Richard, who now sits in the throne. How much more, then, would they rejoice to live under the government of so excellent a prince as your grace? Despise not, neither lose, so fair an occasion of saving yourself, and your dear country: but if you will not yourself accept of the sovereignty of this kingdom; if the toils and hazards of a crown, prevail over you more than the charms of power; I intreat you, by the faith you owe to God, and your oath to St. George, patron of the honourable garter, (of which order you are a companion) by your affection to the place that gave you birth; and to the English nation, that you will, in your high and princely wisdom, think of some means of advancing such a good governor, as you shall appoint to rule and govern them. All the hopes of the people of England are in you, and to you only can they fly for succour. If you could set up the house of Lancaster once more, or marry the eldest daughter of King Edward to some great and potent prince, the new king would not long enjoy his usurped empire; all civil war would cease, domestic discord would sleep, and universal peace and profit would be the blessings of this noble realm."

When the bishop had done speaking, the duke continued silent for some time: the bishop changed colour, and was very much concerned at it, expecting his proposal would have been received with joy and greediness.

The duke, perceiving the fright he was in, said, "Fear nothing, my lord, I will keep my word with you; to-morrow we will talk more of the matter, let us now go to supper."

The duke the next day sent for the bishop, who had not all that while been very easy, for fear how his last conversation would be taken. Buckingham repeated almost all the Bishop of Ely had said to him, and when he had done, he pulled off his hat, and made this sort of a prayer; "O Lord God, creator of all things! how much is thy kingdom of England, and the English nation, indebted to thy goodness? Though we are now oppressed by an evil governor, yet I hope, ere long, by thy help to provide such a ruler as shall be to thy pleasure, and the security of the commonwealth." He then put on his hat, and applied himself thus to the bishop: "My Lord of Ely, I have always found you faithful and affectionate to me, and especially in your last free confidence in me: I acknowledge you to be a sure friend, a trusty counsellor, a vigilant statesman, and a true lover of your country; for which I return you hearty thanks now, and shall recompense you more effectually, if life and power serve. Since, when we were last together, you opened your mind freely, touching the Duke of Gloucester, who has usurped the crown; and hinted a little, the advancement of the two noble families of York and Lancaster; I shall also, with as much freedom, communicate to you what I have done, and what I intend to do. I declare therefore, that when King Edward died, to whom I thought I was very little obliged, (though he and I had married two sisters) because he neither promoted, nor preferred me as I thought I deserved, by my birth, and the relation I had to him, I did not much value his children's interest, having their father's hard usage still in my mind; I called an old proverb to remembrance, which says, Woe be to that kingdom where children rule, and women govern! I thought it of very ill consequence to the people of England, to suffer the young king to govern, or the queen his mother to be regent; considering that her brothers and her children, by her first husband, though of no high descent, would be at the head of all affairs, by their favour with the queen, and have more share in the government than the king's relations, or any person of the highest quality in the kingdom. For this reason, I thought it to be for the public welfare, and my private advantage, to side with the Duke of Gloucester, whom I took to be as sincere and merciful, as I now find him to be false and cruel. By my means, as you, my lord, know well, he was made protector of the king and kingdom. After which, partly by fair words, and partly by threats, he persuaded me and other lords, as well spiritual as temporal, to consent that he might assume the crown, till the young king was four and twenty years of age. I stuck at it at first, and he produced instruments witnessed by doctors, proctors, and notaries, whose depositions I then thought to be true, testifying

testifying that King Edward's children were bastards. When these testimonials were read before us, he stood up bare-headed, and said, 'Well, my lords, even as I and you (sage and discreet counsellors) would that my nephew should have no wrong, so I pray you to do me nothing but right. These depositions being true, I am the undoubted heir to Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who by act of parliament was adjudged the true heir to the crown of this realm.'

“ Upon which, myself and others took him really for our rightful prince and sovereign lord. The Duke of Clarence's son, by reason of his father's attainder, could not inherit. The duke was also suspected to be a bastard. Thus, by my assistance and friendship, he was made king; at which time he promised me, at Baynard's Castle, laying his hand on mine, that the two young princes should live, and should be provided for, to mine and every one's satisfaction. How he performed his promises, we all know, to our sorrow. When he was in possession of the throne, he forgot his friends, and the assurances he had given them: he denied to grant my petition for part of the Earl of Hereford's lands, which his brother wrongfully detained from me; he refused me in such manner, as made the affront much more intolerable. I have borne his ingratitude hitherto with patience; I have concealed my resentments I had with him afterwards, carried it outwardly fair, though I inwardly repented that I had been accessary to his advancement. But when I was certainly informed of the death of the two innocent princes; to which (God be my judge!) I never consented; my blood curdled at his treason and barbarity: I abhorred the sight of him, and his company much more; and, pretending an excuse to leave the court, retired to Brecknock. In my way home, I meditated how I might dethrone this unnatural uncle. I thought, if I would take the sovereignty on myself, now was the time. The temporal lords, I saw, hated the tyrant; he was odious alike to the gentlemen and people of England; and had I assumed the supreme power, I thought there was nobody so likely to carry it as myself. Flattering my ambition with those vain imaginations, I staid two days at Tewkesbury. As I travelled further homewards, I considered, that to pretend to seat myself on the throne as a conqueror, would not do; which would be to subject the whole constitution of the government, and entitle the conqueror to all the noblemen's possessions, which would ruin my design: at last I remembered that Edmund Duke of Somerset my grandfather, was, with King Henry the Sixth, in two or three degrees from John Duke of Lancaster lawfully begotten; my mother being Duke Edmund's eldest daughter, I looked on myself as the next heir to Henry the Sixth, of the house of Lancaster: but as I travelled homewards, between Worcester and Bridgenorth, I met the Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, at present wife to the Lord Stanley, who is the rightful and sole heir of John Duke of Somerset, my grandfather's elder
 H 2 brother,

brother, whose title I had forgot, till I saw her in my way, and then I remembered that both her claim, and her son the Earl of Richmond's, were bars to mine, and forbade my pretending to the imperial crown of England.

“ I had some discourse with her about her son, and then we parted, she for Worcester, and I for Shrewsbury. As I proceeded in my journey, I considered with myself, whether since I could not pretend to the crown by descent, I might not have recourse to the election of the lords and gentry of the realm, the usurper being generally hated by them : but then I began to reflect on the dangers and difficulties of the enterprize ; that the late king's daughters and friends, and the Earl of Richmond's relations, whose interest is very considerable, would certainly oppose me to the utmost ; and if the houses of Lancaster and York should join against me, I should soon lose the vain power I might obtain : wherefore I resolved to flatter myself no more with chimeras of my imaginary right to the royal diadem, but only to revenge mine and the people's wrongs, on the common enemy.

“ The Countess of Richmond proposed, in the conversation we had on the road, that her son might marry one of King Edward's daughters ; and she conjured me, by the memory of Duke Humphrey my grandfather, that I would procure the king's favour for her son, and get him to consent to the match. I took no notice of her proposal then ; which, when I weighed in my mind, I found of so great advantage to the commonwealth, that I thought it was an inspiration of the Holy Spirit for the benefit of the kingdom ; and I came to a resolution in myself to spend my life and fortune in endeavouring to accomplish so glorious a design, to marry the Princess Elizabeth to the Earl of Richmond, the heir of the house of Lancaster, in whose quarrel my father and grandfather lost their lives in battle. If the mothers of the princess and the earl can come to an agreement concerning the marriage, I doubt not but the proud boar, whose tusks have gored so many innocent persons, shall soon be brought to confusion ; the rightful and indubiate heir shall enjoy the crown ; and peace be restored to this distracted kingdom.”

The bishop rejoiced extremely at this free declaration of the duke : and, that he might not slacken his zeal in so righteous a cause, he endeavoured to fire him the more, and hasten him to the execution of his designs : “ My lord,” says the bishop, “ since by the providence of God, and your grace's incomparable wisdom, this happy alliance is set on foot, it is convenient, or rather necessary, that we should consult whom to trust in so important and perilous an undertaking. To whom shall we first apply towards effecting it ? ” “ To whom,” replied the duke, “ but to the Countess of Richmond, who knows where her son is, and how to send to him.” The bishop answered, “ If you begin there, I have an old friend in her service, one Reginald Bray, a man of probity and judgment, for whom I will send, to attend

tend your grace, and receive your commands, if you think proper so to do." The duke consenting to it, the bishop wrote to Mr. Bray to come to him to Brecknock; which he did immediately, believing there was something to be done for his lady's and her son's service. The duke told him what he intended to attempt in favour of the Earl of Richmond, no less than to seat him in the royal throne of England, if he swore to marry the Lady Elizabeth; and by that alliance put an end to the long and bloody dispute between the white rose and the red.

In order to this, he said, the countess must manage the business with the queen-dowager and the princess her daughter, and when they were engaged, send to her son in Bretagne, and get him to swear he would perform the articles agreed on between his mother and the Princess Elizabeth in both their names. Bray gladly undertook to carry this message to his mistress. And now they were embarked in so great an affair, the bishop, who longed to be at liberty, desired the duke to let him go to Ely, where the number of his friends would secure him against all the force King Richard could send to destroy him. The duke being loth to lose so able and experienced a counsellor, excused his detaining him a little longer; saying, he should go in a few days, and so well accompanied, that he need fear no enemy.

The bishop, impatient of confinement, stole away from Brecknock to Ely in disguise, raised money there, and passed over into Flanders. The good prelate thought he had done enough, in setting the duke at work on so hazardous a business, in which it seems he did not care to venture further. Whether he thought he could be more serviceable to the Earl of Richmond abroad, or was afraid of his person at home, or whatever reason he had to leave the Duke of Buckingham, he does not appear to be excuseable in history: knowing the duke was too apt to open his mind freely, he might have imagined that his indiscretion would ruin him, and it was to sacrifice a person of his high quality to put him upon an enterprize he was not fit to manage, and then forsake him in the execution of it; at which the duke was very much concerned.

In the mean time, Reginald Bray returned to his mistress, informed her of what had been concerted between the duke and the bishop, for the advancement of her son; and the countess, with great joy, intended to play her part as soon as possible. The first thing she was to do, was to engage the queen-dowager and the princess; to which purpose she dispatched one Lewis a Welshman, who was her physician, with instructions to attend the queen at Westminster, and break the matter to her. Lewis's message was not in the least suspected, because he came as a doctor, to advise her about her health. When he was admitted into her presence, and every body withdrawn, he gave her to understand what errand he was sent upon: he set forth the wrongs she, her children, and the whole nation, had suffered by the tyranny of Richard, what miseries had befallen the kingdom by the civil

war

war between the houses of York and Lancaster, and what advantages would accrue to her, her children, and the commonwealth, by the uniting the two houses, in marrying her daughter Elizabeth, the only true heir of the house of York, to his mistress's son, the only true heir of the house of Lancaster. The queen heard him with attention, agreed to the proposals, and bade him tell his lady, that all King Edward's friends and dependants should join with her for the Earl of Richmond, on condition he took his corporal oath to marry the Lady Elizabeth, her eldest daughter, or, in case she were not living, the Lady Cecilia, her second daughter. Dr. Lewis carried this pleasing answer to his mistress; from whom he went frequently to the queen as a physician, and from her to the countess, till matters were fully concluded between them. While these things were transacting by the two princesses, Reginald Bray was employed to engage as many persons of quality as he could in the earl's interest; accordingly, he procured Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir John Cheyney, Richard Guilford and Thomas Rame, Esquires, and others, to promise their utmost assistance, taking an oath of secrecy and fidelity of all of them. The queen-dowager, on her part, made the earl many friends, and the business in a short time was so ripe, that it was thought proper to send an account of it to the earl, and give him notice to prepare for his return to England. Christopher Ursewick, her chaplain, was first sent, and soon after followed by Hugh Conway, Esq. with money to provide men and other necessaries for his voyage, and a full account of the disposition the nobility and commonalty were in to receive him favourably. She advised him to land in Wales, that principality being most inclined to him, as well for his descent being Welsh, as for the great estate she had there. For fear Mr. Conway should miscarry in his voyage, Mr. Rame was dispatched away with the same instructions: the former sailed from Plymouth, the latter from Kent; and though they took different routes, they arrived at the Duke of Bretagne's court both within an hour of each other. They communicated the subject of their commission to Richmond, for which he rendered thanks to the Almighty, being such joyful news as he would not have given light credit to; but it came so circumstantiated, and by such trusty messengers, that he did not doubt of the truth of it. He imparted the secret to the Duke of Bretagne, informing him what a fair prospect he had of obtaining the crown of England, desiring him to assist him, and promising to return all his acts of generosity and friendship as soon as it was in his power. The duke gave him hopes of assistance, and accordingly he lent him money and troops for his intended expedition; though Thomas Hutton, King Richard's ambassador, offered large sums, and earnestly solicited the duke and his ministers to put the earl's person in safe custody. The earl, having received so good encouragement in Bretagne, sent Mr. Conway and Mr. Rame back again, to give his friends an account of his intentions and preparations,

tions, and to desire them to provide every thing necessary for his reception.

The messengers returning, satisfied the queen-dowager by Dr. Lewis, of the earl's readiness to comply with the terms she proposed, and informed the conspirators of the Duke of Bretagne's promising to lend him men and money : upon which they all repaired to their several posts to make provision for joining him with sufficient strength to accomplish their designs when he arrived. With these, all such as had any grudge against or quarrel with King Richard, fell in, by which means the party increased daily ; and so many persons could not act zealously in such an affair, without giving umbrage of their intentions to the usurper.

King Richard endeavoured by his spies to find out the bottom of their conspiracies, but he had to deal with men of equal cunning and secrecy, and he could not fix the matter on any one, though he did not doubt but there was a plot carrying on to dethrone him, and advance the Earl of Richmond. The Duke of Buckingham's avoiding the court, made him jealous that he was in it ; and to get him into his power, he made use of his dissimulation, a quality that had been very serviceable to him in his usurpation ; and wrote him very kind obliging letters to come to London : but the duke, pretending indispotion, excused himself. The king, enraged to find his artifices unsuccessful, sent him a letter in a rougher stile, commanding him on his allegiance to attend him. The duke answered as roughly, that he would not expose himself to his mortal enemy, whom he neither loved nor would serve : he knew this answer was a declaration of war, and to lose no time took arms. The same did Thomas Marquis of Dorset, who had escaped out of sanctuary in Yorkshire ; Sir Edward Courtney, and Peter Bishop of Exeter his brother, in Devonshire and Cornwall ; and others in other places. The king, hearing of these insurrections, was not at all disheartened, but mustering all his forces, marched against the Duke of Buckingham, the head and heart of the conspirators ; whom, if he suppressed, he supposed the others would fall of course, or if not, he might easily reduce them. The duke, rather by the influence he had over the Welshmen who were his tenants, than out of an inclination they had to follow him, got a great multitude of them together, with whom he marched through the forest of Dean towards Gloucester, intending to pass the Severn there, and thence to proceed into the west to join the Courtneys ; which, if he could have effected, King Richard's reign had not been so long as it was by a year. But it happened that the river Severn was so swoln by a continual rain for ten days together, that it overflowed all the neighbouring country, did abundance of damage, and it was so remarkable, that for a hundred years after, that inundation was called, the Great Water, or Buckingham's Water, by the inhabitants of those parts. These floods, as it hindered the duke's passing the Severn to join his friends in Devon-

shire, so it prevented his friends on the other side of the river passing over to him; in which extremity the Welshmen deserted by degrees, till at last the duke had none left about him but his domestic servants. Nor prayers nor threats could keep them together, so he was forced to fly with the rest; and in despair fled to the house of one Humphrey Banister near Shrewsbury, designing to hide himself there till he could raise more forces, or escape thence to the Earl of Richmond in Bretagne. He trusted this Banister, as a man who had so many obligations to him, that he did not think it could be almost possible for human nature to be so ungrateful; as to betray a master who had been so kind to a servant as the duke had been to Banister; having bred him up, provided for him honourably, and put entire confidence in him on many occasions: Yet upon King Richard's proclamation to apprehend the duke, with a promise of a thousand pounds reward to the man that should discover him, this faithless wretch betrayed his master to John Milton, Esq. sheriff of Shropshire, who surrounded his house with a party of the county militia, seized the duke, and carried him to the king, who then kept his court at Salisbury: Banister and his whole family were destroyed by the surprising judgments of the Almighty. The usurper refused to pay him the thousand pounds promised in the proclamation; saying, he that would betray so good a master, would be false to any other. The duke earnestly desired to be admitted to the king's presence; but whether he was or not, we cannot determine. Some writers affirm he was, and that he attempted to stab him with a dagger. It is certain he confessed the whole conspiracy, and without any further trial was beheaded in the market-place at Salisbury, on the second of November. Such was the fate of Henry Stafford, whom most authors call Edward Duke of Buckingham. He married Catharine the daughter of Richard Woodville, sister to Queen Elizabeth, wife to Edward IV. by whom he had Edward Duke of Buckingham, Henry Earl of Wiltshire, and two daughters; the one married George Lord Hastings, and the other Richard Ratcliffe Lord Fitzwaters. The Duke of Buckingham was hereditary constable of England; and his estate and revenues were so great, that King Richard had reason to be jealous of him; for no subject in England was so powerful, either in the number of his tenants and dependants, or in his vast riches.

By the dispersing of the Welshmen; the western army was so discouraged, that every man shifted for himself; some fled to sanctuary, others took shipping and sailed to Bretagne to the Earl of Richmond. Among these were Peter Courtney, bishop of Exeter; Sir Edward Courtney, his brother, afterwards created Earl of Devonshire by Henry the Seventh; Thomas Marquis Dorset; John Lord Welles; Sir John Bouchier; Sir Edward Woodville, the queen-dowager's brother; Sir Robert Willoughby; Sir Giles Daubeney; Sir John Cheney, and his two brothers; Sir Thomas Arundell; Sir
William

William Berkley; Sir William Branden; Thomas Branden, Esq. his brother; Sir Richard Edgecomb; John Hallowell, Esq. and Captain Edward Poynings, a famous soldier, whom Henry VII. highly preferred. King Richard did all that a wise prince could think of, to prevent their getting off. Knowing what an addition to the earl's power, the presence of so many persons of quality would make, he set guards on most of the ports of England; but those in the west being in the hands of the malecontents, they escaped the cruel vengeance which was prepared for them. The usurper fitted out a fleet, to cruize off the coasts of Bretagne, and prevent the Earl of Richmond's landing any forces in England; but the earl not hearing of the duke's misfortune, set sail the 12th of October, with a fleet of forty ships, having five thousand Bretons on board. They had not been long at sea before they met with a storm that scattered their fleet: the ship in which was the earl in person, was driven on the coast of England, to the mouth of the haven of Pool, in Dorsetshire; where finding the shore was crouded with troops to oppose his descent, he forbade any of his men to land till the whole navy came up. However, he sent out his boat with some officers to demand of the men, who stood on the shore, whether they were friends or enemies? These traitors, instructed by King Richard, answered they were friends, posted there by the Duke of Buckingham, to receive the Earl of Richmond. The earl suspecting the deceit, and perceiving he was alone, the rest of his fleet not appearing, weighed anchor and returned to France. He landed in Normandy, where he refreshed himself and his men two or three days, and then sent a gentleman to Charles the Eighth, the French king, desiring passports through his territories into Bretagne, which was readily granted by Charles. However, the earl did not stay for the return of his courier, but, trusting to the French king's generosity, continued his journey through Normandy to Vannes, where the Duke of Bretagne resided. When he arrived there, he heard of the Duke of Buckingham's death, and found the Marquis Dorset, and the other English gentlemen who had made their escape. They all swore allegiance to him; and he took his corporal oath, on the same day, the 25th of December, that he would marry the Princess Elizabeth, when he had suppressed the usurper Richard, and was in possession of the crown.

The zeal which these gentlemen shewed in his cause, and the consideration of the great interest they had in England, lessened the earl's sorrow for the misfortune of his friends, in their first attempts against the tyrant, and encouraged him to refit his fleet, and prepare for a new voyage to England, where many of his friends were seized and executed; as, Sir George Brown, and Sir Roger Clifford, who were beheaded at London; and Sir Thomas St. Leger, who had married the king's own sister, the Duchess of Exeter, Thomas Rame, Esq. and several of his own servants: the two former were executed at Exon; the latter, whom he condemned on bare suspicion, at Lon-

don, and other places. The usurper made a progress to Devonshire and Cornwall, to settle the peace of those counties, where the earl's party was very numerous. The mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Exeter, presented him with a purse of gold, to obtain his favour: he received it graciously, lay in the city one night, and the next day went about it, to take a view of it: when he came to the castle, and was informed it was called Rugefont, he seemed very melancholy, and said, "I find I shall not live long!" He thought that name was foretold by an old prophecy which he had heard relating to him, that, "his end would be nigh when he came to Richmond:" which prediction was fulfilled at the battle of Bosworth. In his western journey, he found the gentlemen of those parts were almost all concerned in the conspiracy to depose him, and raise the Earl of Richmond to the throne. All that had made their escape were outlawed, and those that fell into his hands were put to death; for he knew not what mercy and humanity meant.

In the beginning of the following year, [1484] he summoned a parliament, in which the Earl of Richmond and his followers were attainted*, and

* The following is an exact copy of a letter sent by King Richard, persuading his subjects to resist the Earl of Richmond, and also to inform them of his descent.—E.

"RICHARD R.

"Richard, &c. wisheth health, we command you, &c.

"Forasmuch as the king, our sovereign lord, hath certain knowledge that Piers, bishop of Exeter, Jasper Tydder [Tudor] son of Owen Tydder, calling himself Earl of Pembroke, John late Earl of Oxford, and Sir Edward Wodeville, with others diverse, his rebels and traitors, disabled and attainted by the authority of the high court of parliament, of whom many may be known for open murderers, advowterers [adulterers] and extortioners, contrary to the pleasure of God, and against all truth, honour and nature, have forsaken their natural country, taking them first to be under the obedience of the Duke of Bretagne and to him promised certain things, which by him and his council were thought things too greatly unnatural and abominable for them to grant, observe, keep, and perform, and therefore the same utterly refused.

"The said traitors, seeing the said duke and his council would not aid nor succour them, nor follow their ways, privily departed out of his country into France, and there taking them to be under the obedience of the king's ancient enemy, Charles, calling himself king of France, and to abuse and blind the commons of this said realm, the said rebels and traitors have chosen to be their captain one Henry Tydder [Tudor] son of Edmund Tydder, son of Owen Tydder, which of his ambitious and insatiable covetise [covetousness] encroached and usurpeth upon him the name and title of Royal Estate of this realm of England; whereunto he hath no manner of interest, right, title, or colour, as every man well knoweth; for he is descended of bastard blood, both of father's side, and of mother's side; for the said Owen the grandfather was bastard born; and his mother was daughter unto John, Duke of Somerset, son unto John, Earl of Somerset, son unto dame Katharine Swynford, and of their indouble avowry gotten; whereby it evidently appeareth, that no title can nor may in him, which fully intendeth to enter this realm, proposing a conquest; and if he should achieve his false intent and purpose, every man's life, livelihood, and goods, shall be in his hands, liberty, and disposition; whereby should ensue the disheriting and destruction of all the noble and worshipful blood of this realm for ever, and to the resistance and withstanding whereof every true and natural Englishman born, must lay to his hands for his own surety and weal.

"And to the intent that the said Henry Tydder might the rather achieve his false intent and purpose by the aid, support, and assistance of the king's ancient enemy of France, (he) hath covenanted and bargained with him, and all the council of France, to give up and release in perpetuity all the right, title, and claim, that the king of Eng-
land

and the people burdened with severe taxes and impositions. The money so collected was wasted on his creatures, or squandered away prodigally on such as knew any thing of his guilt in the death of his nephews, to stop their mouths. He obliged the Lord Stanley to confine his wife, the Countess of Richmond, so that she should have no means of holding correspondence with any one to his prejudice. He ordered William Collingburne, of Lydiard in Wiltshire, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for aiding and assisting the Earl of Richmond and his followers, and writing a satirical distich upon him and his favourites, the Lord Viscount Lovel, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir William Catesby:

“ The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,
Rule all England under a hog ;”

Alluding by the hog to the usurper's arms, one of his supporters being a Wild Boar. Yet these executions did not ease him of his fears: he heard, by his emissaries abroad, that Dr. Moreton, bishop of Ely and Urfewich, the Countess of Richmond's chaplain, who lived in

land have had, and ought to have, to the crown and realm of France, together with the duchies of Normandy, Anjou, and Mayne, Gascoign and Guyñes, Cassell, and the towns of Calais, Guyñes, Hammes, with the marches appertaining to the same, and dissever and exclude the arms of France out of the arms of England for ever.

“ And in more proof and shewing, of his said purpose of conquest, the said Henry Tydder hath given [given] as well to divers of the said king's enemies, as to his said rebels and traitors, archbishopricks, bishopricks, and other dignities spiritual; and also the duchies, earldoms, baronies, and other possessions and inheritances of knights, esquires, gentlemen, and other the king's true subjects within the realm; and intendeth also to change and subvert the laws of the same, and to enduce [introduce] and establish new laws and ordinances amongst the king's said subjects.

“ And over this, and besides the alienations of all the premises into the possession of the king's said ancient enemies, to the greatest anyntishment [annihilation] shame, and rebuke, that ever might fall to this said land, the said Henry Tydder and others, the king's rebels and traitors aforesaid, have extended [intended] at their coming, if they may be of power, to do the most cruel murders, slaughters, and robberies, and disherisons, that ever were seen in any christian realm.

“ For the which, and other inestimable dangers to be eschewed, and to the intent that the king's said rebels, traitors and enemies, may be utterly put from their said malicious and false purpose, and soon discomforted, if they enforce [endeavour] to land,

“ The king our sovereign lord willeth, chargeth, and commandeth, all and every of the natural and true subjects of this his realm, to call the premises to their minds, and like good and true Englishmen to endower [furnish] themselves with all their powers for the defence of them, their wives, children, and goods, and hereditaments, against the said malicious purposes and conspirations, which the said ancient enemies have made with the king's said rebels and traitors, for the final destruction of this land, as is aforesaid.

“ And our said sovereign lord, as a well willed, diligent, and courageous prince, will put his most royal person to all labour and pain necessary in this behalf, for the resistance and subduing of his said enemies, rebels and traitors, to the most comfort, weel, and surety of all his true and faithful liege men and subjects.

“ And over this, our said sovereign lord willeth and commandeth all his said subjects to be ready in their most defensible array, to do his highness service of war, when they by open proclamation, or otherwise, shall be commanded so to do, for resistance of the king's said rebels, traitors, and enemies. And this under peril, &c.

“ Witness myself at Westminster, the 23d day of June, in the second year of our reign.”

Flanders, had carried on a close correspondence with many of the chief persons in his kingdom; and that the Duke of Bretagne still continued to protect and support the Earl Henry. He saw the storm that had lately been gathering over him was not dispersed by the Duke of Buckingham's death, and the flight of the Courtneys; the clouds grew darker still, and the tempest that threatened him was such as required all his arts, and all his power, to provide against. He secured his dominions on the side of Scotland, by entering into an alliance with the Scot king, to whose eldest son, the Duke of Rothsay, he married the Lady Anne de la Pool, daughter to John Duke of Suffolk, by Anne, the usurper's best beloved sister. Her son John he proclaimed heir apparent to the crown, without having regard to King Edward the Fourth's daughters: yet all his negociations and successes abroad and at home were ineffectual, and he perceived that nothing would entirely secure him against the earl and his friends contrivances, unless he could get his person into his power. To this purpose he sent over other ambassadors to the Duke of Bretagne, with instructions to apply themselves to Peter Landeise, the duke's chief minister and favourite, and by immense sums of money to endeavour to tempt him to betray the earl. They were to offer him, for the duke his master, the clear profits of all the earl's estate in England, and for himself whatever he could ask of them. The treacherous Breton hearkened to the proposals made by Richard's ambassadors, and promised to deliver the Earl of Richmond to them. But the bishop of Ely, who had intelligence in King Richard and the Duke of Bretagne's courts, understood what designs were forming against Earl Henry, of which he sent him notice by Ursewich; and the earl giving credit to his information, escaped in disguise with his principal officers into the French king's dominions. Landeise intended a day or two after to have seized him; and when he missed him, sent couriers into all parts of the dutchy in search of him. He was scarce got into the French territories, when one of the parties that were sent out after him, came within an hour's riding of him; but he had prevented Landeise his treachery, who acted without his master's privity, the Duke of Bretagne being at that time dangerously ill, and leaving all things to his management. The English refugees that remained in Bretagne, expected all to be delivered up to the fury of King Richard, when they heard of the earl's escape, and the reasons of it: and had not the Duke of Bretagne recovered, and took on him the administration of affairs, the traitor Landeise would have seized them, and yielded them up to the usurper's ambassadors. The duke inquiring into the causes of the earl's flight into France, was very much displeased with Landeise, and sent for Sir Edward Woodvill and Captain Poynings, to whom he excused the treachery of his minister, disowning the knowledge of it, and gave them a considerable sum of money, to conduct them to all the Englishmen who were at Vannes, through Bretagne into France,

to their master the Earl of Richmond: for which generous act the earl sent him thanks, by a messenger on purpose. Himself went to Loinges on the Loire, where Charles the Eighth, the French king, kept his court, and from thence accompanied him to Montargis. Charles entertained him and his followers very magnificently, but was not very forward to lend him any assistance.

While the earl was in the French court, John Earl of Oxford repaired to him, with John Blunt, captain of the castle of Haumes, in which the Lord Oxford had been confined several years, and had engaged the governor in the interest of the Earl of Richmond: with them came Sir John Fortescue, porter of the town of Calais. James Blunt had reinforced his garrison, supplied it with all sorts of provisions, for a vigorous defence, and left a trusty officer to command there in his absence. The arrival of the Earl of Oxford, and the revolt of the garrison of Haumes, animated afresh Earl Henry and his friends, whose spirits began to sink, seeing the little hopes they had of help in France. Their company increased after this daily: most of the English gentlemen who were students in the university of Paris, did homage to the earl; among whom was Mr. Richard Fox, afterwards bishop of Winchester; and as their numbers grew greater abroad, their interest at home was consequently enlarged.

The usurper, who by spies had a full account of all their proceedings, knew that the hopes of the party were founded on the earl's promise to marry the Princess Elizabeth, which he resolved by some means or other to prevent; and to that end he did his utmost to ingratiate himself with her mother, Queen Elizabeth. He sent several flattering messages to her in sanctuary; promised to advance the Marquis Dorset, and all her relations, and won upon her so much by his fair speeches, that, forgetting the many affronts he had cast on the memory of her husband, on her own honour, and the legitimacy of her children, and even the murder of her dear sons, she complied with him, and promised to bring over her son, and all the late king's friends, from the party of the Earl of Richmond. She went so far, as to deliver up her five daughters into his hands; whom, as soon as King Richard had got in his custody, he resolved to order the matter so, that he might be in a condition to take the eldest of them to be his wife; which was a sure way of defeating the Earl of Richmond's purposes. Queen Elizabeth was so charmed by his false promises, that she wrote to her son the Marquis Dorset, to leave Earl Henry, and hasten to England, where she had procured him a pardon, and provided all sorts of honours for him. What success her letters had, we shall see in the course of this history.

We have already observed, that King Richard had cast his eyes upon his brother Edward the Fourth's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth: he had been guilty of treason and murder, and almost all the crimes that are to be found in the infernal rolls; incest seemed only wanting

wanting to make him a complete monster of mankind, the horror of his people, and the shame of the whole world. As he was master of the art of dissimulation, and had lately put on the mask of piety, so he was a little at a loss how to remove his wife out of the way, to make room for his niece in his bed. He began his lewd design, by shewing an aversion to his wife's company and embraces. He complained to several lords of the council of her barrenness; especially to Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, whom he had lately released out of prison. He told him of some private defects in the queen, which had rendered her person disagreeable to him, and hoped the bishop would tell her of it, who, being a woman of a meek temper, he thought would take it so much to heart, that she would not live long after it. Dr. Rotherham said to some of his most intimate friends, "The queen's days are but few!" for he perceived, by the usurper's discourse, that he was weary of her, and wanted another wife; and he knew him so well, that he could not suppose he would scruple to add one murder more to the many bloody cruelties he had been guilty of, to satisfy his lust and ambition. To prepare the way for her death, he ordered a report to be spread among the people, that she was dead; which he did with an intention, that the rumour, coming to her ears, it might alarm her with fear of her sudden fate, and those fears throw her into a disease which might carry her off. The queen no sooner heard of what was reported against her, but she believed it came originally from her husband; and thence concluding that her hour was drawing nigh, she ran to him in a most sorrowful and deplorable condition, and demanded of him, What she had done to deserve death? The tyrant answered her with fair words and false smiles, bidding her, Be of good cheer, for to his knowledge she had no other cause. But whether her grief, as he designed it should, struck so to her heart, that it broke with the mortal wound, or he hastened her end, as was generally suspected, by poison, she died in a few days afterwards. She was daughter of the famous Earl of Warwick, and, when Richard married her, widow to Prince Edward, heir to Henry the Sixth. The usurper affected to shew an extraordinary sorrow at her death, and was at the expence of a pompous funeral for her. Notwithstanding all his pretended mourning, before she was scarce cold in her grave, he made his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth, who had his love in abhorrence, and the whole kingdom appeared averse to so unnatural a marriage. His affairs were in such an ill posture, that he durst not provoke the queen and the people further, by putting a violence on the princess's inclinations; so he deferred his courtship, till he was better settled in the throne. The nobility daily passed over into France; the gentry and commonalty every where shewed an affection to the Earl of Richmond, as far as they durst do it, without bringing themselves under the lash of the tyrant's laws. He was most jealous of Thomas Lord Stanley; his brother, Sir William Stanley; and Gilbert Talbot.

bot. He obliged the Lord Stanley to leave his son George Stanley, Lord Strange, at court, as an hostage of his own fidelity. He commanded the governor of Calais to attack the castle of Haumes*. The Earl of Oxford and Captain Blunt immediately hastened to the relief of it; but before they could arrive near it, the garrison was reduced to the last extremity, and the besiegers, on the report of the Earl of Oxford's approach, offering them to march out with bag and baggage, they surrendered the fort, and joined the earl, who led them to Paris, where they were entertained by the Earl of Richmond. The reduction of Haumes, and the small hopes of assistance which Earl Henry had in the French court, made the usurper so secure, that he recalled the squadron of men of war, which he had ordered to cruize in the channel and prevent the earl's making a descent in England, and contented himself with commanding the lords and gentlemen, who lived near the coasts, to be on their guard to defend them.

In the mean time, the Earl of Richmond continued his negotiations in the court of France for succours; but Charles the Eighth being in his minority, he was forced to apply to the regents, or ministers of state, who being divided among themselves, had no inclination to unite in his favour. The chiefest of them was Lewis Duke of Orleans, who afterwards was king: but by their civil dissentions, the affair of his supplies was spun on to so great a length, that the usurper flattered himself it would never take effect; for this reason he grew more pleasant than before, his joy increased as his care lessened, and lulled him at last into a fatal security.

The queen-dowager, to oblige the king, who lately appeared very ready to serve her and her daughters, continued to write to her son the Marquis of Dorset, to leave Earl Henry. The marquis, fearing the earl would not succeed in his enterprize, gave way to his mother's persuasions and King Richard's flattering promises; left the earl, and stole away from Paris by night, intending to escape to Flanders: but as soon as the earl had notice of his flight, he applied to the French court for leave to apprehend him in any part of his dominions; for both himself and his followers were afraid of his discovering all their designs, to their utter destruction, if he got to England. Having obtained licence to seize him, the earl sent messengers every way in search of him; and among the rest, Humphrey Cheyney, Esq. who overtook him near Champaigne, and by arguments and fair promises prevailed with him to return. By the marquis's disposition to leave him, the earl began to doubt, that if he delayed his expedition to England longer, many more of his friends might grow cold in their zeal for him; so he earnestly solicited the French court for aid, desiring so small a supply of men and money, that Charles could not in honour refuse him; yet for what he lent him, he would have hostages, that satisfaction should be made. The earl made no scruple of that; so leaving the Lord Marquis Dorset

* In the year 1485.

(whom he still mis-trusted) and Sir John Bouchier, as his pledges at Paris, he departed for Roan, where the few men that the French king had lent him, and all the English that followed his fortunes, rendezvoused.

When he arrived there, he was informed of the usurper's intentions to marry the Princess Elizabeth himself; and her sister, the Princess Cecilia, to a man of mean condition. This was mortifying news to him; for he imagined if his alliance with the house of York was by that means broken, their friends would all fall off from him: however, he resolved to push for the crown, as heir to the house of Lancaster: but then it was necessary for him to increase his strength and interest; wherefore he dispatched away a messenger to Sir Walter Herbert, a man of great power in Wales, to get him to espouse his quarrel, by an offer of marrying his sister, a beautiful young lady. The Earl of Northumberland had married another of Sir Walter's sisters; and the Earl of Richmond's agent had instructions to address himself also to him, and persuade him to forward the marriage. The messenger found the ways so narrowly watched, that he could not proceed on his journey; and it was well for the earl that he did no more in it, for had any such treaty been proposed and known, his friends, who were so on the Princess Elizabeth's account, had all forsaken him. The messenger being thus disappointed, the earl received one out of England, Morgan Kidwellie, Esq. a lawyer, who brought him advice that Sir Rice ap Thomas, a gentleman who was as powerful in Wales as Sir Walter Herbert, and Captain John Savage, a famous soldier, had made great preparations to assist him; that Reginald Bray had collected large sums of money to pay his troops, and earnestly entreated him to hasten his voyage, and direct his course to Wales. The earl, rejoicing at this good news, ordered all his forces to embark; and sailed from Harfleet in Normandy, in August, with about two thousand men, in a few ships, just enough to transport them. After seven days sail, he arrived in the haven of Milford, and landed at a place called Dalle; from whence he marched the next day to Haverfordwest, where he was received with joy by the townsmen. Having refreshed his men, and sent notice, by trusty messengers, to his mother, the Lord Stanley, and Sir Gilbert Talbot, that he intended to direct his march towards London, desiring them to meet him on the way with their powers, he advanced to Shrewsbury, where Sir Gilbert Talbot joined him with the Earl of Shrewsbury's tenants, as Sir Rice ap Thomas and Richard Griffith, Esq. had done before with a body of Welshmen; by which his army became so strong, that he easily reduced all the towns to which he came in his march. Sir Rice ap Thomas would not come unto him, till he had promised to make him Governor of Wales, in case he got the crown; which the earl agreed to, and performed, as soon as it was in his power, Sir Rice having been very faithful and servicable to him.

In the mean while, the Lord Stanley and his brother Sir William Stanley raised men, but did not declare whom they would side with: Sir William advanced with his army into Staffordshire, and waited on the Earl of Richmond at Stafford, attended only by twenty or thirty persons. The Lord Stanley lay at Litchfield with five thousand men; yet neither he nor his brother joined the earl. Sir William having had a short conference with him, returned to his forces; and when the earl approached near Litchfield, the Lord Stanley returned to Atherstone, to prevent King Richard's having any suspicion of him; being afraid that the tyrant would murder his son the Lord Strange, whom he had in his custody, if he sided openly with the Earl of Richmond.

The usurper at first despised the earl's attempt; hearing he had brought so few men with him, he did not doubt but Sir Walter Herbert would easily suppress him with the militia of Wales, which he ordered him to raise; but when he heard that Sir Walter had suffered him to pass, and so many gentlemen had joined him with their friends and dependants, that his army would be as numerous as his own, if the Lancashire men, under the Stanleys, declared for him, he resolved to oppose him in person. He commanded Henry Earl of Northumberland, Sir Thomas Bouchier, Sir Walter Hungerford, and other gentlemen, whose loyalty he suspected, to attend him in arms, and sent for the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, Sir Robert Brackenbury, lieutenant of the Tower, and others, to bring their whole strength with them, to enable him to give the earl battle before he received further assistance. When all his troops were arrived at Nottingham, where he kept his court, he put himself at their head, and led them to Leicester. Sir Thomas Bouchier, Sir Walter Hungerford, and several others, found means to desert to the earl; which, though it was a great discouragement to Richard, yet it did ease Earl Henry of his discontent for that the Lord Stanley had not joined him. His army proceeded from Litchfield to Tamworth, himself bringing up the rear with about twenty horse.

As he was musing on the difficulties of his enterprize, he lagged behind his company; and it growing dark, they marched on, and entered Tamworth before they missed him. His care was increased by a report that King Richard was at hand; whose coming up before the Lord Stanley had joined him, threatened his whole army with destruction: yet his men were not discouraged; they trusted in their own valour, and the goodness of their cause, and proceeded with great resolution.

The earl having insensibly lost his companions, and the highway to Tamworth, turned aside to a little village three miles from Tamworth, where he staid all night, not daring to discover himself, or ask a guide to the town. His followers were much surprized at his absence, and afraid what was become of him. He was also apprehensive

hensive of the ill effects of their missing him, and not a little fearful of falling into the hands of some of the usurper's parties. Early in the morning he left the village, and happily arrived at the town, to the unspeakable joy of his army: he excused his absence by pretending he had been to consult with some private friends of his who durst not yet appear for him. He was unwilling his companions should think him guilty of such a blunder as to lose his way, when he had so many guides about him, and made that a piece of policy, which was indeed downright ignorance: so easy it is for princes to impose upon their people, who are ready to judge favourably of all their actions.

He just shewed himself to his soldiers, and then left them again to go to Atherstone, where he first saw and saluted the Lord Stanley, his father-in-law; he held a conference with him and Sir William Stanley in a little field, where they consulted how they should give the tyrant battle to the best advantage. In the evening Sir John Savage, Sir Bryan Sanford, and Sir Simon Digby, came unto him, with all their friends and followers, from King Richard, who was advanced to Leicester, and his army encamped, not far off, on a hill called Arme Beame, in Bosworth parish. The next day after King Richard arrived at Leicester, he went to the camp, and drew up his men in order of battle on the plain. He placed his archers in front, under the command of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Surrey his son; himself led the main body, with two wings of cavalry on each flank. The earl, leaving the Lord Stanley, returned to his army, and marched them out of Tamworth, towards the enemy, resolving to fight King Richard. The Lord Stanley also marched from Atherstone, and halted in a place between the two armies. The earl sent to him to come and help to set his men in order of battle; but the Lord Stanley, even now, was so cautious, that he excused his appearing among the earl's followers: he bade him, Draw up his soldiers; He would do the same by his, and join him at supper time. Though this answer vexed the Earl of Richmond inwardly, he seemed as well satisfied as if he had come and cheerfully put his men in order: his front was thin, and consisted of archers, commanded by John Earl of Oxford; Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left, attended by a troop of young fellows well armed, clad in white coats and hoods, who made a gallant figure, terrible to the enemy. The Earl of Richmond, accompanied by the Earl of Pembroke, led the main body: his whole strength did not amount to six thousand men, Stanley's forces, which were seven or eight thousand strong, excepted; and King Richard had twice that number. In the order we have mentioned, the two armies advanced towards each other; the Lord Stanley moving aside off as the Earl of Richmond moved; and when the usurper was come farther into the plain, where he expected the earl's approach, he made a speech to his army to this purpose.

“ My Friends and Fellow Soldiers,

“ BY your valour and conduct I got and have enjoyed the crown, in spite of all the wicked designs of your and my enemies. I have governed this nation as a good prince ought to do, for the benefit of my subjects, and done nothing without the advice and consent of my counsellors, whose fidelity and wisdom I have often proved; and your loyalty to me makes me believe, that you have an opinion of me as I have of myself, that I am your rightful and lawful king. Though at my accession to the throne I was guilty of a wicked, detested crime, yet my repentance of it has been so severe, and so sincere, that I hope you will forget it, as I shall never cease to deplore and lament it. Considering the danger we are in at this time, what a gracious prince I have been to you, and what good subjects you have been to me, we are bound, by the strictest bonds of obligation and duty, mutually to defend one another in so great peril. To keep what we have got, is as glorious as to get it; and as by your assistance I was advanced to the throne, so I hope, by the same help, to continue in it. I doubt not you have heard of the traitorous devices of an obscure Welshman (whose father I never knew, and whom I never saw) against our crown and dignity. You hear who they are that he depends upon; a company of traitors, thieves, outlaws, and fugitives; mean beggarly Bretons, and cowardly Frenchmen; whose aim is the destruction of you, your wives, and children, as it is their leader's to dispossess me of the imperial crown of this realm. Let us therefore join heartily in our common defence, fight like lions, and fear not to die like men! Indeed, there is nothing for you to be afraid of: the hare never fled faster from before the hound, nor the lark from the kite, nor the sheep from the wolf, than these boasting adversaries of our's shall quit the field at the sight of such brave soldiers. Nor do I promise you victory without reason: for let us think a little who it is that we have to deal with. And first, for the Earl of Richmond, captain of the rebels, a Welsh boy, of little courage, and less experience in war; bred up in the Duke of Bretagne's court like a bird in a cage, who never saw an army, and consequently is not capable to lead one. The soldier's success is owing, in a great measure, to the captain's conduct and valour. What can his men hope from him? what from themselves? a crew of vagabonds and rebels, who will tremble when they see us advancing with banners displayed to chastise them. They will either fly before us, or, conscious of Divine vengeance for the breach of many oaths of allegiance they have sworn to us, throw down their arms, and at our feet implore our royal mercy. As for the Frenchmen and Bretons, our noble ancestors have often triumphed over them. What are they? Boasters, drunkards, ravishers, cowards; the most effeminate and lewd wretches that ever offered themselves in front of battle. Since such are the enemies we are to fight with, come on, my friends and fellow soldiers, and dauntless try if they

dare dispute this matter with us by dint of sword!—Come on, my captains and champions, in whose wisdom and courage I trust for me and my people!—What is a handful to a whole nation? Let me conjure you all, by your love to your country, your duty to your king, and your affection to your families, to behave yourselves like good subjects and good soldiers this day, when I resolve to be victorious, or crown my death with immortal fame. Remember, that as I promise those who do well, riches and honours; so I shall severely punish such as deserve it by their cowardice or treachery. And now, in the name of St. George, let us meet our enemies!”

Whether this speech was made by him or for him, we cannot decide; the author from whom we took it, says it was his own, and that it had not so good an effect on the minds of his soldiers as he intended it should have. He had many gentlemen, and others in his army, who followed him more out of fear than affection, and wished well to his adversary. The Earl of Richmond receiving news by his scouts, that the usurper's army was drawn up in battalia a little distance off on the plain, rode from rank to rank, and wing to wing, to encourage his men. He was armed at all points, (his helmet excepted) and got up on an eminence to be the better seen by his soldiers; for though he was handsome and well proportioned, yet he was short. Having kept silence some time, to consider of what he was about to say to them, he began his speech thus,

“IF ever God appeared in a just cause, and gave a blessing to their arms who warred for the good of their country; if ever he aided such as ventured their lives for the relief of the innocent, and to suppress malefactors and public criminals; we may now, my friends and fellow soldiers, be sure of victory over our proud and insolent enemies. Just and righteous is our cause, and we cannot be so wicked as to imagine God will leave us, to assist those that fear neither him nor his laws, nor have any regard to honesty or justice. We have the laws divine and civil on our side; we fight against a paricide stained with his own blood, a destroyer of the nobility, and an oppressor of the poor commons of this realm; and against a horrid band of murderers, assassins, rebels, and usurpers: for he that stiles himself King, wears the crown which of right only belongs to me. His favourites and followers seize your estates, cut down your woods, ruin and lay waste your manors and mansions, and turn your wives and children to wander in the wide world, without succour and relief: the cause of all these mischiefs, the cruel tyrant Richard, rest assured that God will this day give into our hands, to be punished according to his demerits. His followers, wounded by the stings of their guilty consciences, will not dare to look justice in the face: and believe not that you numerous army are your adversaries; many of them, if not the most part of that multitude, are forced into the tyrant's service, have his crimes in abhorrence, and wait only for an opportunity

tunity to join us. You have often heard from the pulpit, that it is the greatest of virtues to bring down the oppressor, and to help those who are in distress. Is not the usurper, Richard Duke of Gloucester, a violater of God's laws and man's? Who can have the least good thought of one that so injured his own brother's memory, and murdered his nephews? Who can hope for mercy from him who delights in blood? Who trust in him, who mis-trusts all men? Tarquin the proud, so infamous in history, whom the Romans banished their city for ever, was less guilty than this usurper. Nero, who slew his own mother, and opened the womb that bare him, to see the place of his conception, was not more a monster of mankind than Richard. In him you have at once a Tarquin and a Nero. Behold there, a tyrant, worse than even him that murdered his mother, and set his imperial city in a flame; one who has not only slain his own nephew, his king and sovereign lord, bastardized his noble brothers, affronted his mother's honour, but tried all the arts his and his creatures cunning could invent to defile his own niece, under the specious pretence of a marriage; a princess I have sworn to marry, as you all know and believe. If this cause is not just, let God, the giver of all victory, judge and determine. We have (thanks be to Jesus our Saviour) escaped the treasons formed in Bretagne, and the snares laid by our subtle adversaries to destroy us; we have passed the seas, traversed a spacious country in safety, to search for the boar, whom we have at last found. Let us not therefore fear to begin the bloody chace. Let us put our confidence in the Almighty, and verily believe that this is the hour we have longed and prayed for, which will put an end to the many miseries we have hitherto endured. Think what a glorious prize is before us: the wealth and spoil of the tyrant and his followers is yours if we conquer; and conquer we must, or die, for we are now come so far, that there is no retreat left us. Let us, one and all, resolve to end our labours now by death or victory. Let courage supply want of number; and as for me, I purpose to live with glory hereafter, or perish with glory here. Come on then! let us meet these traitors, murderers, usurpers! Let us be bold, and we shall triumph: we are utterly destroyed if we fly; if we are victorious, there is an end of all our perils and dangers. In the name of God, and St. George, come on and prosper!"

These words so encouraged his men, that they demanded to be led immediately against the enemy. There was a morass between the two armies; the earl left it on his right hand, by which he not only hindered King Richard's attacking him on that side, but had the sun on his back, and it shone full in the faces of his enemies. The usurper seeing his army was approaching, ordered his trumpets to sound, and the archers to let fly their arrows: the earl's bowmen returned their shot; and when that dreadful storm was over, the foot joined, and came to close fight. It was then that the Lord Stanley came in to the earl's assistance. The Earl of Oxford, fearing his men might be surrounded

by

by the multitude of the enemy, commanded none should stir above ten foot from the standard: the soldiers presently closed their ranks, and ceased the combat, expecting further orders. King Richard's troops being jealous of some stratagem, stood still to observe them; and indeed they did not fight with a very good will at all. The Earl of Oxford led his men again to the charge. The Duke of Norfolk, the usurper's fast friend, changed the order of his battle, widened his first line, but closed and enlarged his second; and then renewed the combat. King Richard, hearing the Earl of Richmond was not far off, attended with a few of his guards only, fought him amidst his enemies, and having spied him, set spurs to his horse, and ran towards him; the earl perceived him, and prepared to receive him as a man should his mortal foe. The king meeting with Sir William Branden, the earl's standard bearer, in his way, overthrew and slew him. This knight was father of Charles Branden, Duke of Suffolk, famous in the reign of Henry VIII. Richard then fought Sir John Cheyney, dismounted him, and forced his way up to the earl, who kept him off at sword's point till assistance came in, and he was relieved by his followers. At the instant, Sir William Stanley, who had been as wary as the Lord Stanley his brother, joined the earl with three thousand chosen men; upon which King Richard's soldiers turned their backs and fled; himself, fighting manfully in the midst of his enemies, was slain. The Earl of Oxford made a terrible slaughter in the van of the usurper's army: the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir Robert Brackenbury, died on the spot, together with about a thousand of their men. The greatest part of those in the main body of Richard's army, watching their opportunity, while the van was hotly engaged with the earl's, left the field, and departed every man to his home, having been by force taken from their habitations, to fight for a prince whose government was odious to them. The Duke of Norfolk was warned, by a distich in the metre of those times, which was fixed on the gate of the house where he lodged, not to venture farther in the tyrant's quarrel, for he was betrayed, and all those that engaged with him would be ruined. The rhymes were these:

Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold;
For Dicken, thy master, is bought and sold.

But as John Howard Duke of Norfolk owed his advancement to the usurper, who made him a duke, he thought his own title to the honours he held would be precarious, if Richard could not defend his crown; so he followed his fortune, and fell a victim to his ambition. Sir William Catesby, a judge, who had been a main instrument of the usurper's tyranny, and several other offenders were taken, and two days after beheaded at Leicester. The Lord Viscount Lovell, Humphry Stafford, Esq. and Thomas Stafford his brother, made their escapes. Many gentlemen and private soldiers threw down their arms, submitted to the earl, and were graciously received. Among those was Henry
Earl

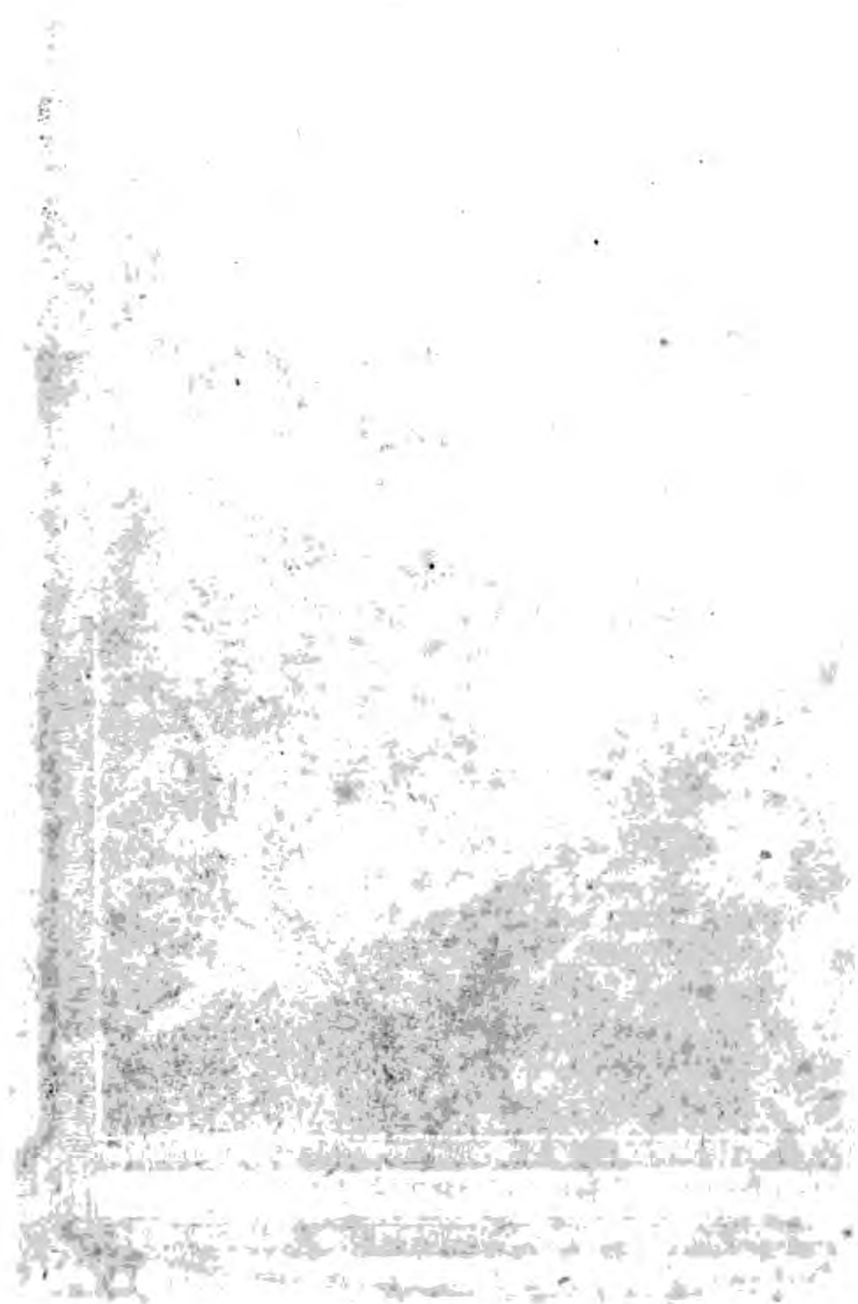


THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH FIELD.

Collings delin.

Berril sculp.

Published by C. Stalker Dec. 1, 1768



Earl of Northumberland, who did not engage in the late battle, he and his men standing neuter; for which he was immediately taken into the Earl of Richmond's favour, and sworn of his privy council. Thomas Earl of Surrey was sent to the Tower, as having been more zealous than the rest in the tyrant's cause: however, he was released soon after, and preferred to places of the greatest trust and honour. Earl Henry had scarce a hundred men killed on his part, and no person of quality besides Sir William Branden. The engagement lasted in all about two hours, and happened on the 22d day of August. The usurper there finished his evil course, after he had reigned two years, two months, and one day, reckoning from the time of his coronation, which was the day after his election. Had he lived with as much glory as he died, his character would have shone bright in the English annals. But though he wanted not personal bravery, yet that quality, as shining as it is, was sullied and obscured by his cruelty, and thirst of blood. He might have saved his life, had not despair hurried him on to death. In the beginning of the battle, he perceived, by his men's fighting with an ill-will, and others leaving him, that the day was lost. Some of his creatures advised him to fly, and brought him a swift horse to carry him off; but knowing how generally he was hated by the whole kingdom, and that his crimes were such as denied him all hopes of pardon, he thought the longer he lived his misery would be the longer, and that at last he should die with infamy; wherefore he rushed desperately into the thickest of the enemy, and met a more glorious fate than he deserved.

After the battle was over, and the victory entirely gained, the Earl of Richmond fell down on his knees in the open field, thanked the Almighty for the blessing he had given to his arms, prayed for the Catholic church, and his subjects which now he had the charge of. He then rode up to an eminence, and from thence gave his soldiers thanks for behaving themselves so well in the late fight, promising them all rewards answerable to their deserts. The army shouting, clapped their hands, and saluted him King, crying out with one voice, "King Henry, King Henry!" And the Lord Stanley taking King Richard's crown, which was found among the spoils of the field, put it on the earl's head, who from that time assumed the title and power of King. We must not omit to inform the reader of the Lord Strange's escape: King Richard, hearing his father had raised five thousand men, and was advancing towards the Earl of Richmond, sent to him to join him, and swore by God's death, if he refused it, he would order his son's head to be cut off before he died. The Lord Stanley answered, he had more sons, and could not promise to come to him at that time. The tyrant, as he swore to do, ordered the Lord Strange to be beheaded at the instant when the two armies were to engage; but some of his council, abhorring that the innocent young gentleman should suffer for his father's offence, told the usurper, Now was a time to fight, and not to execute; advising him to keep him prisoner till the
battle

battle was over: the tyrant harkened to their advice, broke his oath, and commanded the keepers of his tents to take him into custody, till he returned from the combat. By this means the Lord Strange escaped the king's revenge, equally bloody and unjust. The keepers of his tents delivered him to his father, the Lord Stanley, after the fight; and for saving him, were taken into the new king's favour, and preferred. In the evening, King Henry marched to Leicester; where King Richard's body, stripped starknaked, was brought in a shameful manner to be buried. Blanch Sanglier, a pursuivant at arms, threw it upon a horse, like a calf; his head and arms hanging on one side, and his legs on the other, his whole carcass besmeared with dirt and blood. The pursuivant rode with it to the Grey Fryers church at Leicester, where it was exposed, a filthy spectacle, to the view of the people, who used it ignominiously, and afterwards it was buried in that abbey-church; where King Henry, in respect to his family, ordered a tomb to be erected over his grave. We shall not trouble the reader with a long account of his person and manners: he has doubtless, by this time, seen enough of him; and the picture, shewn at a nearer view, would rather frighten than divert him. He was short and little, crooked or hump-backed, one shoulder higher than the other: his face was little; he had a cruel look; and, what confessed the malice and deceit of his heart, he often mused, and, musing, bit his nether lip: he wore a dagger always about him, and frequently would draw it up and down the scabbard: he was cunning and false, proud and valiant; and, in a word, by the history Sir Thomas Moor has left us of him, the greatest tyrant that ever sat on the British throne; where no tyrant did ever sit long.

END OF THE HISTORY OF RICHARD III.