

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

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

Warwick, as already stated, felt himself aggrieved in various ways. His enthusiasm for King Edward had gradually cooled; and now he repented of the part which he had taken in raising to the throne the kinsman who sought to humble his pride and to diminish his power in every way; and, with the bold and daring spirit which ever characterized his actions, he forthwith turned his attention to the king's young brothers; dissembling his own discontent until he had tested their sentiments.

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

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

It was a common cause of offence, then, which really united in firm alliance the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, although the marriage of the Lady Margaret produced a brief harmony between all parties. Warwick had been ostensibly reconciled to King Edward before its solemnization, and his pride was soothed at being appointed to fill so marked and prominent a

\* Excerpt. Hist., p. 224.

† Sandford, book v. p. 386.

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

position in the royal progress as that of bearing on his own charger his young and beautiful cousin; for "she rode behind him on horseback through the streets of London,"—a post the most honourable that could well have been assigned him. Nevertheless, the renewal of friendship between Edward IV. and his offended relative was of very short duration. The conviction that undue lenity was evinced towards the Lancastrians,† owing to the queen's former connection with that faction, the heads of which, from their contempt of the Yorkist dynasty, yet lived out of the kingdom, either in exile or from attainder, had rankled perpetually and deeply in the minds of all the Nevilles,‡ and King Edward, exasperated against them, and the Earl of Warwick in particular, was excited beyond all forgiveness by the announcement of a clandestine marriage between the Duke of Clarence, then but nineteen years of age, and the Lady Isabel Neville, about two years younger, at the suggestion of her father and in open defiance of the king's expressed disapprobation of the union.§

Enticing the young prince to Calais, of which dependency Warwick was then governor, he there bestowed on him, at the church of Notre Dame and by the hands of his brother, the Archbishop of York, his eldest daughter in marriage,|| with a settlement upon them of one-half of the Countess of Warwick's rich inheritance, having first obtained a dispensation from Pope Paul III., dated at Rome, 1468, inasmuch as the two cousins were related within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity.¶ From this point the reigning family of England must be viewed in a divided and twofold light: the Duke of Clarence siding with his father-in-law and kinsman, the Earl of Warwick; and the Duke of Gloucester supporting, with all zeal and fervour, the royal prerogative, and defending with energy and warmth the enactments of his brother Edward IV. That this young prince was constitutionally weak in health, though bold and daring in temperament, has been already distinctly expressed; and whether it was to this cause, as exciting peculiar interest, or that the disparity in their years induced feelings more akin to that of sire and son, than the more juvenile bond of fraternal love, or whether the king, struck with the solid judgment and quick perception which formed so striking a feature in his young brother's character, evinced for him a degree of confidence and consideration which, in return, elicited from Gloucester a devotion that never failed, even under the most trying circumstances, cannot, of

\* Excerpt. Hist., p. 227.

† Paston Papers, vol. iv., Letter 52.

‡ Richard, Earl of Warwick, had two brothers, both equally shrewd and ambitious as himself, but not such consummate politicians. Lord Montague, the eldest, had obtained the lands of the Percys, together with the title of Earl of Northumberland; George, the youngest, was made lord high chancellor on King Edward's accession, and was at this time also Archbishop of York. Of these aspiring brothers, the two eldest were slain in battle, and the youngest lingered in poverty and in exile, a prisoner until within a few months of his death.

§ Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 162.

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

¶ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 162.

course, now be determined. But, whatever may have been the cause, it is apparent that the king was attached to Gloucester in no common degree; for, by reference to the parliamentary documents and state records of that monarch's reign, it appears that scarcely a year passed, from his accession to his death, without some publicly notified testimony of it.\* Shortly before this present time he had granted to him the castle and manors which had belonged to Lord Hungerford, and all the possessions of Henry, Duke of Somerset, and Edmund, his brother;† and, almost immediately after his expressed indignation at Clarence's marriage, he marked his favour to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, by nominating him chief justice of South Wales, and creating him lord high admiral and chief constable of England for life.‡

These responsible appointments, occurring, as they do, at the period up to which this prince's personal memoir has been brought, viz., 1468, from that connection between his domestic and political life which it was the design of this brief retrospection of public events to render apparent. He had now fully entered upon that active career from which he never withdrew for the remainder of his days; and from henceforth the elder and younger brother will be found acting in concert on every important affair, actuated apparently by mutual confidence and united by the warmest attachment. Gloucester publicly accompanied the monarch in his regal progresses to different parts of the country, and is invariably named with him on all striking occasions. "The king is come to London," says Sir John Paston, in a letter to his mother, "and there came with him, and rode again in company with him, the Duke of Gloucester."§ And again, in the same invaluable collection of cotemporary records, it is observed, with reference to a letter of later date, "We find the Duke of Gloucester accompanied the king, but we hear nothing of the Duke of Clarence."|| This letter relates to Edward the Fourth's memorable visit to Norwich, where, in the year 1469, he went in haste, with the view of raising subsidies, and ascertaining the state of the public mind; intimation having been privately made of Warwick's expressed disaffection of the unanimity which existed between the earl and his brother of Clarence, and likewise of the conspiracies which were secretly fomented by them.

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

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

\* See Appendix V.

† Pat. 9 Edw. IV., p. 314.

§ Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 289.

‡ Ibid., p. 315.

|| Ibid., vol. iv.

Robin of Redesdale,\* the insurgents, to the number of 60,000 men, commenced their march towards London.† They gained a signal victory over the supporters of the House of York at the battle of Edgecote;‡ shortly after which engagement the father and brother of the reigning queen, Earl Rivers and Sir John Wydville, were taken prisoners and beheaded§ at Northampton. The royal troops were every where defeated, and King Edward himself, not being supported with unanimity by his followers, fell into the hands of Warwick and Clarence,|| who, although not as yet openly leagued with the Lancastrian party, hoped to intimidate the monarch by temporary captivity, and to mould him again to their views by this display of strength and power. He was sent first to Warwick Castle, and thence to Middleham, and there placed in the custody of George Neville, Archbishop of York; but, as his treacherous kinsman had no actual authority for detaining their sovereign a prisoner, and they having reason to fear a rescue from the more moderate of the Yorkist party, he was, ere long, voluntarily released;¶ but the indignity and injury were never forgotten by the monarch, and were, in truth, an unexampled and bitter insult.

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

\* Chron. Croy., p. 542.

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

‡ Ibid.

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

|| Cont. Croy., p. 551.

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

\*\* The Warkworth Chronicle, written during the first thirteen years of the reign of Edward IV., fully portrays the contumacious and rebellious spirit of Clarence, and the great provocation given by him to his royal brother. "Howbeit that our sovereign lord granted unto George, Duke of Clarence, and Richard, Earl of Warwick, his pardon general of all offences committed and done against him, yet the said duke and earl unnaturally, unkindly and untruly intended his destruction and the subversion of his realm and the common weal of the same, and to make the said Duke of Clarence king of this his said realm, against God's law, man's law and all reason."—Page 52. (Edited by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., and published by the Camden Society.)

issued not long after by the monarch against his offending brother evinced the deadly hatred that operated in him to the exclusion of all fraternal affection towards Clarence: one hundred pounds' worth of land of yearly value, or one thousand pounds in ready money, "being promised by the king" to him "that taketh and bringeth the said duke."\* Many were the efforts made by their parent to appease this unnatural dissension before it had attained so formidable a height, and to soften and subdue the ungovernable passions that raged so fearfully in the hearts of her elder sons; but, although exercising the authority of maternal love and availing herself of the hold which she evidently maintained over her children's affections, this authority was never exerted except in the privacy of domestic life; and no stronger proof can be given of the true greatness of the Lady Cecily's character than the rigid manner in which she continued to abstain from all interference in public or political affairs. Possessing, as has been already shown, great influence over the king's mind, she might, from the deference which he paid her upon his accession to the throne, and from the claims which her misfortunes gave her on the sympathy of her own kindred, have produced as much division in the councils of the young monarch as those which had been so unhappily wrought by the consort of the dethroned Henry VI. But, with a high degree of moral courage and self-command, that seems never to have been sufficiently made the object of their comment and admiration by historians, the Duchess of York, from the moment that her son was crowned, strove to bury in oblivion all thought of those regal dignities which she once so earnestly coveted, and had so nearly enjoyed; seeking aid from the only true source of strength to enable her to calm her naturally high and ambitious temper, by the steady exercise of religion, in a dignified retirement, and the unobtrusive practice of every noble and feminine virtue.

Although Edward IV. was first proclaimed king under her roof, although he chose her as the medium of announcing to the citizens of London the victories that secured his accession, and though he repaired from her maternal abode to that sacred edifice in which, by the solemn office of religious consecration, he was made the crowned, as well as the elected monarch of England, this high-minded scion of the house of Neville, the widow of the "Prince of Wales,"† her presumptive of a throne which she, as his consort, seemed destined to share,‡ in no one instance appears acting publicly in the capacity of mother of the reigning sovereign, until the report of his imprudent overtures to the Lady Elizabeth Grey rendered her apprehensive of the effect which such an alliance might have on the future stability of the throne. It is said that the young king, influenced by a sense of duty, consulted his mother on the occasion: be that as it may, she certainly addressed him the most earnest appeal,§ and strenuously exhorted him to abstain from so imprudent a connection; unhappily, however, with no good effect, as appears by the reply of the giddy and inconsiderate monarch,|| notwithstanding that, in

\* Close Rolls of 10th Edw. IV. m. 8. dorso.

† "For so was he created."—*Archæologia*, vol. xiii. p. 7.

‡ The arms of Cecily Neville, Duchess of York, impaled with those of her husband, exhibiting the royal arms, ensigned with a coronet, and supported with two angels standing upon as many roses, within the rays of the sun, were carved on a niche upon the southeast pillar of St. Benet's steeple, near Paul's Wharf, the parish church of Baynard's Castle, her metropolitan abode. These Sandford caused to be delineated in his "Genealogical History of the Kings of England before the conflagration of London, Anno 1666," book v. chap. iv. p. 369.

§ *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. p. 7.

|| These are both inserted in Buck's "Hist. of the Reign of King Richard III." (lib. iv. p. 119, ed. 1646.) where they may be found unabbreviated.

addition to the arguments which she employed against so unseemly an alliance as regarded political consideration and regal precedent, she farther urged his previous betrothment to one of his subjects\* far higher in rank than the daughter of Sir Richard Wydville, but who, as a subject, was equally unsuited to his present regal station.

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

But though she appears to have observed towards the queen-consort, after Elizabeth was crowned as such, the deference which was due to her regal position; and her tenderness towards her son in his domestic circle is shown by her standing sponsor for his eldest child, and from his second daughter, the Princess Cecily, being so named in compliment to her; yet was she too innately imbued with hereditary pride of birth, and too sensitive on the point of her own near assumption of the same regal dignity, not to feel deeply and bitterly the ill-judged marriage of her eldest son, the founder of the Yorkist dynasty. By this union King Edward forfeited his mother's respect, and weakened her affection; while Clarence's treacherous and unprincipled conduct warred with all the better and nobler feelings of her nature. In the young Duke of Gloucester she beheld a firmness of character that contrasted as strongly with the weak points in his eldest brother, as his fidelity to this latter was opposed to the envious and ungenerous acts which, from his entrance into life, had characterized every movement of her second son towards his royal kinsman. Richard's highly honourable career was equally at issue with that of the ignoble political conduct of the "false and perjured Clarence." On his actions she could dwell with pride and pleasure; and on him, therefore, there is little doubt that his mother henceforth fixed her hopes and strong affections. The peaceable demeanour of the Duke of Gloucester coincided, too, with her own exemplary line of conduct; and it was most exemplary, considering her peculiar position, and the temptations which it offered to one by nature of so ambitious and unbending a temper. This eulogium on the Lady Cecily, founded as it is on well-authenticated facts, as also the causes that led to her affections being more strongly centred on her youngest son in proportion as they were gradually weaned from his elder brothers, will be found important at a later period of this memoir, when considering accusations against Richard III. which it would now be premature to discuss.

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

† "By the ancient canon law, a contract for marriage might be valid and perfect without the church ceremony."—See *Gibson's Codex*, tit. 22. Hence there have been decisions in the ecclesiastical courts by which second marriages have been annulled on account of the existence of a pre-contract.—*Decret.*, lib. iv. tit. i. c. 21; *Turner's Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 457.

The unnatural warfare that speedily ensued between Edward IV. and the Duke of Clarence, after the former had regained his liberty, and the defiance by her nephews, the Nevilles, of the acknowledged sovereignty of their king, shown by the most seditious proclamations and open rebellion, kindled again all the gentler feelings of the Lady Cecily's nature, and once more induced the public exercise of maternal rebuke and interference. She procured a meeting at Baynard's Castle between the two brothers and her impetuous kindred,\* and once more exerting that all-powerful influence which appears never to have been weakened, she again succeeded in effecting a reconciliation: but it was transient and insincere. Injuries had accumulated too thickly, and pressed too heavily, to be forgotten; and petty insults had aggravated a predisposition to enmity. The calm produced by this well-designed family assemblage, only rendered still more violent the storm of hateful passions which it preceded. A spirit of disaffection had gradually spread throughout the realm and soon ripened into avowed insurrection; and this was manifested in so many different districts, and was fomented by such influential persons, that King Edward found himself compelled to resist, by force of arms, the universal insurrection which had, in the first instance, been instigated by his own brother, and was afterwards encouraged by his nearest relations.† On the 26th of March, 1470, he appointed Richard, Duke of Gloucester, then but seventeen years of age, "commissioner of array in the county of Gloucester,"‡ in consequence of the rebellion of "George, Duke of Clarence, and Richard, Earl of Warwick;" and by other letters patent of the 15th of April following, the young prince was nominated a commissioner for a similar purpose in the counties of Devonshire and Cornwall.§

A series of vindictive conflicts followed this recommencement of civil war, in which, for a brief period, King Edward gained the ascendancy; and Clarence and Warwick were compelled to fly to France, where, by reason of the amity which had long been secretly fostered between Louis XI. and the Earl of Warwick, they were most courteously received.|| There they found sojourning Margaret of Anjou, with Prince Edward of Lancaster, her son; and all hope of pardon from King Edward appearing futile by reason of their avowed rebellion, and all further connection with the Yorkist faction being irrevocably broken by their abandonment of their royal chief, notwithstanding his conciliatory proclamation,¶ they were induced by the French monarch openly to espouse the cause of the exiled queen and that of the deposed Henry VI., and publicly to avow their intention of reinstating that sovereign

\* Fabyan, p. 500.

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

‡ Cal. Rol. Pat. 10 Edw. IV.

§ Ibid.

|| Chron. Croy., p. 533.

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

on the throne of England.\* To make this most extraordinary alliance more binding, a marriage was contracted between the youthful Prince of Wales and the Lady Anne Neville, youngest daughter of the Earl of Warwick, whose sister, as was before stated, had been united to the Duke of Clarence about a year previously. But as the desire of regaining for his child and her royal consort their long-lost rights was the ex-queen's sole inducement for yielding, after a severe struggle, to the earnest solicitations of Louis in favour of this betrothment of her only son, at the youthful age of sixteen, to the co-heiress of his bitterest foe, one year his junior,† the fulfilment of the contract was made to depend on the dethronement of Edward IV., and the solemnization of the marriage was to be the recompense only of King Henry the Sixth's restoration to the throne.

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

Upon this the young Duke of Gloucester was immediately appointed warden of the northern marches,‡ and thither he was hastening with the king and his adherents, to quell the insurrection in those revolted districts, when information was privately conveyed to them that Warwick and Clarence had landed on the southern coast, and that King Edward was once more about to be treacherously betrayed by others of his perfidious relatives in the north.§ Thus openly defied, and basely entrapped, the recently idolized monarch found himself, in a brief period, a king only in name. Perceiving his liberty to be again endangered, and his situation growing desperate, his own brother being arrayed against him, the once popular, but not despised, Edward of York was compelled to abdicate his throne, and, together with Richard of Gloucester and a small band of faithful followers, to fly the kingdom. He embarked from Lynn, in Norfolk, September, 1470, and sailing forthwith to Flanders, besought an asylum from his sister Margaret, at the court of Burgundy, to the reigning duke of which principality, it will be remembered, she had recently been united; but so extreme was his poverty, by reason of his precipitate flight, that it is said his kingly robe, lined with martin skins, was all he possessed|| wherewith to recompense the brave man who conveyed him across the seas. The insurgents hastened with all speed to London, released from captivity the unfortunate Henry VI., and on the 13th of October, 1470, just nine years after his dethronement, the hapless monarch resumed the crown, and again ostensibly exercised the royal prerogative.¶ Queen Margaret, however, in her league with Warwick, had greatly circumscribed that chieftain's delegated powers.\*\* She was suspicious of his fidelity, and could ill brook a friendly alliance with so bitter an enemy, the chief agent of all their misery and distress. But her unhappy consort, naturally deficient in intellect, had become so weakened in mind by close imprisonment and

\* Cont. Croy., p. 533.

† Rymer, vol. ii. p. 658.

‡ Harl. MSS., p. 543.

§ Chron. Croy., p. 553.

|| "For the king's escape was so hasty, that not onely his apparell and other furniture were lost or left behind, but even his treasure; so that to defray the charge of his transportation he was necessitated to give the master of the ship a gowne furr'd with martens."—*Habington's Edward IV.*, p. 66.

¶ Croy. Chron., p. 554.

\*\* Harl. MSS., No. 543.

neglect,\* and the present excitement had so enfeebled his slender powers of exertion, that he became paralyzed, as it were, and a mere cipher in seconding the efforts of his friends. Finding him wholly incapacitated for government, Warwick and Clarence were compelled, after his release from captivity, to summon in all haste a Parliament,† that their acts might receive legitimate sanction without waiting for the arrival of the queen, as had been stipulated by her. In this assembly, Henry of Lancaster was again acknowledged king; Edward IV. was proclaimed an usurper, and both himself and his brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, were attainted and outlawed. All fresh statutes were repealed, and the long-exiled supporters of the House of Lancaster were restored to their honours and estates; while the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence were empowered to act as regents during the minority of the Prince of Wales, and in default of issue to him, George, Duke of Clarence was declared successor to the throne.‡ Thus did the Earl of Warwick fully prove the true cause of his gradual defection from Edward IV. An impartial review of the whole tenour of his conduct, from the period of Edward's marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Grey to his expulsion from the throne by Warwick's means, brings home the conviction that he destined his own offspring to share it, by allying them with whosoever swayed the sceptre. Mortified at his thwarted views in his kinsman of the House of York, he considered it would be as possible to dethrone him as it had been to unseat his predecessor. It is true that from this counter-revolution time would be necessary to mature his scheme; but his daughter was young, and the unparalleled success that had hitherto attended his projects, raising him as it had to the highest pinnacle of greatness, making him a king all but in title, and more than a king in arbitrary power, fed that insatiable ambition which, perhaps, nothing but a crown would altogether have satisfied. The Duke of Gloucester, however, young as he was, there can be little doubt from subsequent events, very early penetrated the earl's motives. He was of no temperament to be ensnared by the dangerous policy which had duped the unreflecting George of Clarence. Faithful to the interests of his family, and true to his sovereign, who was its head, he preferred, when affairs had reached so desperate a crisis, exile and poverty with his royal brother, to dishonourable elevation at the hands of his enemies. The sacrifice induced by such a decision can scarcely be understood at the present day; though its extent is made sufficiently apparent by reference to the chroniclers of those disastrous times. "I saw," says Philip de Comines, "the Duke of Exeter barefoot and ragged, begging his meate from door to door, in the Low Countries,"§ and this, too, though that nobleman and the prince of the country had married two sisters, the sisters of Edward IV. and Richard of Gloucester. Neither was his brother-in-law the only appalling instance; for "with this so unfortunate lord the Somersets and others shared with him

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

† That this might not appear the act of faction, but the universal consent of the kingdom, a parliament was summoned, wherein nothing was denied which the prevailing party thought fit to be authorized.—*Habington*, p. 70.

‡ Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 191.

§ Comines, vol. i. p. 239.

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

\* Habington's Edw. IV., p. 42.

† Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 340.

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