

CHAPTER IX.

Popularity of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, in the northern counties.—Extensive powers with which he was invested in that district.—Edward Plantagenet, his eldest son, born at Middleham Castle.—Richard's honourable conduct and high character at this period of his career, shown by extracts from the northern historians.—He accompanies King Edward in his projected war with France.—Gloucester's indignation at the inglorious result of that enterprise.—Causes that led to the quarrel between the king and the Duke of Clarence.—Death of Clarence.—Gloucester exculpated from all participation either in the dispute or in the death of his brother.—Gloucester assists at the marriage of his infant nephew, the Duke of York.—Obtains a license to found and endow a collegiate church at Middleham.—Gloucester's eldest son created Earl of Salisbury.

From the period when Richard, Duke of Gloucester, assumed the vice-regal command of the northern parts of the kingdom, for such term may justly be applied to the extensive powers with which he was invested, he appears to have taken little or no part in political affairs, as far at least as relates immediately to his brother's court and general administration, but to have devoted himself, with the energy and zeal that formed so striking a feature in his character, to the wants of that district which was intrusted to his government. He directed his attention towards healing the divisions that had long distracted that part of King Edward's dominions,—the abode of the Cliffords, the Percys, the Nevilles, the Montagues, the rallying point, indeed, of the Lancastrian nobles, and of the most chivalrous yet turbulent spirits in the kingdom,—and rendering his brother's government popular and acceptable even to the very enemies of their house, by the justice, vigour and clemency which characterized his proceedings during the period in which he presided over the northern division of the country. Setting aside many minor appointments, he was justiciary of North Wales, warden of the west marches of Scotland, keeper of all the king's forests beyond Trent, chief seneschal or steward of the duchy of Lancaster in the northern parts, lord admiral and lord high constable of England, and proprietor, in right of the Lady Anne Neville, his wife, of half of the enormous possessions appertaining to her late father, which were increased tenfold in value, as well as in extent, by the gifts of the king, and the rewards which he bestowed upon his brother, in that particular district with which his name will henceforth be chiefly associated.

Gloucester's career, then, from the probable period of his marriage in the year 1472, must be chiefly sought for through the medium of local historians: and it is happy for this prince, towards rescuing his memory from the unqualified and sweeping charges that after times have brought against him, that documents still exist amongst the municipal and collegiate records of many ancient places and provincial towns that were immediately under his jurisdiction, associating his name and his acts altogether with those localities, and thus rendering untenable the tradition that fixed him without intermission about the person and incorporated him with all the proceedings of his royal brother's court. These records exhibit not only his talents and his virtues in a clear and indisputable form, but also bear testimony to the

wisdom and ability for government which even at this period gave such conclusive evidence of his vigorous mind, but which, from being so early and prominently called into action, fomented that passion for sovereign power which was inherent in his race, and which proved his bane in after life, although it led to the establishment of his fame at this the brightest period of his career.

The Castle of Pomfret was not the only abode of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. This fortress, indeed, appears to have been his state residence in virtue of his extensive offices; but Middleham, which he is said to have ever regarded with such warm interest, was his domestic home.* This castle and lordship was bestowed upon him by King Edward IV., probably at his earnest request, shortly after the death and attainder of the Earl of Warwick; and its association with every leading point of interest connected with the spring-time of his life, and that of the Lady Anne, explains fully, when taken in conjunction with his energetic temperament, the cause of his predilection for the spot, and of its being selected after their marriage as their fixed home and private dwelling-place.

In the year 1473, their happiness was rendered more complete by the birth of an heir to their vast possessions. "Edward, the eldest son of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was born at Middleham, near Richmond, 1473;†" and in that favourite abode of his parents—the scene of their youthful pleasures and early attachment—this infant scion of a noble race appears to have passed not merely his infancy, but the chief portion of his life.

The final division of lands awarded to Warwick's co-heiresses was not decided until after the birth of this child, viz., 1474;‡ but the rich portion which became at length vested in Gloucester, by right of his wife, appears to have added fresh vigour to Richard's operations in the north of England, judging at least from his alternate residences after the decision, in so many and in such various places, and all apparently with the view of repairing the ruin which civil warfare had brought upon the castellated mansions which were now either under his government, or entailed upon himself and his offspring.

"The employment of this duke" (observes the historian of Durham§) "was, for the most part, in the north; and there lay his appanage and patrimony, with a great estate of the duchess, his wife, of which the seignory of Penrith, in Cumberland, was part, where he much resided, and built or repaired most of the castles, all that northern side generally acknowledging and honouring his magnificent deportment." But it was not alone the restoration of castles and strongholds that occupied Gloucester's attention and called forth his zeal and munificence; to his honour let it be recorded, that religion and the worship of God in temples consecrated to His service was fully as much the object of his active zeal and attention as the repair of those defensive fabrics that suited his warlike temperament. Whitaker states, in his most interesting History of Richmondshire, that that county abounds with memorials of this prince's bounty to chantries and religious houses.¶ "He seems," adds this able writer, "to have divided his residence for a considerable time between his castle here [Middleham] and that of Skipton. He bestowed liberally on the monks of Coverham and the parish of Skipton for the repair of their respective churches; but under the walls of his own castle, 'his favourite Middleham,' he meditated greater

* Whitaker's Hist. of Richmond, vol. i. p. 99. † King's Vale Royal, p. 33.

‡ Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 100.

§ Vol. i. p. 99.

§ Surtees's Hist. of Durham, p. 67.

things."* And greater he did, indeed, accomplish; for although it may appear somewhat premature to anticipate the events of so lengthened a period as ten years, yet any evidence that can bear honourable testimony to the temperate conduct and peaceable character of Richard of Gloucester during that interval, and on a point so important as that of healing the domestic feuds which had so long distracted the kingdom, is invaluable towards rescuing his memory from the odious and hateful associations that have, for ages, been affixed to his name. One more quotation, then, in corroboration of this fact, must be permitted from the historian of Durham, who was so well qualified to judge, and to ascertain by diligent local research, the important truths which he asserts and substantiates by indisputable records relative to this prince. "He was at least," says Surtees,† "whilst Duke of Gloucester, popular in the north, where he was best known." . . . "He followed the fortunes of his brother Edward with unshaken fidelity through many a bloody field; and when the title of York was established, his conduct won the affection of those northern counties in which, from the united influence of the great houses of Percy, Neville and Clifford, the influence of the Lancastrian interest had been most prevalent."

How different is this portraiture of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, from that which is ordinarily given of him! How dissimilar was the active, useful, peaceable life which he really led, when reposing, for a brief interval, from the warlike duties of his martial profession, from that "malicious and wrathful" career which, unqualified by any one redeeming point, has been usually considered to have characterized the actions of this prince from the period of King Edward's restoration to the throne until the end of that monarch's reign!

Innumerable instances may be gathered from the local and provincial histories already referred to, as well as from other works connected with the northern counties, of Gloucester's attention to his domestic duties, his kindness to his attendants, his prudence and economy in the regulation of his household, and his bounty and munificence to the church; these, together with his justice to the poor and his hospitality to the rich, endeared him to all ranks throughout the extensive district which was intrusted to his charge. "It is plain," observes Drake,‡ in his valuable History of York, "that Richard, represented as a monster of mankind by most, was not so esteemed in his lifetime in these northern parts;" and the very terms of the grant by which King Edward conveyed to his brother the castle and manor of Skipton, above named, add force to the evidence of these northern historians, of the straightforward and highly honourable conduct pursued by the prince who was appointed to preside over their rights and their privileges:—"The king, in consideration of the laudable and commendable service of his dear brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, as for the encouragement of piety and virtue in the said duke, did give and grant to him, &c. &c. the honour, castle, manor and demesnes of Skipton, with the manor of Marton."§

Clearly, however, as these facts portray his temperate and judicious policy as regards his public administration, there is a document extant which yet more strongly evinces his generosity and kindness of heart towards his kindred, and illustrates, by a pleasing example, the nature of that influence which he possessed over the king, and the manner in which he exercised it, to soften his royal brother's revengeful spirit, and to preserve for the male line of the House of Neville a remnant at least of that vast inheritance which had been,

* Whitaker's Hist. of Richmond, vol. i. p. 335.

‡ Drake's Eboracum, p. 123.

† Hist. Durham, p. 66.

§ Parl. Rolls, 15 Ed. IV.

by the attainder of their race, alienated from them. On the 23d February, 1475, an act was passed which recites that the king, considering the treasons and other offences committed by John Neville, late Marquis Montague,* had intended by the authority of the present parliament to have attained him and his heirs for ever; "which to do, he, at the humble request and prayer of his right dear brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and other lords of his blood, as of other his lords, spareth, and will no further proceed in that behalf." But to guard against the possibility of Gloucester's being himself, by reason of this act, dispossessed of any lands and possessions that the Lord Montague's son, from the abandonment of the attainder, might hereafter claim, as the heir at law to his late uncle, the Earl of Warwick, this same act most carefully secures Richard from any such contingency,† the award to the Lord Montague being limited to such possessions only as had belonged to his father, and not such as would, under other circumstances, have accrued to him, as the heir at law, and head of the House of Neville.

The legislative enactment tends greatly to exonerate Gloucester from those mercenary feelings and from that malicious and covetous disposition which neither consanguinity, it was believed, could soften, or friendship qualify or subdue.

It likewise certainly weakens the imputation cast upon this prince by Rous,‡ but evidently without authority,§ that he "imprisoned for life the Countess of Warwick, who had fled to him for refuge." The probability is rather that he aided to restore her to liberty, and to release her from the religious sanctuary which she had been compelled to adopt upon her own and her husband's attainder; for in the Paston Letters, bearing date 1473, it is stated that "the Countess of Warwick is out of Beaulieu sanctuary, and that Sir James Tyrrel conveyeth her northwards: men say, by the king's assent; whereto some men say, that the Duke of Clarence liketh it not."|| Now, as she was removed to her native county and restored to her kindred by the "assent" of the king, although in avowed opposition to the wishes of the Duke of Clarence, the inference is, that a third party petitioned for her release: and who so likely to do so as Richard of Gloucester, who had recently been united to her youngest child, the companion and participator, nay, in one sense, the cause of all of her parent's late trials and misfortunes? while the opposition made by Clarence to the restoration of his mother-in-law to freedom was only in accordance with the same ungenerous spirit that made him covet the whole of her vast possessions, and even rendered it necessary for his royal brother to strip the hapless countess altogether of her rich inheritance before the quarrel could be appeased between that avaricious prince and Richard, Duke of Gloucester. There exists, indeed, not a single record to fix upon this latter prince either severity or persecution towards the unfortunate countess; neither could she, by any possibility, have "fled to him for refuge," as stated by Rous, for she was not at large at the period named; besides, the religious asylum which had protected her from the period of her

* Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 124.

† "The king, remembering the great and laudable services that his said right dear brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, hath dyvers tymes done to his highness, ordaineth and enacteth that his said brother shall have and hold to him and the heirs of his body so long as there should be any heir male of the said marquis' numerous honours, castles, lordships and manors (which are enumerated) in the county of York, which lately belonged to Richard Neville, late Earl of Warwick." If the issue male of the said marquis died without issue male during the duke's lifetime, he was to hold the estate for his life.—*Rot. Parl.*, vol. vi. p. 124.

‡ Hist. Reg. Anglica, p. 215.

§ Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 145.

|| Historic Doubts, p. 111.

husband's death was far greater security than any protection that could have been given her by Richard of Gloucester.

The division of her lands—if after attainder they could any longer be considered as hers—was commanded by the king in council in 1472.* She was not released from sanctuary until 1473, and then it was openly, not covertly done, and with the express consent of the sovereign. Suitable escort was also provided by the king to ensure her safety during her progress northwards: and this circumstance must not be overlooked; for it is essential to the exculpation of Gloucester, to call attention to the fact, that Sir James Tyrrel, though associated in after years with Richard, was at this time in the service of Edward IV., being master of the horse and a considerable officer of the crown,† and not in the slightest degree under the control of the Duke of Gloucester, or connected with his household.

In 1474, the act of Parliament specified that the Countess of Warwick was no more to be considered in the award of her inheritance than “if she were naturally dead;”‡ but this cruel decision, be it remembered, was the act of the legislature, not that of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. He had, indeed, no object after this decision for incarcerating the relict of the attainted Warwick; and no prison under his control is named as the scene of her captivity, no fortress has ever been associated with Richard's tyranny to his wife's mother, whilst his intercession for Montague's children affords ample ground, in conjunction with the above fact, to warrant the supposition that he also exerted himself to soften the condition of the venerable countess by restoring her to her kindred and to liberty, although he had no power to re-invest her either with lands or possessions.

Whatever motives may be attributed to Richard, either as connected with the acquisition of wealth for mere personal aggrandizement or authority, to forward his ambitious views and increase his sway in the extensive district intrusted to his charge, one thing, at all events, is apparent, viz., that he exercised his vast power for the benefit of the community at large, and that he won universal popularity throughout a district embracing the most turbulent portion of King Edward's dominions, by the active zeal and well-tempered judgment that made him the defender of the oppressed,§ and the advocate of justice, without any respect to persons, and without recourse to those severities which were common to the fierce and unsettled times in which he lived. On this point all the northern historians are fully agreed, and their local testimony is amply corroborated by various public documents bearing on the period, and connected with the acts that thus tend to retrieve Gloucester's memory from the unjust and untenable imputations which have so long obtained respecting him. Nor were his acts of bounty and munificence confined wholly to the north; many other examples from various sources might be adduced, showing his zeal generally for the advancement of religion and learning. Of these, perhaps, no stronger instance could be selected than his founding, about this time, four fellowships at Queen's College, Cambridge, and his gift to the same academic institution of the rectory of Foulmire in Cambridgeshire, the great tithes to be appropriated to the use of the president.||

But peace and its accompanying blessings were not destined, for any length of time, to smile on Richard's career, or call forth such exercise of the powers of his energetic mind as have just been adduced. From his very

* Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 90.

† See Horace Walpole's reply to the president of the Society of Antiquaries, published in the *Archæologia* for 1770.

‡ Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 100.

§ See Plumpton Correspondence, p. 26.

|| Cooper's Ann. of Cambridge, p. 225.

childhood he was educated for war, and the royal Edward felt and duly appreciated his brother's peculiar talents for aiding him, either by policy or generalship, in the more stormy paths of life.

This monarch had never forgiven Louis XI. for supporting the Duke of Clarence, and aiding him and the Earl of Warwick in their too successful rebellion.

He felt that the insurrection which drove him from his kingdom, and which had well nigh cost him his life, as it did his liberty, was fomented by the French king; and an exhausted treasury alone had kept Edward passive from the time when he was reinstated in his dominions, together, indeed, with a jealous apprehension of the Scottish monarch, arising from the open support this latter court had given to the Lancastrian fugitives. By means, however, of commissioners appointed in such cases to settle certain disputed border claims, a more friendly feeling had been gradually induced between Scotland and the House of York; and King Edward, still brooding over the injuries which he had received from the French monarch, and thirsting for revenge, bestowed his anxious attention towards settling the quarrel between Clarence and Gloucester, “lest their disputes might interrupt his designs with regard to France.”*

It was at this critical juncture, and immediately following the termination of his domestic troubles, that Edward was solicited by his brother-in-law, Charles, Duke of Burgundy, to return in kind the assistance which he had formerly given him towards regaining the throne of England, by aiding him in making war on Louis XI., whose crafty policy had disgusted all the adjacent principalities, but especially those of Burgundy and Bretagne. Edward seized with avidity an occasion which he had so long desired of retaliating on the French monarch; and, cementing an amicable truce with Scotland, by the betrothment of the Princess Cecily of York, his second daughter, to the Duke of Rothsay, the heir apparent of that crown,† he summoned the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, as well as all the chivalry of England, to aid him in carrying warfare into France, under the plea of regaining the lost possessions in that kingdom.

The particulars connected with the extensive preparations that ensued, and the motives that actuated the different parties concerned in carrying into execution this romantic design, belong too exclusively to the reign of Edward IV. to permit of any farther notice in these pages, excepting only such points as bear on the career of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. This prince, in common with the feudal lords of that period, held many of his estates by military tenure, and it would appear, from subsequent payments‡ awarded to him, that he carried to his brother a force suited alike to his influence in the north and to the chivalrous spirit of the Plantagenet race. In June, 1475, King Edward proceeded to Sandwich with the flower of the English nobility, and landed at Calais with an army consisting of 15,000 archers on horseback, and 1500 men at arms.§ With the hardihood which was peculiarly his characteristic, he had, on his embarkation, dispatched a herald to demand of Louis the crown of France; that monarch, however, with the keen subtlety that made him invariably overreach his enemies, by attacking them on their

* Chron. Croy., p. 557.

† Pinkerton's Hist. Scotland, vol. v. p. 1.

‡ An. 15 Ed. IV., 1475. Paid to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, for the wages of 116 men at arms, including himself as duke, at 13s. 4d. per day, 60l. 13s. 4d.; six knights, at 2s. per diem each, 54l. 12s.; and to each of the remainder of the said 116 men at arms, 12d. per day, and 6d. per day as a reward, 743l. 18s. 6d.; and to 950 archers in his retinue, to each of them 6d. per day.—*Issue Roll of the Exchequer*, p. 498.

§ Philip de Comines, vol. i. p. 329.

weak points, being well aware of the impoverished state of the English treasury, first corrupted the herald,* and then clandestinely bribed not only the immediate followers but the actual counsellors of the English monarch, who scrupled not to accept gifts and pensions, and to barter their own and their sovereign's high military fame for the treasure which Louis profusely distributed, and which he could better spare than risk a renewal of those fierce wars which had formerly devastated his country and driven his ancestors from the throne.

And who alone withstood this general defection from the hitherto proud and noble spirit of English knighthood? Not the king; for he preferred a return to luxurious ease, with a pension, and an uncertain treaty securing its payment, from an adversary who had so often deceived him,† to realizing the high hopes of his chivalrous warriors, and maintaining the lofty position which he had assumed when entering France a claimant for her crown. Not the ministers of England; for even the chancellor of the realm, the master of the rolls, and the lord chamberlain scrupled not to accept that bribe, which the latter, however, refused to acknowledge by a written document.‡ Not the lordly peers and the proud barons, whose costly preparations for this renewal of the ancient wars with France had attracted the attention of all Europe; for the receipts for money and plate distributed to the most influential, says Philip de Comines, "is to be seen in the chamber of accounts at Paris!"§

It was Richard, Duke of Gloucester, alone!—the youngest prince of the Plantagenet race, and the one to whom, of all that race, covetousness and mercenary motives have been mostly imputed. He alone, of the three royal brothers, nay, of all the noble and the brave in King Edward's court, withstood the subtlety of Louis, and disdained the gold that was to sell the honour of his country,|| and to sacrifice, at the shrine of bribery and corruption, the renown and greatness of England's chivalry.

"Only the Duke of Gloucester stood aloof, off on the other side," observes the biographer of King Edward IV.,¶ "for honour frowned at the accord, and exprest much sorrow, as compassionating the glory of his nation blemished in it. He repeated his jealousy of the world's opinion, which necessarily must laugh at so chargeable a preparation to attempt nothing, and scorn either the wisdom or courage of the English, when they shall perceive

* King Edward sent before him his herald to demand the crown of the King of France, who, having read his letters, returned a plausible and courteous answer. "Commend me to thy master," said the wily monarch; which the herald promising to do, was, with an honourable reward of 300 crowns and a rich piece of crimson velvet for himself, and a present of a stately horse, a wild boar, and a wolf for the king, graciously dismissed.—*Sandford's General Hist. of England*, book v. p. 389.

† Edward consented to withdraw his army from France, and forthwith to return to England, on the immediate payment of 75,000 crowns, and 50,000 crowns as an annual tribute: and to render more binding the treaty of peace between the two countries, it was ratified by an engagement entered into by the monarchs, that the Dauphin of France should espouse the Princess Royal of England, as soon as the parties were of age to fulfil this part of the contract.—*Rymer*, vol. xii. p. 14.

‡ See Appendix HH.

§ Philip de Comines, who was at this period confidentially employed in this negotiation by the French monarch, states, that 16,000 crowns were distributed to the chancellor, master of the rolls, lord chamberlain, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Lord Howard, Lord Cheney, Marquis of Dorset, &c. &c. To the Lord Howard the king gave 24,000 crowns in money and plate; to Lord Hastings, 1000 marks in plate; and he granted pensions to many of the highest nobles, in addition to the yearly tribute secured to the English monarch and the annuities settled on his ministers.—*Philip de Comines*, vol. ii. lib. vi. p. 6.

|| Lord Bacon's *Life of Hen. VII.*, p. 3.

¶ Habington, p. 147.

them in so full numbers and so well armed to pass the sea, after a defiance sent and challenge to a crown, to return back without drawing a sword."

But the single voice of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, availed little with leaders so degenerate and so easily corrupted; although the army in general, and many noble knights, responded to his patriotic feelings. His individual opposition, however, much as it redounded to his own credit, had no effect in weakening the issue of the French monarch's more subtle policy; nevertheless, even Louis himself respected the feelings and honoured the principle* that made Gloucester reject those degrading mercenary overtures which were accepted not only by the royal Edward and his ministers, but also by his brother of Clarence.

The crafty Louis, moreover, well understood the influence which strong minds exercise over those of less powerful intellect, and, despite of Richard's avowed opposition to his insidious policy, he paid the young duke the greatest respect, quickly perceiving the power which he possessed over his royal brother, and hoping to make it available in forwarding his own views.† But Gloucester, "jealous of the honour of the English nation,"‡ was neither to be allured from his faith to his sovereign or duty to his country; consequently, at the celebrated meeting at Picquiny, in which the two monarchs met personally to interchange friendly salutations, after the amicable treaty that had been effected between them, "the Duke of Gloucester was absent on the English side, in regard his presence should not approve what his opinion and sense had heretofore disallowed:"§ yet, on the other hand, when all points were definitively settled, and that farther opposition was fruitless, he is to be found watching over his brother's interests, and witnessing the validity of those political agreements which were to cement this most extraordinary alliance.

Louis, estimating the motives that had on these two occasions so exemplified Richard's character, by evincing in the one his love for his country, and in the other his attachment to his brother, invited him to Amiens before the departure of the English from France,|| and there forced upon him, as a testimony of regard, some valuable horses and other presents, which the prince before had absolutely rejected when offered as a bribe. The attestation of Lord Bacon, Richard's bitter calumniator, is, perhaps, the most valuable authority that could be adduced on this point, prone as was that able biographer of Richard's rival and successor to magnify every evil report that malice had propagated to his discredit: "At Picquiny, as upon all other occasions," says the learned chancellor,¶ "Richard, then Duke of Gloucester, stood ever upon the side of honour, raising his own reputation to the disadvantage of the king his brother, and drawing the eyes of all, especially the nobles and soldiers, upon himself." In less than two months, without loss of life, but with grievous loss of reputation, King Edward's army, which had been assembled with such pompous display and such chivalrous pretensions, quietly prepared to return to England, without unsheathing the sword or bending the bow.

Richard signed the document** that betrothed the Princess Royal of Eng-

* Philip de Comines, lib. vi. ch. 2.

† Hutton, p. 53.

‡ Bacon, *Hen. VII.*, p. 2.

§ Habington, *Ed. IV.*, p. 155.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¶ Lord Bacon's *Hen. VII.*, p. 3.

** On the 13th August, 1475, the Duke of Gloucester, with other nobles, being with the king "in his field beside a village called Seyntre, within Vermondon, a little from Peron," signed an agreement, by which it was stipulated, under certain conditions, (one of which was that the dauphin should marry the first or second of the king's daughters, and endow her with 60,000 livres,) he would abstain from war and withdraw his army.—*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, vol. xii. p. 15.

land to the heir apparent of the French crown; and, bitterly bemoaning the inglorious result of their enterprise, as did most of the knightly warriors who had followed his banner, he returned with King Edward to England on the eleventh day of September, 1475,—the one brother to give himself up to those enervating scenes of pleasure and luxury which clouded the end of a reign so propitiously commenced; the other to renew those active and useful labours which have outlived even traditionary libels, and which, to this day, incorporate the name of Richard of Gloucester in the north with those benefactors to mankind, who, bravely courting danger in time of need, can succour the oppressed, and be the agents of justice and mercy in more tranquil and peaceable seasons.

But the expenses attending this expedition could not be liquidated by the French king's profuseness to its leaders. The English nation had been taxed to a fearful degree to meet the demands made upon them, and, with the romantic spirit of the age, they had cheerfully met these demands when so much of glorious enterprise presented itself to their imagination; but when, at the expiration of three months, the army was disbanded and sent back to their homes, the mass of whom were full of indignation at the avarice of the king and his counsellors, and of discontent at the poverty which it had entailed upon themselves, a spirit of disaffection gradually arose, and Edward, though sanctioning the most severe measure, found it impossible to meet the difficulties resulting from his exhausted finances.

A statute, therefore, was passed in the following year, 1476, whereby it was enacted that all the royal patrimony, to whomsoever it had been granted, should be resumed and applied to the support of the crown.* This appears to have given great umbrage to the Duke of Clarence, whose sordid and avaricious disposition could ill brook the loss of any portion of his vast wealth, although he had been so recently enriched by the division of the lands of the Earl of Warwick, and by many high and lucrative offices bestowed upon him afterwards by the king.† Notwithstanding the reconciliation of the brothers after Edward's restoration to the throne, and the impartiality which that monarch had displayed when mediating between Clarence and Gloucester, no genuine affection or confidence appears afterwards to have subsisted between the restless and covetous duke, and his much-injured sovereign. The former was perpetually taking offence and creating disturbance by his quarrelsome and tenacious disposition, which could only be appeased so long as his jealous and irascible nature was softened by fresh honours, or appeased by additional wealth; while Edward could never forget, although he had forgiven, the injuries, the indignities and treachery which he had so little merited from his ungrateful brother. The Act of Resumption, to which the king was compelled to have recourse in his great necessities, not merely to stop the threatened insurrection, but to carry on the government, the Duke of Clarence considered a personal affront, since by it he lost the lordship of Tutbury, together with many other lands which he had previously obtained by royal grant; "and this," observes the chronicler of Croyland, "appears to have given rise to those dissensions between Edward and Clarence, which ended so fatally for the latter prince."‡ "It was remarked," adds that historian, "that the duke by degrees withdrew himself more and more from the royal presence, that he scarcely spoke a word in council, and would not willingly eat or drink in the king's house;" and he, at length, retired altogether from the court, and joining the Lady Isabel in the vicinity of Tewkesbury, there brooded over

* Chron. Croy., p. 559.

‡ Chron. Croy., p. 561.

† Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 164.

the discontent which he had so unwisely and intemperately displayed. The repose, however, which he had hoped to find in his domestic circle, was destined to be of short duration; and to the irritability of political annoyance was speedily added acute sorrow at the death of his wife, who had been some time in a declining state, and expired within a brief period of the birth of their second son, Richard of Clarence.

As was almost invariably the case with every illustrious personage who died suddenly, or whose health gradually failed, at this period of English history, the decease of the duchess was attributed to poison; and this conviction afforded fresh ground for the indulgence of her husband's impetuous temper, and for the display of his most injudicious conduct. Not satisfied with procuring the illegal condemnation and execution of Ankaret Twynhyo,* a female attendant of the deceased Lady Isabel, against whom no proof beyond what arose from the superstitions of the period could be alleged, the misjudging prince likewise made it an occasion of giving vent to the anger previously excited against the king, to impute the languor and debility which followed his wife's confinement, and ended in her dissolution, to sorcery practised against her by the reigning queen,† to whom, it will be remembered, he had ever been jealously opposed, and against whose family he had continually exercised the most unprovoked opposition. On this occasion, his royal brother's forbearance appears to have been severely tried; still, Edward did forbear, although Clarence continued to excite and provoke him. At length a combination of unhappy circumstances so conspired to feed the discord that had gradually weakened the slender tie which bound the brothers to each other, after what must be styled their political rather than their fraternal re-union, that Clarence's impeachment was resolved upon by the king as the only means of ridding himself of a most turbulent spirit that had goaded him beyond farther endurance. It appears that, not long after the death of the Duchess of Clarence, Charles, Duke of Burgundy, the husband of the Lady Margaret of York, was slain at the siege of Nanci, leaving as heiress to his vast possessions an only child, a daughter by a former marriage.‡

An inordinate love of wealth was the besetting sin of George, Duke of Clarence, and he immediately sought the assistance of his widowed sister, between whom and himself the strongest affection had ever existed, to aid him in furthering proposals of marriage with her richly-endowed daughter-in-law. But King Edward had too frequently experienced the unprincipled and treacherous conduct of his brother, to countenance an alliance that might again have led to his aiming at the English crown; and which, from the vast power as well as wealth with which it would invest Clarence, might, eventually, have proved the destruction of himself and his offspring.

His opposition to the alliance was fomented by the queen, who, in addition to her hatred of the duke, secretly indulged hopes of securing the rich heiress for her accomplished brother, the Lord Rivers. Both her views, however, and those of Clarence were frustrated by King Edward's unremitting exertions to promote a union between Maximilian, son of the Emperor

* About three months after the decease of the duchess, Ankaret Twynhyo was seized in her dwelling house, at Cayford, in Somerset, by a band of armed retainers, sent thither by the Duke of Clarence, and by them conveyed to Warwick Castle, where she was immediately tried, condemned and executed within three hours, on the charge of administering to the Duchess of Clarence "a venomous drink of ale mixed with poison, on the 10th of October, of which she sickened and died ten weeks after."—*Rot. Parl.*, vol. vi. p. 173.

† *Rot. Parl.*, vol. vi. p. 174.

‡ Chron. Croy., p. 561.