

centred in him after his title was thus confirmed past all dispute—power, as states the annalist of that period, “used by the consent and good pleasure of all the lords”—was such, “that it empowered him,” he adds, as has been before stated, “to command and forbid in every thing like another king.”\*

Richard of Gloucester was now in effect the ruler of the kingdom, its sovereign all but in title: and the regal authority which thus so unexpectedly devolved upon him—changing his condition, in the short space of five weeks, from the dependent station of the sovereign’s younger brother to a position so elevated that it entitled him to govern the monarch himself as well as to wield the destinies of the nation, as sole arbiter of the acts and actions of a minor prince—rekindled, there can be little doubt, in his heart the germs of that hereditary ambition which had lain dormant since his earliest infancy.

Formed by nature for command, and possessing clear and enlarged views of the exigences of the times, and the wants of the country over whose interests he was called upon to preside, Richard felt himself qualified to regulate, with zeal and ability, the complicated machinery of that government which was now entrusted to his guidance. But, however much he may have been fitted by temperament as well as ability to control and to direct an executive so complex and involved as that which his consanguinity to Prince Edward entailed upon him, it must surely be admitted that the dangerous power which Gloucester so unhappily attained was the result of no illegal measures pursued by himself, but was the voluntary gift, first of the privy council, and finally, of the whole legislature itself assembled in Parliament. The council of state convened for this purpose, before the dissolution of the old Parliament and the assembling of the new one, was sufficiently powerful to have resisted the duke’s assumption of the high office which he claimed as his birthright, had the haughty nobles in that age of baronial dignity considered it to have been unjustifiably seized and unlawfully exercised. The young king was securely lodged in his royal citadel; he had been there placed expressly to admit of free discussion, so that his person was no longer subject to his uncle’s detention, when Parliament confirmed Richard in the protectorate: neither had this prince an army in the metropolis, nor resources either civil or military sufficient to intimidate his opponents, even had he evinced such a disposition to violence. But he rested his pretensions on ancient usage, he based his claims on a character free from stain and reproach; and the result of the solemn assembly of the land, which met to consider the policy of investing the brother of King Edward IV. with the sole guardianship of his heir and successor in his non-age, attests their belief at that crisis of Richard’s fate, of the just, prudent and upright manner in which, as quaintly expressed in the language of that day, “my said lord protector will acquit himself of the tutele and oversight of the king’s most royal person during his years of tenderness,”† thus giving the most convincing proof of the injustice which has been exercised for three centuries against the character, actions and motives of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, up to the critical period, when, by universal consent and unfettered by restraint, he was entrusted with the helm of state and appointed “protector and defender of the realm.”

chief butler of England by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, protector of our realm: anno 1 Edw. V.”—*Harl. MSS.*, 433, fol. 221, b.

\* *Chron. Croy.*, p. 566.

† *Cott. MSS. Vitel. E.* fol. 10.

## CHAPTER XII.

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, enters upon the duties of the protectorate.—State of the realm during the minority of Edward V.—Demoralization of the English nation at this corrupt period.—Divisions in the council.—Preparations for the coronation of Edward V.—Richard’s difficult position induces him to aim at a prolonged protectorate.—Conspiracy for his destruction.—Arrest and execution of the Lord Hastings, and of the Lords Rivers and Grey.—The young Duke of York withdrawn from sanctuary.—Placed in the Tower with his royal brother.—Gloucester aspires to the crown, in consequence of the discovery that the late king’s marriage was illegal.—The offspring of Edward IV. declared illegitimate.—The citizens of London tender the crown to Richard.—Edward V. formally deposed by the legislature.—Richard, Duke of Gloucester, proclaimed king by the title of Richard III.

THE eyes of the whole nation were now fixed upon the Duke of Gloucester. Upon his wisdom hung the fate of the empire, upon his integrity the welfare of its monarch. In the very face of a political convulsion, more formidable than any which had threatened the peace of the kingdom since the disastrous feuds which terminated in the elevation of his brother to the throne, he had secured the tranquil accession of Edward V., quelled the divisions in the late king’s council, revived the sinking spirits of the people, and restored faith and confidence in the government. And all this without striking a blow, without causing the death of one human being, or sullyng the efforts of his vigorous mind by acts of cruelty, vengeance or retaliation.\*

At no period of his life was Richard of Gloucester so truly great as when he thus achieved a moral victory over powerful adversaries, whom he awed not more by his military renown than he subdued by his sagacity and self-possession. Civil war must inevitably have ensued had no legitimate claimant for the protectorate existed. A succession of insults inflicted by the Wydville family,† and of jealousies long endured by the ancient nobility of the realm, rendered an appeal to the sword unavoidable; and the fear of this impending collision, there can be little doubt, led to Gloucester’s being so unanimously confirmed in the protectorship by the friends of both parties, after he had forcibly seized that dignity, whether in virtue of former precedents, or, as asserted by Buck,‡ in pursuance of the deceased king’s command.

In consequence, however, of the embarrassing circumstances which arose almost immediately after this event, and which so completely disorganized the whole state of public affairs, attention has never been sufficiently directed to the threatened evils and miserable feuds that must inevitably have deso-

\* “Without any slaughter, or the shedding of as much blood as would issue from a cut finger.”—*Chron. Croy.*, p. 566.

† Buck, in noticing “the insolency of the queen’s kindred,” states, that they “stirred up competitions and turbulencies among the nobles, and became so insolent and public in their pride and outrages towards the people, that they forced their murmurs at length to bring forth mutiny against them.” Again, “they extended their malice to the princes of the blood and chief nobility, many times by slanders and false suggestions, privately incensing the king against them.”—*Lib. i.* p. 12.

‡ *Buck, lib. i.* p. 11.



lated the land, had the youthful monarch, in conjunction with his mother and her family, been opposed to the ancient lords of the realm;\* at an era as remarkable for the insufficiency of the regal prerogative as for the preponderating influence of the nobility. Gloucester, by his constitutional calmness, and his experience in the civil government of men, saw the dangers which threatened the destruction of his royal house, and the heir of the Yorkist dynasty. Bold in design, and enterprising in spirit, his ready genius discerned, and his prudence selected, a middle path between open rebellion to his sovereign and ignoble submission to the queen mother; and seizing upon the opportunity which the actions of Dorset and Rivers afforded of crushing these impending hostilities, without either party having recourse to arms, he entered with alacrity and zeal upon the daring career which he had seen the urgent necessity of adopting, and from which he never withdrew until he had secured to himself the power of carrying into effect, under the sanction and authority of Parliament, those resolute measures which he had boldly commenced on his own responsibility.

And so far not a shadow of blame can attach to the memory of Richard of Gloucester. In his ambition to rule the state during his nephew's minority he was borne out by the usage of the times, and by that pride of birth inherent in every branch of the Plantagenets; but there is nothing in this desire to indicate that Gloucester had formed any sinister design for usurping the throne, or that he contemplated the death of the Lords Rivers and Grey when he caused these nobles to be arrested and imprisoned until such time as he had thoroughly investigated the reports† which were generally circulated against them.‡ There can scarcely, indeed, be a greater proof that the severities subsequently practised against the prisoners were not the mere result of casual reports, than the fact of the young monarch's preceptor, Dr. Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, who was seized at the same time with the other royal attendants,§ being released from captivity and set at large in the metropolis within a fortnight¶ of his arrest at Stratford: added to this, that the treasurer of the young prince's household, Sir Richard Croft, was speedily rewarded for his services by a pension for life; \*\* and that no imputation of any kind was ever cast upon King Edward's chancellor, upon his lord steward, or any other members of his establishment†† who remained behind at Ludlow, although Sir Thomas Vaughan‡‡ and Sir Richard Hurst, arrested

\* If the queen's kindred "should assemble in the king's name much people, they should give the lords (atwixt whom and them had been sometime debate) to fear and suspect lest they should gather this people, not for the king's safeguard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction. . . . . For which cause they [the nobles] should assemble on the other party much people again for their defence," "and thus should all the realm fall on a roar."—*More*, p. 22.

† *Ibid.*

‡ The Lord Hastings assured the council that Rivers and Grey should no longer remain under arrest "than till the matter were (not by the dukes only, but also by all the other lords of the king's council) indifferently examined, and by other discretion ordered, and either judged or appeased."—*More*, p. 32.

§ "They were accused of having conspired the death of the protector."—*Rous, Hist. Reg. Ang.*, p. 217.

¶ These were Dr. Alcock, preceptor and president of his council; Sir Thomas Vaughan, lord chamberlain; Sir Richard Hurst, treasurer of the household.

¶ Royal Wills, p. 345. \*\* Harl. MSS., No. 433, fol. 58.

†† The other members of the prince's establishment were, the Bishop of St. David's, chancellor; Sir William Stanley, steward of the household; Sir Richard Croft, treasurer.—*Sloane MSS.*, No. 3, 479; and *Harl. MSS.*, No. 433, fol. 655.

‡‡ Sir Thomas Vaughan was nearly related to the Wydville family, and through the interest of the queen he had been appointed by Edward IV. treasurer of the king's chamber, and master of his jewels.—*Cal. Rot.*, p. 311.

at Stratford with the Lords Rivers and Grey, were detained in prison, and eventually executed with those noblemen.

The conduct, indeed, of the Duke of Gloucester up to this period, considering the temper and character of the times, was irreproachable. His proceedings, though startling, from the stern decision which they indicated, were not acted in the dark; not clandestinely pursued, but openly, before the gaze of the people.\*

There was, moreover, no necessity for plotting or intrigue, inasmuch as his interposition at Stratford was forced upon him by the nobles in the land, and sanctioned by the highest in authority. And that honourable position which Gloucester so speedily attained, owing to the jealousies of other and less noble minds, was never, it ought to be remembered, made a reproach to him until the same spirit of jealousy and craving for power, the same conflicting interests in the rival lords,† who, to promote their own selfish ends, had rekindled that inordinate ambition which was the evil genius of Richard's house, made them seek to enslave the victim whom they had exalted, solely to advance their own aspiring views. Thus embarrassed and surrounded with difficulties, keenly alive to the important charge confided to his care, but unable, from the rivalry and envy of his compeers, to follow the dictates of his own better judgment, Gloucester was gradually tempted to adopt measures so offensive to the young king, that he soon found his personal safety had become compromised,‡ in consequence of which he was led to depart from that virtuous and honourable path which had characterized his youth and his manhood, and to enter upon a course which probably he never would have attempted had he not been swayed by evil counsellors, and made the tool of treacherous and time-serving allies.

Succeeding ages have dwelt on this epoch as one of the most corrupt in English history, and justly so. "The state of things and the dispositions of men were such," writes Sir Thomas More, "that a man could not tell whom he might trust, or whom he might fear;§ and almost similar sentiments are expressed in a letter written by one high in office at this identical time,—"every man doubts the other."¶ It has been already shown that, from the period of the birth of Richard of Gloucester up to the date of his elevation to the protectorate, the worst passions had disgraced, and the most unworthy motives influenced, the highest in rank and station.

The Duke of Gloucester well remembered that the leading members of the very council who were now associated with him in carrying out the measures of government were those peers and prelates who had been bribed by the wily monarch of France,¶ Louis XI., who had sacrificed honour to gold, and in whom the love of wealth was stronger than the love of their country. He well knew, also, that their unanimity, when raising him to be "defender

\* Polydore Virgil, lib. i. p. 11; and *More*, p. 29.

† "In especial twayne, Henry, Duke of Buckingham, and William Lord Hastings . . . . . these two not bearing eche to other, so much love, as hatred both, unto the queen's party."—*More*, p. 21.

‡ "The matter was broken unto the Duke of Buckingham by the protector," who declared unto him "that the young king was offended with him, for his kinsfolk's sake, and that if he was ever able, he would revenge them."—*More*, p. 64.

§ *Ibid.*

¶ *Excerpt. Hist.*, p. 17.

¶ Jean Tillet, with Phil. de Comines, tells us that the Lord Howard, in less than two years, had the value of 24,000 crowns in plate, coins and jewels, over and above his annual pension: the Lord Hastings at one time to the value of 2000 marks in plate, besides his pension; and Dr. Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Chancellor of England, and Dr. Morton, Bishop of Ely, master of the rolls, with other noblemen and councillors of special credit with the king, had 2000 crowns apiece per annum.—*Buck.*, lib. i. p. 29.



of the realm," arose more from hatred to the queen and her family than from respect to himself, or devotion to their youthful sovereign; and with his keen perception of human character, he could entertain little doubt that the support which they now gave him, and the loyalty they professed towards their prince, had no more solid basis than the wavering and time-serving policy that had twice elevated his royal brother to the throne, and twice deposed his unhappy rival.

In selecting the Duke of Gloucester, then, as a peculiar object of execration, and as seeming to concentrate in himself, in an extreme degree, the evil principles which characterized an age so selfish and demoralized, great injustice has been done to this prince; no mention ever being made of his nobler qualities, as a palliative to those vices which have been alone perpetuated, or attention drawn to the particular merits of his character, his fidelity, his patriotism and his integrity, in the many offices of trust and importance which he had filled with equal honour to himself and benefit to his country. He did not, it is true, escape the infection of the corrupt times in which he lived, or remain untainted by the love of power, which, in that day, seemed to supersede all other feelings saving the desire of wealth alone. And who, imbued from infancy with these the leading features of his age, stimulated by a father's example, strengthened by a brother's precepts, could have passed through life uninfluenced by the pernicious education which, from his very cradle, had taught him to covet a crown?—not the imperious Plantagenets, whose ascendancy was characterized by violence, usurpation and homicide\*—not the race of York, "greedy and ambitious of authority"†—not the sole surviving brother of a fraternity, "great, stately," "impatient of partners!"‡

Had Richard of Gloucester died after his elevation to the protectorate, and before he had tasted the sweets of sovereignty, coupled with what different associations would his name have descended to posterity! Evil, there can be little doubt would equally have befallen his ill-fated nephew; but Richard would have been commemorated as the prince who had stayed the demon of war at the accession of young Edward, and blunted the arrows of discord when the bow was bent, and the shaft had well nigh winged its flight at the victims of ambition, of hatred and of revenge. Then would his motto, "loyalty bindeth me," have been strictly realized by his actions;§ then would his memory have been united with that of Edward V. in the literal manner in which, by a singular coincidence, the only specimens of their autographs combined have been transmitted to posterity,—the protector's name beneath that of his youthful sovereign, followed by the words "Loyaulté me liè."

The want of confidence that pervaded the highest in rank, both temporal and ecclesiastical, is strikingly displayed by the refusal of the late king's executors to carry into effect the provisions of their royal master's will.

As a contrast, however, to this melancholy picture, a pleasing instance is afforded of the high estimation which, at this corrupt period, Cecily, Duchess of York, still maintained in public estimation;|| for Baynard's Castle, her

\* Biondi's *Civill Warres*, vol. i. lib. iv. p. 1.

† More, p. 7.

‡ Ibid.

§ "His loyalty bearing a most constant expression in his motto," says Sir George Buck, "Loyaulté me liè' (loyalty bindeth me); which I have seen written by his own hand, and subscribed Richard Gloucester." The autograph here mentioned is still extant, having been preserved in the Cott. MSS., Vesp. F. xiii. fol. 53.

|| Although the name of the Duchess of York seldom occurs in connection with the political events of Edward the Fourth's reign, yet there are not wanting a few brief notices of this illustrious lady that carry on her personal history up to that

metropolitan abode,\* and the place where she was at this time sojourning, was selected by the two archbishops and eight other prelates, for holding the meeting which placed her late son's property under ecclesiastical sequestration,† and for depositing also the king's jewels,‡ which were thenceforth entrusted to his mother's charge, as it would seem, because the executors were mutually distrustful of each other.

The Duke of Gloucester was present at this meeting;—another cause for believing that he must, in some measure, have been connected with, or interested in, the contents of his brother's last testament. The length of time which separates this distant period from the present age precludes the possibility of ascertaining precisely how far Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and the Lady Cecily participated in the same sentiments: but it appears that, on reaching London, he repaired at once to the abode of his venerable parent, and continued for some days an inmate with her; which circumstance affords reason for surmising that the Lady Cecily approved of the measures he had pursued, and was, in all likelihood, a party concerned in instigating him to adopt them, from the frequent messengers which are said to have met him upon his arrival at York, and on the road to Northampton.§ This fact is important, for as this illustrious lady had recently become a member of the Benedictine order,|| her religious vows¶ would seem a sufficient surety that she would not lend herself to any nefarious projects, either for disinheriting her grandchild, or for unjustly elevating her son to the throne; although there can be little doubt that the death of the Duke of Clarence, promoted, as it had been, by the queen and Lord Rivers, still rankled deeply and painfully in the heart of every member of the House of York, at an era more remarkable for retaliation and revenge than for the Christian virtues of mercy and forgiveness.

Unhappily for all parties, this rancorous feeling was constantly fed by the knowledge that the enormous wealth of the deceased and attainted prince, together with the person, guardianship and marriage of his youthful heir, the Earl of Warwick, instead of enriching his own kindred, had been conferred upon, and was still in the hands of, a Grey, the Lord of Dorset.\*\* Neither, indeed, could Gloucester or the Lady Cecily entertain a doubt that if the same aspiring and not over-scrupulous race who had ruined the fame of one brother and procured the execution of the other, could but secure the

monarch's decease. Among the Tower records is preserved a privy seal bill (temp. 8th. Edw. IV.,) conveying to the Lady Cecily a grant of certain lands in the vicinity of the monastery of St. Benett, "for so moche as our dearest lady mother hath instantly sued unto us for this matter, and for so much also as our very trust is in her." At the back of the instrument, written in the king's own hand, are these words:—"My Lord Chancellor, this must be done." (Dr. Stillington was at that time lord chancellor of England.) During King Edward's invasion of France, in 1475, the following mention is made of the Lady Cecily in the Paston Letters (vol. ii. p. 181:) "My Lady of York and all her household is here at St. Benett's, and purpose to abide there still, till the king come from beyond the sea, and longer if she like the air there as it is said." (St. Benett's was a mitred abbey at Holm, in the parish of Horning, county of Norfolk, then a structure of great importance, now a mere ruin in the midst of a dreary level marsh.) In 1480, (20th Edw. IV.,) it appears that Cecily, Duchess of York, and her sister Anne, Duchess of Buckingham, both professed themselves religious, at Northampton, on the same day.—See *Nicholl's Hist. and Antiq. of Fotheringay*.

\* *Archæologia*, P. xiii. p. 7.

† Royal Wills, p. 345.

‡ Ibid.

§ More, p. 35, and Drake's *Eborac.*, p. 111.

|| Cott. MSS., Viell. L. fol. 17.

\*\* Cal. Rot., p. 325.

¶ See Appendix QQ.



ear of the new sovereign,\* himself likewise, the late monarch's only surviving brother, would speedily fall a victim to their hatred and ambition.†

Thus on the demise of Edward IV., or rather at the accession of Edward V., a struggle for pre-eminence, altogether apart from all merely political questions, arose between the young monarch's royal kindred and his maternal relatives. The natural consequence was, that the protector was instigated and supported in his resolute measures by every branch of his own princely house;‡ but chiefly by his mother, whose heart had ever inclined to Richard, the youngest but most judicious of her sons: and that her own kindred, the lordly Nevilles, were equally zealous in espousing his cause.§ is shown by one of the first acts of his protectorate being to endow the Lord Neville with the constablership of the Castle of Pontefract,|| in reward for his faithful adherence.

The month of May, ushered in so ominously by the seizure of Edward V. and the dispersion of his attendants, and rendered, afterwards, so remarkable by its comprehending, in the brief space of days, acts that, in the ordinary course of things, it would take months, if not years, to carry into effect, glided on more tranquilly towards its close than the portentous events which heralded its dawn would have seemed to prognosticate. Richard presided with his characteristic energy at the helm of state, assisted, there is reason to suppose, by a council appointed at the time when he was nominated to the protectorate; and although no document is known to be extant recording the names of such nobles as were deputed, according to ancient precedent, to assist Gloucester in his arduous duties, yet the connection of the most firm of King Edward's friends, and of the most zealous of Gloucester's supporters, with the measures of the protector enables a tolerable judgment to be formed as to who were his political associates in the administration.¶

The new acts of the young monarch being attested at Westminster, as well as at the Tower,\*\* intimates, also, that the council assembled at both of these places; and, trivial as it may appear, this circumstance conveys an important fact, inasmuch as it proves that the youthful monarch was under no undue restraint, but that he occasionally joined his council at West-

\* "Howbeit, as great peril is growing, if we suffer this young king in our enemies' hand, which, without his willing, might abuse the name of his commandment, to any of our undoing, which thing God and good provision forbid."—*More*, p. 20.

† "As easily as they have done some other, already as near of his royal blood as we."—*Ibid.*

‡ The Duke of Buckingham, as already shown, was a Plantagenet by descent from Thomas of Woodstock, the fifth son of Edward III.; and the Lord Howard, whose fidelity to Richard is a subject of historical notoriety, was also a Plantagenet, being lineally descended from Thomas of Brotherton, younger son of King Edward I.

§ Sir George Neville, Lord Bergavenny, and Henry Neville, his son, nephews of the Duchess of York, were also among his zealous partisans, and were rewarded with proofs of his gratitude. Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, his chief supporter, was likewise allied to the Nevilles, that nobleman's brother having married Ellinor, the Lady Cecily's sister.

|| Harl. MSS., 433, fol. 223.

¶ The names of these nobles are—Hastings, lord chamberlain to Edward IV.; Stanley, lord steward of the late king's household; Rotherham, Archbishop of York, and Morton, Bishop of Ely. These servants of the late king were also his executors. (See *Royal Wills*, p. 347.) Of Gloucester's peculiar and especial party may be named, Buckingham, created constable of the duchy of Lancaster; Northumberland, warden of the North; Howard, seneschal of the duchy of Lancaster; and Lovel, chief butler of England. The neutral party were, Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury; Russel, Bishop of Lincoln, the new lord chancellor; and Gunthorp, Dean of Wells, his successor in the office of privy seal.

\*\* See *Fœdera*, xii. p. 180; and Harl. MSS., 433, p. 221.

minster, or was visited by its members at his apartments in the Tower, after "the court was removed to the castle royal and chief house of safety in the kingdom;"\* thus proving him to have been accessible to his lordly subjects, and by no means under the restraint generally reputed to have been imposed on him by the protector.

A state of things so tranquil and harmonious could not, however, long continue, taking into consideration the secret views entertained by the different parties of which the council was composed, and the discordant feelings which influenced the advisers of young Edward's administration. They had all united in opposing the queen and her family, when they had reason to dread their aiming at the regency;† and both had joyfully elevated Gloucester to the guardianship of the king, the more effectually to crush his rivals in power.

But in so doing they had not designed to invest this prince with the absolute power conferred on him by the senate, "commanding and forbidding in every thing like another king!"‡ and could ill brook the haughty independence, the proud decision and the regal superiority which Gloucester immediately assumed, both in the councils of state and in the style of his decrees. They felt that nothing more had been done than the transfer of the government of the realm from the "queen's blood to the more noble of the king's blood;"§ and that the benefit and patronage anticipated by the opposing parties, instead of being neutralized, as they had hoped, by the protector, was now altogether concentrated in his hands. Peaceably, therefore, as Richard had obtained the ascendancy, it was an office too much bordering on despotic authority to be viewed otherwise than with distrust and envy by his compeers; and occasions speedily occurred for making this feeling apparent. The first symptom of discontent, says the annalist of Croyland, arose from "the detention of the king's relatives and servants in prison, and the protector not having sufficiently provided for the honour and security of the queen."|| For the late monarch's servants, although opposed to the royal Elizabeth when, in her prosperity, she abused the indulgence of her illustrious consort, had relented towards their widowed mistress in this her hour of adversity; and the more so, as their own jealous feelings had now become excited against a rival whom they suspected to be fully as aspiring, and felt to be far more powerful than either the queen or her obnoxious kindred. These sentiments, at first slowly admitted, gained strength as it was seen that all vacant offices of profit or trust were bestowed on Gloucester's adherents; and a visible disunion in the council was the natural result. This disunion was displayed in various ways, but chiefly by secret meetings held at the private dwelling-house of the Duke of Gloucester: and that, too, not unfrequently at the same time when such members of the council as favoured the young king and his mother were formally and officially assembled elsewhere.¶

Richard had quitted Baynard's Castle upon the removal of his nephew to the Tower, and had established himself at his metropolitan abode\*\* in Bishopsgate Street;†† whither, says Sir Thomas More, "little by little, all folk withdrew from the Tower, and drew to Crosbie's Place, where the protector kept his household."‡‡

\* Buck, lib. i. p. 11.

† Chron. Croy., p. 566.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

¶ "Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and lord protector, afterwards king by the name of Richard III., was lodged in Crosby Place."—*Stowe's London*, p. 106.

‡‡ Fabyan, p. 513.

† Ibid.

§ Ibid.

¶ More, p. 66.

\*\* *Stowe's London*, p. 106.

‡‡ More, p. 67.



This open display of pre-eminence and strength on the part of Gloucester increased the mistrust and doubt which had already taken possession of the minds of his adversaries;\* and it is related that the Lord Stanley, in particular, between whom and the Lord of Gloucester there was little love,† “said unto the Lord Hastings, that he much disliked these two several councils; for while we (quod he) talk of one matter in the one place, little wot we whereof they talk in the tother place.”‡ Nevertheless, for a time the important affairs of state continued to progress without serious interruption, and the month of June was ushered in by active preparations for the coronation of Edward V. This ceremonial was officially announced as definitively fixed for the 22d inst.; and letters were addressed to numerous persons, in the king’s name,§ charging them “to be prepared to receive the order of knight-hood at his coronation, which he intended to solemnize at Westminster on the 22d of the same month.”|| Costly robes¶ were ordered for this “honourable solemnitie,”\*\* of which the time appointed “then so near approached that the pageants and subtleties†† were in making day and night at Westminster, and much victuals killed, therefore, that afterwards was cast away.”‡‡ The

\* More, p. 67.

† In an old MS. poem, written by Robert Glover, Somerset herald in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, there is a quaint description of two quarrels between the Lord Stanley and Richard of Gloucester when in the north, both of which were decided by force of arms. In the last encounter, Stanley’s men defeated Richard’s forces near Salford Bridge; and the poem says,—

“Jack o’ Wigan, he did take  
The Duke of Gloucester’s banner,  
And hung it up in Wigan church,  
A monument to his honour.”

‡ More, p. 67.

§ *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 185.

\*\* The entry in the wardrobe accounts, setting forth that robes were ordered for “the Lord Edward, son of Edward IV., for his apparel and array,” the which entry Lord Orford first brought to notice in his “*Historic Doubts*,” (p. 64.) there can exist no doubt, formed part of the preparations mentioned by Sir Thomas More as devised by the lords in council for “the honourable solemnitie” of the young king’s coronation. By the annexed entry, preserved among the Harl. MSS., (No. 433, art. 1651.) these preparations appear to have been carried on almost up to the very day fixed upon for the ceremonial. “Warrant for payment of 14*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.* to John Belle, in full contentacion of 32*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*, for certain stuff of wildfowl of him bought by Sir John Elrington, ayenst that time that the coronation of the bastard son of King Edward should have been kept and holden.” Now the marked distinction in the wording of these two memoranda show at once that one was inserted *before*, and the other *after*, the illegitimacy of the prince had been established; and removes all doubts as to the robes having been ordered for the young king’s coronation, at the time when the letters announcing the ceremony as fixed for the 22d June were issued. Preparations for the coronation of Richard III. were not commenced until after the illegitimacy of the young princes had been admitted. From that time all notices relative to the deposed sovereign are couched in the same language as the entry above quoted from the Harl. MSS., the epithet, “bastard son of King Edward,” being invariably affixed, because from this defective title of his nephew arose the Protector’s elevation to the crown.

†† Subtleties or sotilties signified paste moulded into the form of figures, animals, &c., and grouped so as to represent some scriptural or political device. At the coronation of King Henry VI., “a sotiltie graced every course;” a description of one of which will suffice to exemplify the nature of the emblematical confectionary that was so much estimated at this period. “At the third course was exhibited,” states Fabian, “a sotiltie of the Virgin with her Child in her lap, and holding a crown in her hand: St. George and St. Denis kneeling on either side, presenting to her King Henry with a ballad in his hand.”—*Fab. Chron.*, p. 419.

‡‡ More, p. 76.

§ See Appendix RR.

¶ See Appendix SS.

nobles and knights from all parts of the realm were summoned by the Duke of Gloucester,\* and came thick to grace that ceremonial; and the Duchess of Gloucester, having been sent for by the protector, “reached the metropolis on the aforesaid 5th instant,”† and joined her husband at Crosby Place.

Meanwhile the difficulties of Gloucester’s position daily increased. He feared to release the Lords Rivers and Grey, yet he knew that each day’s captivity alienated the young king’s affection farther from himself. The royal youth had been too early and too strenuously imbued with affection for his mother’s kindred, whose interest it had been from childhood to conciliate his love, not to bemoan deeply and bitterly their continued separation from him: their “imprisonment,” we are told, “was grievous to him!”‡ Whether it was that the mild and gentle Edward V. was deficient in that moral energy and daring spirit which formed the chief, nay, sole recommendation of the period, in which he lived, or that he betrayed a physical incapacity for exercising the regal prerogative in such troubled times, cannot, at this distant period, be determined; but the assertion of Sir Thomas More, that the increased popularity of Gloucester “left the king in manner desolate,”§ would seem to indicate that there must have been some stronger motive for this palpable desertion of the young king, and for the deference paid to Richard, than could have arisen merely from the power attached to an office which the latter had exercised but a few weeks, and which all men knew, in a yet shorter period of time, would cease altogether.

The high dignity of protector of the realm always lapsed after the coronation of the monarch, whose regal authority, during infancy, it was the peculiar province of that office to maintain;|| and setting aside the knowledge that such had been invariably the case in all minorities preceding that of Edward V., the legislature, in nominating Richard as protector, expressly restricted him to “the same power¶ as was conferred on Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, during the minority of Henry VI.”

The disastrous fate of this excellent and noble prince was of too recent occurrence for all matters connected with his lamentable end to be forgotten; and Richard well knew that the Lancastrian monarch, whom his brother had deposed, was crowned in his eighth year, with the express design of terminating the office and power of his uncle, the lord protector; neither was he likely to forget that the murder of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester,\*\* resulted from the jealous and determined malice of his political enemies. The subject of these memoirs flourished in an age of dark superstition—one in which omens and presages, soothsaying and necromancy held an unbounded influence over the minds of all men; and the uncle of Edward V., beset, as he was, with perplexities of no ordinary kind, became feelingly alive, there can be little doubt, to the ill-omened title which he bore,†† and the presage of evil which seemed especially to attach to its being conjoined to that of lord protector.‡‡ Had the brother of Edward IV. been nominated regent instead of protector, or had the disturbed state of the realm led to the extreme measure of a prolonged protectorate until his nephew was of age to govern in his own person, Richard of Gloucester, in all likelihood, had never aspired to be king; but his proud spirit could ill brook the prospect that awaited him of sinking into a mere lord of council,§§ after having ruled for some months in the capacity of protector of the realm; and life possessed too many charms at the age

\* More, p. 66.

† More, p. 64.

‡ Rot. Parl., vol. iv. p. 326.

§ Hall, p. 209.

¶ Holinshed, p. 211.

† Excerpt. Hist., p. 17.

§ Ibid., p. 66.

¶ Chron. Croy., p. 566.

†† See Appendix TT.

§§ Parl. Roll, vol. iv. p. 338.



of thirty, for him calmly to reflect on the more than probability that he would fall a victim to the same dangerous elevation which had proved the death-warrant of preceding Dukes of Gloucester.

Two paths alone seemed opened to him; either to conciliate the young king by releasing Rivers and Grey, and acting thenceforth in conjunction with the queen and her kindred, or boldly to form a distinct interest for himself under the hope of its leading to some more permanent authority. In the former case he must sacrifice Hastings,\* Buckingham, Northumberland† and his noblest supporters, and sink into one of the Wydville train,—a degradation from which his pride of birth as a Plantagenet recoiled;—and in the latter case he was so much beholden to the above-named nobles, that his honour was, as it were, pledged to them; although he was already convinced, from the jealousy which they had evinced in the executive deliberations, that it was doubtful whether he would be enabled to carry out any measures of farther aggrandizement. With his usual sagacity, then, and a keen perception of the desperate character of the times, he resolved on being prepared for either extreme; accordingly, on the eighth instant, by the hand of one of his faithful adherents, Thomas Brackenbury, he renewed his former connection with the city of York, by writing to the authorities of that place,‡ in reply to “letters of supplication which they had recently addressed to him, preferring some request to which he promised speedy attention;”§ and when accused of “cajolery,” in thus keeping himself alive in the remembrance of his friends in that city, it seems always to have been forgotten that York and the northern towns had been for nearly ten years under Richard’s immediate jurisdiction; that he was warmly and firmly beloved in that part of England; and that the letter which he has been charged with writing “artfully to curry favour,” was, in effect, an official answer to an earnest appeal sent by a special messenger from the mayor and commonalty of the city of York, who evidently rested their hopes of success “on the loving and kind disposition” shown to Gloucester in former times, and which that prince, in his letter, acknowledges that “he never can forget.”||—Scarcely, however, was this pacific dispatch transmitted than some intimation of approaching danger appears to have reached Gloucester’s anxious and susceptible ear. Of the exact nature and extent of this threatened evil no minute details remain; but that it was some plot to compass Richard’s destruction appears certain, from a second letter written by this prince, and addressed to the citizens of York,¶ praying them to send armed men to town to assist in “guarding him against the queen” and “her affinity, which have intended, and do daily intend, to murder and utterly destroy us and our cousin, the Duke of Buckingham, and the blood of the realm.” This communication was not conveyed secretly to the mayor, but addressed to him from his post as “protector of the realm;”

\* “Hastings feared that if the supreme power fell into the hands of those of the queen’s blood, they would avenge upon him the injuries which they had received.”—*Chron. Croy.*, p. 564.

† Buckingham and Northumberland were the chief accusers of the Wydviles, and the instigators of the arrest of the Lords Rivers and Grey; who “would prick him (the king) forward thereunto if they escaped; for they wolde remember their imprisonment.”—*More*, p. 64.

‡ See Appendix UU.

§ Drake, who has published this letter from the original MS. preserved among the records of the city of York, states that “York and the northern parts were his strongest attachment; and, in order to make the city more in his interest, a remarkable letter was sent from him and delivered to the lord mayor by Thomas Brackenbury.”—*Drake’s Ebor.*, p. 111.

|| *Ibid.*

¶ See Appendix VV.

and that this fresh outbreak decided the fate of the prisoners in the north seems certain, from Sir Richard Ratcliffe, the bearer of the above,\* being, also, charged with commands from Gloucester to the Earl of Northumberland to proceed to the Castle of Pontefract, there to preside at the trial of Lord Rivers,† and from his also carrying a warrant for the immediate execution of Grey, Vaughan and Hurst.‡

The following day (11th of June) Gloucester further addressed an earnest appeal for support to his kinsman, the Lord Neville; and as this is conveyed in a private letter, and that such confidential communications form the most authentic source for biographical memoirs, a document so materially affecting Richard’s actions at this important and mysterious period of his life demands unabbreviated insertion.

“To my Lord Neville, § in haste.—

“My Lord Neville, I recommend me unto you as heartily as I can, and as ye love me, and your own weal and surety and this realm, that ye come to me with that ye may make defensibly arrayed in all the haste that is possible; and that ye will give credence to . . . Richard Radclyff, this bearer, whom I now do send to you instructed with all my mind and intent.

“And, my lord, do me now good service, as ye have always before done, and I trust now so to remember you as shall be the making of you and yours. And God send you good fortunes.

“Written at London, the 11th day of June, with the hand of

“Your heartily loving cousin and master,

“R. GLOUCESTER.||

“London, Wednesday, 11th June, 1483.

(1 Edw. V.)”

Notwithstanding the merciless feeling so invariably imputed to him, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was not cruel by nature.¶ Circumspect and wary he undoubtedly was; but the habit of concealing his designs resulted more from prudence and a lively sense of the perfidious character of the age than from deliberate hypocrisy and hardness of heart. Up to this period no accusation of homicide, either as prince or protector, has been laid to his charge by cotemporary writers, which is the more remarkable considering that he flourished at an epoch singularly ferocious, and pre-eminently distinguished for the infliction of summary vengeance, and utter disregard of the value of human life.\*\* Consistently, therefore, with his temperate and watchful habit, although he wrote both officially and privately, on the 10th and 11th of June, providing for his safety by requiring his northern partisans to assemble at Pontefract, and as speedily as possible to be conducted to London by the Lords Northumberland and Neville, he appears to have carefully concealed from those around him his apprehension of danger—or rather that he had received any direct intimation of it—until he was enabled to test the fidelity of Hastings, and other members of the council implicated, by report in the scheme for his destruction. Unhappily for all the parties con-

\* *Cont. Croy.*, p. 567.

† *Drake’s Ebor.*, p. 111.

‡ It does not clearly appear who this Lord Neville was. Sir George Neville, Lord Abergavenny, attended the coronation of Richard III. as a baron, but he was never called Lord Neville.

§ *Paston Letters*, vol. v. p. 303.

¶ “There were instances enough of his bounty and humanity, but none of his cruelty, till, being protector, he was pushed on by Buckingham and Hastings to put the queen’s brother and son to death; and which involved Hastings himself in the same ruin.”—*Carte’s Hist. Eng.*, vol. ii. p. 819.

\*\* *Turner’s Middle Ages*, vol. iv. p. 398.

† *Rous, Hist. Reg. Ang.*, 214.



cerned, Richard had admitted to his councils and confidence one of those plausible but wretched instruments of treachery and dissimulation, who, sheltered by their own insignificance, are, nevertheless, often the active agents for producing moral and political convulsions. Catesby, "a man well learned in the laws of this land," and by the especial favour of the lord chamberlain, "in good authority,"\* had so far insinuated himself into the protector's regard as to assist at his private deliberations. In addition to the fact stated by Sir Thomas More, that "no man was so much beholden to Hastings as was this Catesby,"† it appears that a brotherly affection and close intimacy had long subsisted between them. He was "of his near secret council," he adds, "and whom he very familiarly used, and in his most weighty matters put no man in so special trust."‡ Now the Lord Hastings was but the echo of Stanley, Rotheram and Morton. The annexed words, therefore, of Sir Thomas More§ on this point are very important, when it is considered that his information was almost certainly derived from Morton himself; and the conviction consequently resulting is, that Catesby, by his subtlety and hypocrisy, had discovered and divulged the treasonable designs which led to the foregoing letters,—"but surely great pity was it, that he (Catesby) had not had either more truth, or less wit; for his *dissimulation* only kept all that mischief up."

The unsuspecting frankness of the lord chamberlain proved, indeed, his destruction; yet it seems that Richard struggled hard to save Hastings' life: "the protector loved him well, and loath was to have lost him, saving for fear lest his life should have quailed their purpose."|| "For which cause he moved Catesby, whether he could think it possible to win the Lord Hastings into their party," and to consent, neither to the death of young Edward, nor even to that prince's deposition, but (as admitted by the Duke of Buckingham himself to Morton) to the taking "upon him the crown till the prince came to the age of four-and-twenty years, and was able to govern the realm as an able and sufficient king."¶ Little opposition was likely to arise on this matter from the Lord of Buckingham. He had too closely allied himself to his cousin of Gloucester to hope for aggrandizement from the opposite faction; and his vanity was fed by a proposed marriage\*\* between Richard's "only lawful son" and his eldest daughter.††

But Hastings was not so easily managed. He hated Rivers, indeed, and he loved not the queen; but he was devotedly attached to the late king, and faithfully espoused the interests of his offspring. He well knew that power once obtained is very seldom voluntarily relinquished; and he also knew that Gloucester, by ambition as well as by lineage, was a Plantagenet and a Yorkist.

Unfortunately for the protector, as well as for Hastings, Catesby, the perfidious spy on the actions of both his patrons, on both the friends whom he feigned to serve,‡‡ was the agent employed "to prove with some words cast out afar off"§§ the true state of the Lord Hastings' mind towards the protector. "But Catesby, whether he essayed him, or essayed him not,

\* More, p. 68.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

¶ Grafton, Cont. of More, p. 153.

\*\* More, p. 65.

†† The Duke of Buckingham had two daughters whose ages agreed with either being the wife of the young prince.

‡‡ From this despicable character was lineally descended that Catesby in whom originated the Gunpowder Plot. Other members of the family, too, were notorious for the same intriguing and unprincipled habits which cast so deep a shade over this period of Gloucester's career.

§§ More, p. 69.

reported that he found him so fast, and *heard him speak so terrible words*, that he durst no further break: and of truth the lord chamberlain of very trust showed unto Catesby the mistrust that others began to have in this matter."\*

Alas, for the too confiding Hastings! this imprudent openness, confirming, as it did, the alleged conspiracy to destroy the lord protector, effectually sealed the fate of the queen's kindred, decided the death of the lord chamberlain himself, and stimulated Richard to the desperate course he henceforth resolved on pursuing.

Catesby, in his double capacity of friend and betrayer, appears, indeed, to have possessed himself of some plans and schemes that involved either the destruction of Gloucester or of his foes:—"On my life, never doubt you (quod the Lord Hastings)," when warned to be circumspect; "so surely thought he that there could be none harm toward him in that counsel intended, where Catesby was,"†—"for while one man is there, which is never thence, never can there be thing once minded that should sound amiss toward me, but it should be in mine ears ere it were well out of their mouths." "This meant he by Catesby."‡ But honour and integrity, and trust between man and man, had little influence on this degenerate age; for, as emphatically stated in a remarkable letter written at this precise period, and describing the state of the metropolis as it was then constituted, "With us is much trouble, and every man doubts the other."§ Catesby reported to Gloucester "the so terrible words" he had heard the lord chamberlain speak;—and having, through the misplaced trust of this nobleman, ascertained or feigned so to do, the evil intended and the extent of the mischief, the arrest and condemnation of Hastings was decreed; the which strong measure was probably taken, fully as much in consequence of the danger likely to ensue from the hints thrown out by Catesby to the lord chamberlain as from the treasonable designs unfolded by that perfidious lawyer,|| "in whom, if the Lord Hastings had not put so special trust, many evil signs that he saw might have availed to save his life."¶

But the die was cast, and Richard's decision was made! Accordingly, on the 13th of June, "the protector having with singular cunning divided the council, so that part should sit at Westminster and part at the Tower, where the king was, Hastings, coming to the Tower to the council, was, by his command, beheaded. Thomas, Archbishop of York, and John, Bishop of Ely, although, on account of their order, their lives were spared, were imprisoned in separate castles in Wales."\*\*

Such is the brief account given by the faithful historian of that time. Fabyan, the city chronicler, repeats, almost verbatim, this statement, only in less concise terms; but he gives no farther particulars, excepting that "an outcry, by Gloucester's assent of treason, was made in the outer chamber;"†† and that "the lord protector rose up and yode himself to the chamber door, and there received in such persons as he had before appointed to execute his malicious purpose." "In which stirring the Lord Stanley was

\* More, p. 69.

† Ibid. p. 67.

‡ Ibid.

§ See Excerpta Historica, for two valuable letters from Simon Stallworth, one of the officers of the Bishop of Lincoln, to Sir William Stoner, knight, giving an account of the state of London, and the political news, shortly before the accession of Richard III.—*Excerpt. Hist.*, p. 17.

|| "He, fearing lest their motions might with the Lord Hastings minish his credence, (whereunto only all the matter leaned,) procured the Protector hastily to rid him."—*More*, p. 69.

¶ Ibid., p. 68.

\*\* Chron. Chroy., p. 566.

†† Fabyan's Chron., p. 514.



hurt in the face, and kept awhile under hold."\* Sir Thomas More, in the spirit of romance which pervades his work, embellishes this portion of his narrative, as he does all the descriptive parts, by a display of his oratorical powers; and by making his rhetoric available towards incorporating with the admitted facts of cotemporaries the marvellous tales of a wonder-loving age. But these descriptions, graphic as they are, and attractive as they proved, unhappily for Richard, both to the dramatist, the Tudor chroniclers, and the mere copyist of later times, can no longer pass current for, or be received as, authentic history. Without attempting to handle arguments, and to reiterate discrepancies which have been exposed and examined by writers of repute and superior abilities, it must surely be sufficient, in this enlightened age, to ask any reasonable person with reference to Sir Thomas More's additions, whether a prince, who was distinguished as the ablest general of his time, a time in which the mode of warfare was remarkable for ponderous armour and weapons of almost gigantic size,† could have had from his birth "a werish withered arm," when that arm at Barnet was opposed to the mighty Warwick himself, and by its power and nerve defeated Somerset, the most resolute warrior of the age, at the desperate battle of Tewkesbury?

Still more improbable is the statement that the Lord Chamberlain of England should have been made to suffer death, and led out to instant execution without trial, because Jane Shore, the unhappy victim of King Edward's passion, was alleged to have leagued with the widowed queen whom she had so irreparably injured, "in wasting the protector's body by witchcraft and sorcery;"‡ yet these traditions have been gravely perpetuated for ages; and no portion of Shakspeare's tragedy more completely develops the corrupt source from which he drew his information than the literal manner in which the dramatist has rendered this part of Sir Thomas More's narrative.

Perhaps, as far as it is possible, at this distant period of time, to remove the extraneous matter which has so long cast an air of distrust over the records of this confused era, the real facts of the case may be summed up in the words applied to the protector's father by his great political antagonist, Edmund, Duke of Somerset, under somewhat parallel circumstances, "that if York had not learned to play the king by his regency, he had never forgot to obey as a subject."§

Richard, as has been before observed, was peculiarly fitted for sovereignty; his legislative abilities were of a very high order; and, having once inhaled the intoxicating fumes of absolute power, he resolved upon continuing his rule at any cost. The Lords Hastings, Rivers and Grey would never have sanctioned his accession to the throne, either temporarily

\* Fabian's Chron., p. 514.

† See Sir George Buck, lib. i. p. 13; Walpole's Hist. Doubts, 47; Laing, (in Henry,) xii. p. 415; together with Carte, Rapin, Lingard, Turner and many others.

‡ Specimens of the armour worn in the reign of Richard III., the age in which that suit termed "ribbed" had arrived at the greatest perfection, may be seen in the present day in the armoury at the Tower, together with the helmet then used, and its weighty oreillets, the rondelles and jamps for protecting the arm-pits and legs, and several of the weapons which, had they been models, instead of actual relics of the fifteenth century, might have made many sceptical as to the possibility of their having been wielded by persons of ordinary size and strength.

§ "Then said the Protector, 'Ye shall all see in what wise that sorceress, and that other witch of her counsel, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body.' And therewith he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon his left arm, where he showed a werish withered arm and small, as it was never other."—More, p. 72.

¶ Echard, vol. i. p. 214.

or definitively; and that the latter were concerned in some league to get rid of the protector, and, therefore, afforded him some show of justice for their execution, seems to have been admitted even by Hastings himself; for Sir Thomas More states,\* that these nobles "were by his assent before devised to be beheaded at Pontefract this self-same day, in which he was not aware that it was by others devised that himself should be beheaded in London."†

The news of the lord chamberlain's execution, together with the imprisonment of the bishops, the Lord Stanley, and others "suspected to be against the protector," quickly spread throughout the metropolis, and caused extreme consternation; but Gloucester, in anticipation of this result, sent a herald, within two hours, through the city, "in the king's name," proclaiming the fact that "Hastings, with divers other of his traitorous purpose, had before conspired that same day to have slain the lord protector and the Lord Buckingham sitting in the council; and after to have taken upon them to rule the king and the realm at pleasure, and thereby to pil and spoil whom they list untrouled."‡

How far this charge was well founded, it would be vain to argue: although Sir Thomas More's positive implication of Catesby—as regards "the terrible words" which he asserts that he reported to Gloucester—affords reasonable ground for supposing that there was at least some foundation for the reported conspiracy. Moreover, as the information of this historian was derived from Bishop Morton himself, who was implicated in the plot, and one of the conspirators accused and imprisoned for it, it accounts for the marvellous tales which he gave out,§ and for his concealment of facts that would possibly have held the protector fully justified in his promptitude and stern decision.

Whatever was the true cause of Hastings' death, however, the effect produced was such as his enemies desired; for it is recorded by the Chronicler of Croyland, that, "being removed, and the king's other adherents intimidated, the two dukes did from henceforth what they pleased."||

The precipice on which Gloucester stood was one that might have well daunted a less daring spirit; but, courageous and determined by nature, he felt that he had now advanced too far to admit of the possibility of retreat; and with the desperation common to aspiring minds, he gave the full reins to that ambition which had already mastered his better feelings.

As a prelude to the views that he now began to entertain of securing the crown altogether, he felt it advisable to remove the young Duke of York to the Tower, so that, the princes being together, he might be better enabled to mature his plans and carry them into effect.¶ Without testing the ultimate

\* More, p. 74.

† "He was brought forth into the green beside the chapel, within the Tower, and his head laid on a log of timber, and there stricken off; and afterward his body, with the head, was interred at Windsor, beside the body of King Edward IV."—Fabian, p. 513.

‡ More, p. 80.

§ "The artificial glare with which the whole is surrounded generates a suspicion that some treason was detected and punished,—a conspiracy in which Morton had participated with Hastings, and was therefore desirous to remove from view."—See Laing, (Appendix to Henry,) vol. xii. p. 417.

|| Chron. Croy., p. 566.

¶ "Wherefore incontinent at the next meeting of the lords at the council he proposed unto them that it was a heinous deed of the queen, and proceeding of great malice towards the king's councillors, that she should keep in sanctuary the king's brother from him, whose special pleasure and comfort were to have his brother with him. And that, (by her done,) to none other intent but to bring all the lords in obloquy and murmur of the people; as though they were not to be trusted with the