

Dudley,* Lincoln,† Surrey,‡ Huntingdon,§ and others of high birth, together with Sir Richard Ratcliffe¶ and Sir William Catesby,¶ were proportionably rewarded for their zeal; and Kendale,** who had been King Richard's private secretary throughout this important period, was made keeper of the princes' wardrobe within the city of London.

It would not be practicable, in the brief limits of this memoir, to enumerate separately the various edicts, grants, warrants and rewards which are comprised in the valuable diary that records so circumstantially King Richard's transactions at this period. Sufficient has been adduced to demonstrate the energy, decision and judgment which characterized this monarch's proceedings. So evenly, indeed, did he balance the claims of justice and friendship, so judiciously mingle acts of clemency with a rigid observance of the laws, that brief as was the period since half the kingdom had been openly arrayed in rebellion against him, yet, on the arrival of Christmas, which festival he celebrated with extraordinary pomp and ceremony, Philip de Comines states, "that he was reigning in greater splendour and authority than any king of England for the last hundred years."††

So terminated the eventful year 1483! which had dawned upon Richard as Duke of Gloucester, and whose changeful seasons—a fitting emblem of his own varied career—had successively marked his progress from the position of lord protector to that of monarch of the realm. Its brief cycle chronicles three sovereigns of England, two princes of Wales, two queen-consorts, and a double coronation! The same fleeting period commemorates the summary execution of the lordly Hastings, the gifted Rivers, "the deep, revolving, witty" Buckingham, the base and despicable St. Leger! A year so fraught with stirring scenes, with events of wondrous import, can scarcely be paralleled in the life of any individual, or in the regal annals of this or any other land.

* Harl. MSS., 433, fol. 60.

† Ibid., fol. 61.

‡ Ibid., fol. 66.

§ Ibid., fol. 74.

¶ Philip de Comines, vol. i. p. 514.

‡ Ibid., fol. 72.

§ Ibid., fol. 72.

** Ibid., fol. 133.

CHAPTER XVI.

King Richard opens his first Parliament.—Confirmation of his title to the throne, and settlement of the crown on his heir, Edward, Prince of Wales.—Bill of attainder.—Strong measures adopted by Parliament to preserve the peace of the realm.—Convocation of the clergy, and their eulogium of Richard III.—Richard's humane conduct to the female relatives of his opponents.—He prevails on the queen of Edward IV. to quit the sanctuary with her daughters.—The princesses are honourably received at court.—Further proceedings of Parliament.—King Richard's beneficial and politic laws.—He founds the Heralds' College.—His character as a sovereign.—Threatening aspect of affairs in Scotland.—The king quits London to quell the disturbances in the north.—He visits the University of Cambridge.—Sudden death of the Prince of Wales.—Grief of his royal parents.—Edward, Earl of Warwick, declared heir-apparent.—The king continues in the north.—The Earl of Lincoln displaces the Earl of Warwick as successor to the crown.—Causes that led to this change.—Richard's embassies to Bretagne.—Negotiation with Scotland.—Letter from the king to his mother.—Other letters from this monarch.

THE opening of 1484 was serene in proportion to the tranquillity which had characterized the close of the eventful preceding year; and King Richard was in consequence enabled to meet the Lords and Commons of his realm on the day appointed for the assembling of the Parliament, well prepared for any discussion bearing on his remarkable position, or having reference to past scenes; whether connected with his deposed nephew, his deceased brother, or the formidable league which had brought forward Henry of Richmond as a competitor for the throne. The brief interval which elapsed before the time appointed for the assembly of the legislature was passed by the king in making a progress into Kent. He was at Canterbury on the 10th of January,* and at Sandwich on the 16th; and with a celerity of movement for which he was remarkable, had returned to London by the 22d instant. The Parliament, which had been convened for that day, met at Westminster, and King Richard opened it in person.† The Bishop of Lincoln, as lord chancellor, made the customary oration, exhorting the assembly to unity and peace, temperance and moderation: allusion was made by him to the many distinguished persons who had perished from evil counsellors, and the recent fall of the Duke of Buckingham was held up as a warning against further incitement to rebellion.‡ On the following day the Commons elected Sir William Catesby as their speaker,§ and an act was forthwith passed for the settlement of the crown upon the king and his heirs, with a recapitulation of his title. It recites that, previously to his coronation, a roll containing certain articles was presented to

* Harl. MSS., 433, fol. 141.

† Rot. Parl., vol. vi. p. 237.

‡ "It is too heavy to think and see what care and dangers, by some one person, lately a right and great member of this body, many other noble members of the same have been brought to. The example of his fall and righteous punishment should not be forgotten. Whoso taketh upon him, being a member under the head, with that to which his office and fidelity appertaineth not, setting the people into rebellion or commotion against the prince, he never is great or noble in his estate; he is, as it were, a rotten member of the body."—*Cott. MSS.*, Vitell. E. x. p. 139.

§ Rot. Parl., vi. p. 237.

him on behalf of the three estates of the realm, by many lords spiritual and temporal, and other nobles and commons in great multitude, whereunto he "for the public weal and tranquillity of the land benignly assented:* that forasmuch as neither the said three estates nor the persons by whom the said roll was presented, were assembled in form of Parliament, by occasion whereof divers doubts, questions and ambiguities had arisen in the minds of many persons. It was thereof enacted, that the tenour of the said roll should be recorded,† and should be of the same virtue and force as if the said things had been so said, affirmed, specified, desired, and remembered in a full parliament." The bill to which the Commons gave their assent, concludes by the declaration, "that the high and excellent Prince Edward, son of our said sovereign lord the king, be heir-apparent to succeed to him in the above said crown and royal dignity, with all things appertaining thereunto, after the decease of our said sovereign lord, the king, to him and to his heirs of his body lawfully begotten."‡ This most important matter being thus definitely settled, the attention of the legislature was next directed to the late insurrection, "whereby, as asserted, both the king's highness and his peace, and also the politic rule and common weal of this his realm, have been greatly inquieted and troubled;§ they [the conspirators] intending thereby—as much as in them was—the universal subversion and destruction of the same, and also of the king's most royal person." An act was forthwith passed,|| in which, after stating that the king, being "moved with benignity and pity, and laying apart the great rigour of the law, hath granted to divers persons culpable in the said offences, his grace and pardon, yet, nevertheless, it being contrary to reason and all policy that such heinous treason should go utterly unpunished," the leaders of the conspiracy (who are therein enumerated¶) were pronounced rebels and traitors, and being convicted of high treason, their estates were forfeited to the crown.

The Earl of Richmond and his uncle, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, were likewise attainted;** but "Margaret, Countess of Richmond, (mother of the king's great rebel and traitor, Henry, Earl of Richmond,)" by an act which recited that she had committed treason against the king, by sending messages, writings, and tokens to the said Henry, desiring him to come to this realm and make war against him; and had also raised great sums of money, as well in London as elsewhere, to be employed for the same purpose; yet, nevertheless, the king,†† considering the good service which Thomas Lord Stanley had done, and intended to do, and for the good trust and love that the king had in him, for his sake remitted to her the great punishment of attainder, which was death! She was, however, declared to be disabled from inheriting any estate or dignity, and to have forfeited her estates to the crown; but a life interest in them was given to Lord Stanley, with the reversion to the king.‡‡

Similar clemency was extended to the Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, and Exeter; another act of the same date declaring that, although on account of their treason they deserved to lose life, lands and goods, yet, "considering that they be bishops of great estate in the church of God, and the king preferring mercy and pity before rigour, forebore such rigorous punishment; they were, however, adjudged to be disabled from holding any possessions

* Rot. Parl., vi. p. 240.
 † Rot. Parl., vi. p. 242.
 ‡ Ibid., p. 245.
 § Appendix NNN.
 ¶ Rot. Parl., vi. p. 250.

† Appendix MMM.
 § Ibid., p. 244.

** Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 224.
 †† Ibid.

temporal, or any possessions of their respective sees, so long as they should remain bishops thereof."*

The internal peace of the realm being thus effectually secured, by the confirmation of Richard's title, and the stern resolution evinced by the legislature to uphold his power, and put down with the strong arm of justice the rebellious feelings recently shown, Parliament next adopted measures for preventing a recurrence of similar evils. This circumspection was the more imperative, as notwithstanding the calamities which had overwhelmed the insurgents, and the rigid means adopted to crush their league, yet the festival of Christmas, the magnificent solemnization of which in England was designed to mark the stability of the king's possession of the throne, was selected by his enemies to render yet more sacred the oath they took to compass his deposition, and accelerate the advancement of his rival. The refugees, gradually assembling from all points of the French coast, met Henry of Richmond at his former place of captivity, Vannes,† where he had again fixed his abode, and where, after discussing their recent defeat and congratulating their chief on his escape from such imminent peril, they proceeded in solemn state to the cathedral of Rennes,‡ before the high altar of which, on Christmas day, 1483, the Earl of Richmond solemnly renewed his pledge to marry Elizabeth of York;§ and the assembled warriors bound themselves with equal fervour to support him in every emergency, until they had secured his accession to the English crown.||

In consequence of this re-union of the confederates, the Cinque Ports¶ were ordered to send out ships to watch the movements of the Bretagne vessels; and a strong fleet under Sir Thomas Wentworth was stationed in the Channel to guard every approach to the English coast, and to be prepared to act on the defensive.** The Commons granted a subsidy, "called Tonnage and Poundage," for the safeguard and keeping of the sea.†† Letters were sent to the magistrates of the chief towns in the southern counties, charging them not to suffer any livery, signs, or recognizance whatever, except the king's livery, to be worn or distributed;‡‡ and commissions were dispatched to various parts of the kingdom, empowering the high sheriffs of their several counties to call before them "all the temporal inhabitants being between sixteen and sixty years of age,§§ and there cause them to swear to be true to the king, according to the tenour of the oath of allegiance.¶¶ The services of John Bramburgh, "a stranger born," who had covenanted with the king to make for him "certain great stuff of gunpowder," were accepted, and warrants were issued¶¶ for affording him all aid and assistance in the preparation thereof; ships were purchased from the Spaniards to increase the naval force*** and extend its operations to the coasts of Scotland and France. John Lord Scrope of Bolton was nominated captain and governor of the fleet,††† and commissioners

* Rot. Parl., vi. p. 250.

† Grafton, p. 180.

‡ Ibid., p. 181.

§ Harl. MSS., 433, p. 135.

¶ Rot. Parl., vi. p. 238.

§§ Ibid., p. 141.

¶¶ "Warrant to aid and assist John Collingham, yeoman of the crown, whom the king deputed to take in his name all manner of stuff necessary for the making of certain great stuff of gunpowder, which John Bramburgh, a stranger born, had covenanted with the king to make for him, and for the same to agree and make prices with the owners."—Harl. MSS., 433, fol. 145. This early notice of the introduction of gunpowder is very interesting, destined as was that invention to supersede the use of those warlike implements which had gained for the English such high renown in the chivalrous ages to which they belonged.

*** Harl. MSS., 433, fol. 146.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

** Ibid.

†† Harl. MSS., 433, p. 138.

‡‡ Appendix OOO.

††† Rymer's Add. MSS., 4616, art. 62.

were appointed "to take mariners in the king's name, for the furnishing of the ships, and to do service upon the sea."* Equally vigilant were the measures adopted for guarding the coast: orders were issued for the arrest, in the king's name, of artificers and soldiers, with carriages and horses for the conveyance of the same:† and the constable of the Tower was commanded to deliver from that fortress a strong supply of cross-bows and long-bows, with 400 sheafs of arrows, 10 gross of bow-strings, and 200 bills.‡

As far, then, as peaceable possession of the throne could be secured by the most determined resolution on the part of the government to uphold the prerogative "of their sovereign lord the king," to preserve him from personal danger, and protect his dominions from open revolt or secret invasion, Richard's prospect of a long and flourishing reign seemed fairer than that which usually falls to the lot of princes whose accession is effected by civil or political revolution. But a convocation of the clergy, which followed this meeting of Parliament, has greater weight, with reference to his moral character than the support thus voluntarily afforded him by the laity. Not that the petition addressed to him by the dignitaries of the church, setting forth the grievances under which they had long laboured, and their conviction that he would enforce stricter attention to religious offices, and restore to them the power of duty and reverently performing the duties of their sacred calling, could itself, in any degree, affect King Richard's reputation; for the privilege of seeking the protection of their monarch was alike open to the ecclesiastical as to the civil members of the community. But it is scarcely credible—nay, hardly reconcilable with the most degraded state of society—that the whole body of the English clergy, embracing so many individuals of piety, learning and independence, could have so far departed from their sacred profession as to address, in the following language, a monarch whom they considered to be a usurper, and looked upon as the murderer of two innocent children, his unoffending orphan nephews, the only sons of his deceased brother!

"SEEING YOUR MOST NOBLE AND BLESSED DISPOSITION IN ALL OTHER THINGS, we beseech you to take tender respect and consideration unto the premises; and of yourself, as a most Catholic prince, to see such remedies, that under your most gracious letters patent the liberties of the church may be confirmed and sufficiently authorized by your high court of Parliament,—rather enlarged than diminished."§

Is it possible to imagine that "Russel," Bishop of Lincoln,|| Lord Chancellor of England, "a wise man and a good;"¶ "Waynfleet," Bishop of Winchester, honoured by the personal regard of King Henry VI., and distinguished for "piety, learning and prudence;"** or "Fisher," the friend of Erasmus, elected to the bishopric of Rochester by Henry VII. "for his great and singular virtue," and afterwards beheaded by his son and successor for

* This edict constitutes one of the earliest instances of *seamen being pressed* into the king's service: commissioners being appointed to take mariners in the king's name for the furnishing of the ships called the "Andrew," the "Michael," the "Bastion," and the "Tyre," to do service of war upon the sea in the north parts.—*Harl. MSS.*, 433, fol. 168.

† "A commissioner was appointed to arrest, in the king's name, carpenters called wheelers and cartwrights; other carpenters, smiths, plumbers, and other artificers; also bombard, cannon, culverines, fowlers, serpents, powder and other munitions, and carriages and horses for the conveyance of the same."—*Rymer's Add. MSS.*, 4616, art. 63.

‡ *Harl. MSS.*, fol. 157.

§ *Wilk. Concl.*, vol. iii. p. 614.

¶ *Chalmers' Oxford*, vol. i. p. 192.

|| *More's Rych.* III., p. 35.

** *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. p. 2.

his uncompromising integrity, virtue and incorruptible morality,* with many other churchmen equally eminent and estimable, would have appealed to the "blessed and noble disposition" of one whose hands had been imbrued in the blood of his nearest kindred? The mind shrinks from such sweeping condemnation of the whole body of the English clergy, headed as the convocation was by the aged lord primate, and the venerable Archbishop of York, both pledged before God and man for the safety of the royal children! Coupled, however, as is the remarkable language of their petition with the absence of all inquiry relative to the position of the young princes, all allusion to their reported decease, the confidence reposed in their uncle by the lords spiritual and temporal, and by the laity and clergy in their respective convocations assembled, cannot fail to modify, in a great measure, the evil reports of a later period, which seem alike disproved by the conduct as by the language of his cotemporaries.

King Richard acceded to the petition of his clergy: he confirmed them in their former privileges,† redressed many of their grievances, and extended to them the protection which they required, arising from the recent lawless state of society.

He addressed a letter to the pope,‡ extenuating himself for not having sooner informed him of his having assumed the crown and government of the realm; which he had intended to do, but had been stopped by certain unexpected occurrences (alluding to the insurrection of Buckingham); and he sent the Bishop of St. David's to Rome to do homage to his holiness.§ In addition to these ecclesiastical ceremonials, he further gave practical evidence of his sincerity in upholding the church by a munificent grant for the rebuilding of the Abbey of Fakenham in Norfolk, which had been recently destroyed by fire;|| by a grant of stone "out of the king's quarry," for building and repairing the steeple church at Towcester,¶ in the county of Northampton; and other works of a similar magnitude. He released the clergy in the north from heavy impositions imposed by Edward IV.,** and founded at York a college†† for one hundred priests!‡‡—acts of piety, the nature of which can be so little appreciated in the present day, arising from the change in manners, customs and religious observances, that it renders it almost unfair to King Richard, merely to record deeds that at the time must have been considered so altogether irreconcilable with alleged depravity of heart, without drawing a comparison between the actions which were then considered indicative of religion and virtue, and those which, in after times, have succeeded to the more outward formularies observed by our ancestors.

Nevertheless, it is but justice to this monarch to state, that although the historian of his rival and successor has expressed apprehension that remorse, not probity,§§ led to the acts of piety and wisdom which influenced these, his proceedings, yet no foundation exists, beyond the prejudice which gave rise to that observation, either to justify the surmise or to bear out the assumption; while the emphatical language used by the convocation has descended to the present day, as incontestable and coeval evidence of the sentiments which were entertained for King Richard by the dignified representatives of

* *Fuller's Church History*, p. 205.

† *Harl. MSS.*, 433, p. 44.

‡ *Harl. MSS.*, 433, fol. 121.

§ *Ibid.*, fol. 165.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

** "He founded in the cathedral church of York, a noble chantry of one hundred chaplains, and erected a college at Middleham beyond."—*Rous*, p. 215.

§§ *Pol. Vir.*, p. 548.

† *Fœdera*, xii. p. 214.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

** *Ibid.*, p. 42.

the whole body of the English clergy, and becomes, observes Mr. Sharon Turner, "a kind of sacred testimony to his character."* To quote the strong language of this able and popular historian, "it must either have been a phrase of consummate hypocrisy, or it must be allowed to counterbalance, in no small degree, the defamation that has pursued him."†

The last important state question which occupied the attention of the king and the Parliament was the withdrawal of the queen and the princesses from sanctuary. Upwards of six months they had been strictly watched in their conventual prison, in consequence of reported designs for conveying the latter out of England, and the compact afterwards made by their mother for uniting the royal Elizabeth with Henry of Richmond. But all present danger from the latter source seeming at an end, by the dispersion of the rebels and the vigilant efforts of the legislature to preserve domestic peace, King Richard yielded to the humane and generous feelings which, on every occasion, marked his conduct towards the gentler sex, even when their sufferings resulted altogether from the bitter hostility with which he was pursued by their nearest connections.‡ The daughters of Edward IV. were just entering upon womanhood; they were bound by ties of relationship to the queen consort as well as to the king; and, although the same act of Parliament which recognized his title to the throne, arising from the illegitimacy of his brother's offspring,§ had of necessity reduced them from their royal estate to the mere rank of private gentlewomen, yet their uncle had no wish to deprive his nieces of their liberty, or to debar them from advantages suitable to their age. He well understood the intriguing spirit of their mother;|| and that she would detain her daughters in sanctuary as the most probable means of winning back some portion of that authority to which she so tenaciously clung and had so grievously abused. The calamitous position of the widowed queen, by calling forth those feelings of sympathy and commiseration which are naturally excited for the victims of adverse fortune, has considerably blinded the generality of writers to the true character of Elizabeth Wydville, and to that cold calculating policy which was the incentive to all her actions, and the true cause of her misfortunes. Many years older than Edward IV., she married him clandestinely,¶ (and, as asserted, even with the knowledge of his former marriage,)* not from personal affection, not from attachment to his race or his cause, but from ambition to be queen of England. Callous to all other motives, she sacrificed alike her husband's popularity and the

* Turner's Middle Ages, vol. iv. p. 79.

† Ibid.

‡ "The register of his official acts shows many personal civilities to the ladies of his political enemies, from which, as they have never been noticed, he has not had his deserved praise."—Turner, vol. iv. p. 81.

§ After King Richard's election to the throne, Edward V. was always designated as "Edward bastard, late called King Edward V.," or words to the same effect; and a warrant for payment of 14*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.* was issued about the period under present consideration, "for certain stuff of wild fowl, bought by Sir John Elrington against that time that the coronation of the bastard son of King Edward should have been kept and holden."—*Harl. MSS.*, 433, fol. 22 and 138.

|| "The said pretended marriage betwixt the above-named King Edward and Elizabeth Grey was made of great presumption, without the knowing or assent of the lords of this land, and also by sorcery and witchcraft, committed by the said Elizabeth and her mother, Jacquetta, Duchess of Bedford, as the common opinion of the people and the public voice and fame is throughout this land."—*Rot. Parl.*, vi. 240.

¶ "And here also we consider how that the said pretended marriage was made privately and secretly, without edition of banns, in a private chamber, a profane place, used not openly in the face of the church, after the law of God's church, but contrary thereunto and the laudable custom of the Church of England."—*Rot. Parl.*, vi. p. 240.

** Buck, lib. iv. p. 122.

weal of his country to those aspiring views which first led to her own elevation, and subsequently to the aggrandizement of her family;* and this at the expense of the honour,† the integrity, and those just claims of gratitude and affection to his kindred and his friends which ought to have influenced her youthful husband, and, indeed, did influence him until, in an evil hour, at the age of twenty-two, he espoused the widow of a Lancastrian rebel,‡ ten years his senior.

Possessed of great personal attractions, which her phlegmatic temperament aided to preserve undiminished from the inroads of time,—too prudent to reproach the king, and too cautious to merit reproach herself,—the queen of Edward IV., notwithstanding the notorious gallantries of that monarch, continued to maintain undiminished that ascendancy over her royal consort which first led to his elevating her to the throne. Deprived, by his early death, of the power she had so fondly prized, and had exercised so uncontrolledly, her princely son became the next victim to those arrogant, vain-glorious views which led to her aiming at a continuance of that sovereign authority which she no longer enjoyed as queen consort. To the machinations indeed of herself and her kindred surreptitiously to obtain possession of the young king's person, and thus set at defiance his father's family by exercising over him that baneful influence which had gradually weaned from the deceased monarch the affections of his own race, and induced feelings of avowed discontent and hostility in the ancient nobles of the land,§ may be traced those events which led to the execution of the Lord Hastings, Lord Rivers, Sir Richard Grey, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, as also the deposition of Edward V. and the election of Richard III.

Secure from molestation in the religious asylum whither, with evident preparations for a long continuance therein,|| she had removed with her children on the arrest of King Edward V., the widowed queen, bereft of both her sons, and full of indignation at hearing they had been, as she must have conceived, supplanted by their uncle, and were closely imprisoned in the Tower, next turned her attention to accomplishing her views through the agency of her daughters, who would, in the interim, she well knew, be equally pledged for her own safety as for their uncle's good will, if advantageous overtures were made for their leaving the sanctuary.

Her projects seemed likely to be realized even earlier and far more effectually

* "Her brethren and her first children, although they were not extract of high and noble lineage, took more upon them, and more exalted themselves, by reason of the queen, than did the king's brethren, or any duke in his realm; which, in conclusion, turned to their confusion."—*Grafton*, p. 152.

† "King Edward himself, albeit he was a man of age and of discretion, yet he was in many things ruled by that bend, more than stood either with his honour or our profit, or with the commodity of any man else, except only the immediate advancement of themselves."—*More*, p. 20.

‡ "Her husband was Grey, a knight of Groby, who became a very vehement Lancastrian, revolting from the House of York, and therefore the more hateful to those of that family and the well-wishers thereof."—*Buck*, lib. iv. p. 117.

§ "In effect, every one, as he was nearest of kin unto the queen, so was he planted next about the prince. That drift, by the queen not unwisely devised, whereby his blood might of youth be rooted in the princes' favour, the Duke of Gloucester turned unto their destruction, and upon that ground set the foundation of all his unhappy building."—*More*, p. 19.

|| "The archbishop came yet before day unto the queen, about whom he found much heaviness, rumble, haste and business; carriage and conveyance of her stuff into sanctuary, chests, coffers, packs, fardells, trusses, all on men's backs, no man unoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some coming for more, some breaking down the walls to bring in the next way, and some yet drew to them that help to carry a wrong way."—*More*, p. 30.

ally than she had contemplated, in consequence of the opening afforded by Dr. Lewis's negotiation. It mattered not to Elizabeth that her probable restoration to courtly honours would be brought about by the union of her daughter with Henry of Richmond, the avowed enemy of her race and of her father's house. The summit of her ambition was to be restored to regal state, either as queen-regent or queen-mother. From the first position, she was irrecoverably removed by the deposition of her young son, and the revolution which had placed a new monarch on his throne; but the other alternative was now open to her acceptance, and she hesitated not in her decision.* The queen's consent was joyfully given to the projected union, and after the young princess was formally affianced to the Earl of Richmond, neither threats nor promises could withdraw her from that abiding place, where she could safely watch the progress of those schemes that bid fair to restore herself and her offspring, in some degree, to the exalted position they had lost.

But the defeat of the belligerents, and the hopeless prospect of Henry of Richmond, produced a material alteration in "the mutable mind of Queen Elizabeth:"† and, notwithstanding her solemn pledge to the exiled earl, to his attainted mother, and to the gallant band who had suffered outlawry and confiscation of lands for her sake and that of her children, she again wavered; and again changing her views,‡ with a tergiversation which is as inexplicable as it was certainly indefensible, consented to deliver the daughter whom she had betrothed to Henry of Richmond into the hands of Richard III.; and agreed to quit sanctuary with her and the other princesses, on condition that the safety of herself and her offspring was secured on oath before competent witnesses.§

In conformity with this exaction, on the 1st of March, 1484, just ten months after they entered the sanctuary, the king solemnly bound himself, in the presence of the "lords spiritual and temporal, and the mayor and aldermen of the city of London," on the word of a king and the security of a written agreement, that "if the daughters of Dame Elizabeth Grey, late calling herself Queen of England, would quit their place of refuge and submit to his direction, their lives and honour should be secured to them; that they should not be imprisoned, but be supported in a manner suitable to his kinswomen; and that he would marry them to gentlemen of birth, giving to each an estate in lands of the yearly value of 200 marks; and that he would strictly charge their husbands to treat them as his relations upon pain of his displeasure. He moreover promised to allow their mother 700 marks a-year [466*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*], and to discountenance any reports circulated to their prejudice."||

* "For certain it is she was a busy, negotiating woman, and in her *withdrawing-chamber* had the fortunate *conspiracy* for the king [Henry VII.] against King Richard III. been hatched; which the king knew and remembered, perhaps, but too well."—*Bacon's Henry VII.*, p. 21.

† Grafton, p. 199.

‡ "Surely the inconstancy of this woman was much to be marvelled at."—*Ibid.*, p. 199.

§ "And so she, putting in oblivion the murder of her innocent children, the infamy and dishonour spoken of the king her husband, the lying in adultery laid to her charge, the bastarding of her daughters; forgetting, also, the faithful promise and open oath made to the Countess of Richmond, mother to the Earl Henry, blinded by avaricious affection, and seduced by flattering words, first delivered into King Richard's hands her five daughters, as lambs once again committed to the custody of the ravenous wolf."—*Grafton*, p. 199.

|| See Appendix PPP.

It is admitted by all parties that Richard honourably and conscientiously fulfilled this pledge. "He caused all his brother's daughters to be conveyed into his palace with solemn receiving, and by "familiar and loving entertainment" strove to efface from their minds their recent adverse position;* and the generous treatment both their parent and themselves experienced from King Richard and Queen Anne, together with the marked distinction lavished upon the young and beautiful Elizabeth, justifies the surmise that the king projected a union between her and her cousin, Edward, Prince of Wales;† that by so doing the machination of the Lancastrian exiles might be defeated, and peace eventually secured to the divided House of York, as well as to the kingdom at large, upon his decease.

The future aggrandizement of his child seems, indeed, to have been an all-absorbing feeling with Richard III.; so much so that, notwithstanding the act of settlement recently passed, he again exacted from the nobles, before the offspring of Edward IV. emerged from sanctuary a solemn oath recognizing him as heir-apparent. "It happened one day after midday in February," states the annalist of that period, "that nearly all the lords of the realm, spiritual and temporal, and greater knights and esquires of the king's household, the chief of whom was John Howard, who had recently been created by the king, Duke of Norfolk, being assembled by the king's special command, in a certain lower room near the passage which leads to the queen's chambers, a certain new oath, framed by whom I know not, of adhering to Edward, the king's only son, as their superior lord, in case ought ill should befall his father, was administered to, and subscribed by them."‡

Thus ended the momentous proceedings which characterized King Richard's first parliament; the time necessarily occupied in the discussions and considerations connected with which was not fruitlessly spent. Full of energy, mental and bodily; ardently desirous for the prosperity of the kingdom, which now acknowledged him as its ruler; and feelingly alive to the evil consequences of those divisions which had resulted from the indiscretions of Edward IV., the minority of Edward V., and his own irregular accession to the throne; Richard directed his attention earnestly and strenuously to the framing those salutary laws,§ and carrying into execution those useful projects which, in an interval of tranquillity inconceivably brief, supplied to his subjects the loss which they had sustained in former years. He devised and perfected many regulations for the advancement of trade;|| and with a view of rendering more profitable the rich resources of England, he granted to foreign manufacturers of cloth valuable privileges,¶ and liberty of settlement in any part of England, Ireland, or Wales.** While he protected the industrious English artisan by politic and wholesome restrictions,†† he also gave encouragement to the opulent merchants of distant lands to extend their traffic to his shores, inspiring them with confidence by the justice which marked his enactments, and animating them by the liberality which characterized his transactions.‡‡ Several affluent foreigners settled in the metropolis, were made freemen, that their wealth and lavish expenditure might enrich the land of their adoption;§§ and with a love of honour and noble care for the conserva-

* Grafton, p. 200.

† Chron. Croy., p. 570.

‡ Harl. MSS., 433, pp. 71. 76. 99. 104.

§ Buck, lib. v. p. 138.

** "To the workers of cloths of strange countries, a confirmation of their liberties, to dwell in Wales, Ireland or England."—*Harl. MSS.*, 433, p. 64.

†† Stat. of Realm, vol. ii.

‡‡ Harl. MSS., 433, pp. 85. 101.

† Lingard, p. 262.

§ Bacon's Henry VII., p. 2.

§§ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

tion of nobility, chivalry and gentry,"* he founded that most valuable and important establishment, the Heralds' College:† an act that must for ever immortalize his name, from the benefit it has conferred on posterity.‡ To the industry and erudition, indeed, of the earlier officers of the College of Arms, succeeding generations have been mainly indebted for authentic memorials of past transactions: and the mere mention of such names as Camden, Dugdale, Vincent, Sandford, Ashmole, and Anstis,§ selected as they are from a host of other learned and celebrated writers belonging to that collegiate body, will alone afford evidence of the invaluable assistance rendered to chronologists, historians and antiquaries by the society thus incorporated by Richard III. "The genealogical tables and authentic pedigrees by them regularly deduced," states one of their distinguished members,|| "have operated to the detection of frauds, forgeries and impostures; cleared up doubts and difficulties; established marriages; supported and defended legitimacy of blood; ascertained family alliances; proved and maintained affinity and consanguinity; vindicated and corroborated the titles of lands to their possessors; and been of essential use in settling claims and rights of inheritance by furnishing effectual evidence." "Such," the same writer adds, "hath been, and ever must be, their utility and authority, whilst they are framed with integrity and correctness, and authenticated by references to proper vouchers. Time must indubitably stamp a still further value on such labours, and their value cannot fail of daily increasing more and more."¶

The royal charter** which made the officers of arms a body corporate, is dated the second of March, 1483. It granted them many privileges, freed them from subsidies and tolls, with exemption from all troublesome offices, and empowered them to have and to use a common seal.††

* Buck, lib. v. p. 138.

† Fœdera, xii. p. 215.

‡ "No one who is conversant in our national history can be ignorant of the high esteem in which noble and illustrious descent was held by our ancestors, and of the strict attention that was paid to the observance of a just and exact distinction between the different ranks or classes of the people. The ignoble never presumed to arrogate a participation in the rights which were incommunicably annexed to eminence of parentage, or to claim honours to which their superiors alone were entitled. On the other hand, the nobility and gentry, cautiously jealous of their dignity and honour, avoided mixing with the vulgar, and were sedulous for the preservation on all public and solemn occasions of that priority of rank and precedence which was due to their birth and stations in life. Family arms becoming the external criterion which distinguished the gentleman from the peasant, and no persons being respected, or suffered to enter the lists to tourney, or exercise any feats of arms, unless they could, to the satisfaction of the heralds, prove themselves to be gentlemen of coat-armour, our ancient gentry took particular care in having their arms embroidered on their common wearing surcoats, and would not bear that any person among the lower class, although gotten rich, should use such tokens of gentilitia distinction; nay, so jealous were they of any infringements of the armorial rights to which they were entitled, that whenever the arms which they and their families had borne happened to be claimed by any other gentleman, they vindicated their rights even by duel. For these reasons, therefore, and for the guidance of the heralds in the proper and regular discharge of the duties of their functions, it necessarily became incumbent on them to draw out with accuracy and exactness the authentic genealogies of noble and gentilitia families, to continue from time to time and preserve their pedigrees in direct and collateral lines, and to have a perfect knowledge of all hereditary arms, ensigns, armorials, badges of honour, and the outward marks as well of personal as of family rank and distinction."—*Edmondson's Heraldry*, p. 89.

§ Camden, Clarenceux king-at-arms in 1597. Dugdale, Norroy king-at-arms in 1660. Vincent, Windsor herald in 1624. Sandford, Lancaster herald in 1676. Ashmole, Windsor herald in 1660. Anstis, Garter king-at-arms in 1714.

|| Edmondson, Mowbray herald in 1764.

¶ Edmondson, p. 89.

** This charter, unabbreviated, may be found in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 215.

†† Noble's College at Arms, p. 35.

King Richard further granted to them and their successors, for the use of the twelve principal officers of the said corporation, a large mansion with its appurtenances, then called "Colde-harbor," "without compte, or any other thing thereof, to us or to our heirs to be given or paid,"* wherein the four kings at arms and the rest of the heralds should lodge, live, and common together; where the rolls, muniments and writings appertaining to the office and art of heraldry and armoury should be kept;† giving also lands and tenements for the maintaining of a chaplain, with an annual stipend of 20*l.*, to say and sing service every day, and to pray for the good estate of the king, the queen, and Edward their son,‡ during their lives, and for their souls when they were dead.§

How strongly opposed are deeds such as these to the acts of a tyrant—the conduct of a despot! How utterly irreconcilable with the heartless, selfish, sanguinary career of a depraved monster, whose very name has been associated with the subjugation of the liberties rather than with the emancipation and enlightenment of his subjects. But the reputed virtues and vices of rulers are far more intimately connected with the manners, principles and usages of their age than those who pass judgment upon their actions are apt to consider: and Richard III. was too great a king to be also popular with his nobles as a man.

The period had not then arrived when princes were to be commended for personally examining into the comforts of their people, and descending from their high estate to inquire into the wants of their subjects. In proportion as Richard III. gave practical evidence of the enlarged and statesmanlike qualities which proved him "jealous of the honour of the English nation," and led him to make laws "for the ease and solace of the common people,"|| so did he alienate the affections of the nobility of the realm, whose haughty independence could ill brook the slightest innovation on the unqualified despotism in which they had been nurtured, and which they hoped Richard would have extended rather than curtailed. They could not appreciate the brilliancy, the strength and versatility of his talents—the bold, quick and enterprising genius which made him so truly great when measured with his compeers. Accustomed to view him only as an able general, and to admire the impetuosity of his physical courage, they comprehended not designs which filled the heart of the patriot, and occupied exclusively the consideration of the sovereign; consequently, the calamities which thickened around Richard III. after he was elevated to the throne—which destroyed his peace when living, and blighted his fame when dead—may, in great measure, be summed up in the words of Polydore Virgil, "the disaffection of his nobles:"¶ a disaffection not induced by his assumption of the crown, for that act emanated from and was confirmed by themselves, but disaffection caused by their having elected as their ruler a monarch of principles too liberal and views too enlarged for the comprehension of an aristocracy whose ideas were formed in times when the privileges of their order were upheld with almost sovereign power.

Short, however, were the periods of repose allotted to this monarch, either to contemplate or to carry into effect the beneficial regulations which promised, at this early stage of his regal career, as much advantage to the real interests of the kingdom as honour to himself. Scarcely had he completed the foundation of his noble work, the College of Arms, and secured to the corporate body by act of Parliament, the immunities and privileges so muni-

* Rot. Parl., 1 Rich. III., p. 3.

† Buck, lib. v. p. 139.

‡ Buck, lib. v. p. 139. See also Edmondson, p. 142, and Noble, p. 55.

§ See Appendix QQQ.

|| Bacon's Henry VII., p. 2.

¶ Pol. Virg., p. 565.

ficently awarded to them,* than he was again compelled to turn his attention to warlike preparations, and lay aside the further prosecution of his peaceful projects.

By an instrument dated the 5th of March, it appears that the king had received intimation that divers rebels and foreigners intended to invade various parts of the realm, near the coasts, with an armed force, and that he was about to proceed to those parts for the defence thereof.† Accordingly, on the 6th of March, accompanied by his illustrious consort, he quitted the metropolis, not on a mere regal progress, as on the previous occasion, with all the accompaniments of sovereign state and power, but slowly to wend his way to the disturbed districts, while the commission issued for preserving peace, and more effectually guarding against the threatened evil, was being carried into effect.

Nevertheless, on this his second departure from the capital of his kingdom, King Richard gave another and a signal proof of his interest in the welfare and well-being of those great national seminaries of learning, the two universities; Cambridge being honoured by him on this occasion, as Oxford had been chosen at the period of his former journey, for his first resting-place. Although the particulars of his reception and sojourn at Cambridge are not commemorated with the same minuteness that records his entrance into and stay at the sister university, yet the charge in the proctor's accounts for "carrying the cross on King Richard's coming,"‡ shows him to have been received in procession by the clergy; and his recorded liberality to the burgesses and commonalty of the town§ attests his satisfaction generally at the treatment he received. The king entered Cambridge on the 9th inst.¶ He remained there the two following days; and a decree of the university,¶ agreed to at a unanimous assembly "of the regents and non-regents" immediately after his departure, viz., 10th March, acknowledging his liberality and that of his illustrious consort, and decreeing an annual mass during the life of that "most renowned prince and pious king, Richard, after the Conquest, the Third," manifests, in the most striking manner, the degree of attention he must have given to the interests of the several colleges, and the high estimation in which he was held by the members of the university. He seems to have especially distinguished King's College, "the unparalleled ornament of all England," by his bounty;** for, independent of "founding and erecting buildings there," as perpetuated in the above-named decree, among the entries in his diary†† are several grants for "churches at King's College, Cambridge:" and in addition to his former liberality to Queen's College, — which, as before related, he greatly augmented and endowed on his accession to the throne,—he, on this occasion, "devoutly founded there an exhibition for four priests," and acceded to expressed wishes of his queen that she might further enrich this college with some valuable rents.‡‡ He ratified the privileges of the university, and

* It was confirmed by the Parliament, and dated "2^o die Martii anno regni primo, apud Westmonasterium, Baron;" and underneath was written, "Per breve di privato sigillo de datu predicto autoritati Parliamenti."—*Buck*, lib. v. p. 139.

† Rymer's Add. MSS., 4616, art. 63.

‡ Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, p. 227.

§ "King Richard III. remitted for ever to the bailiffs, burgesses and commonalty of the town of Cambridge, the annual sum of 10*l*, part of the fee farm payable by them."—*Harl. MSS.*, fol. 63.

¶ *Harl. MSS.*, 433, fol. 251.

¶ See Appendix RRR.

** "The king appears to have given altogether 700*l* towards the completion of King's College Chapel."—*Cooper's Annals of Cambridge*, p. 230.

†† *Harl. MSS.*, 433, fol. 190, 209, 210.

‡‡ King Richard III., at the request of his queen, gave to Queen's College the

brief as was his sojourn there, spent much money in advancing its interests in various ways. He bestowed upon Queen's College a seal whereon was engraved his cognizance, the Boar; and the substance of letters patent have been preserved by Rymer,* dated 25th March, 1483, "in favour of Margaret College, Cambridge, founded by Anne, the queen consort,"—an act of munificence that proves her worthy to have been associated with her royal partner in the solemn service commanded to be celebrated annually on the 2d of May, "by the whole congregation of regents and non-regents of the aforesaid university, for the happy state of the said most renowned prince and his dearest consort Anne."†

By charges which occur in the accounts of the treasurers of the town, for presents connected with the royal visit,‡ it is apparent that the king was accompanied by the lord chief justice and the Duke of Norfolk; and it is probable that the royal pair were met and received at Cambridge by the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham; for, independently of the signature of the former ecclesiastic being attached to the above-named decree as chancellor of the university, both these great dignitaries of the church were munificent benefactors to that seat of learning. The lord primate founded the famed university library,§ and furnished it with choice books;¶ and King Richard's esteem for the latter prelate is evinced by his request to Pope Sixtus IV., dated at this period, that his holiness would confer upon him the dignity of a cardinal.¶ King Richard's visit to this university was preceded by a circular letter, addressed to all the prelates of the realm, calling their attention to the particular duty incumbent upon them to repress vice, however high might be the estate of the offenders: since their evil example induced similar vicious propensities in "persons of lower degree."** He expresses his determination to purify the land from the impiety and immorality which had of late prevailed, and to encourage a more virtuous and devotional feeling. "We, therefore, desire and require you, that, according to the charge of your profession, ye see within the authority of your juris-

manors of Covesgrave and Buckby in Northamptonshire, lands and tenements in several towns in Lincolnshire, the manor of Newton in Suffolk, and of Stanford in Berks, together with 60*l* per annum from the fee-farm of Aylesbury in Bucks, and 50*l* per annum from the fairs of St. Ives in Huntingdonshire.—*Harl. MSS.*, 433, fol. 68, 87.

* Rymer's Add. MSS., 4616, art. 63.

† Cooper's Ann. Cam., p. 228.

‡ "For a present to the lord the king, in fishes - - - - -	£	s.	d.
In a present given to the chief justice of the lord the king,	6	6	0
viz., in wine, spice, fish and bread - - - - -	0	5	0
In a present given to the Bishop of York, - - - - -	0	8	8
For a present given to the Duke of Norfolk - - - - -	0	6	8"

Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, p. 230.

§ "On the 13th of May, the university, in grateful acknowledgment of the benefaction of their chancellor, Thomas Rotheram, then Bishop of Lincoln, (subsequently Archbishop of York,) who had completed the new schools, with a library above, which he had enriched with many valuable books, decreed that he should be for ever enrolled amongst their benefactors, and that his name should be for ever recited by the priest who visited each school to pray for the benefactors of the university."—*Cooper's Annals of Cambridge*, p. 221.

¶ "The number of books given by Archbishop Rotheram is said to have been 200. He is considered in the light of a founder of the library, (although the university possessed a public library before his time,) and his arms, impaled with those of the see of Rochester, which he occupied from 1468 to 1471, appear on the book-plate now used by the university."—*Ibid.*, p. 222.

¶ *Fœdera*, xii. p. 216.

** *Harl. MSS.*, 433, fol. 281.