

imputed but unsubstantiated crimes, must respond to the sentiments of the old poet,—

“Here leave his dust incorporate with mould:
He was a king; that challengeth respect.”*

True it is, that from the great distance of time in which he lived, some parts of his history must still rest upon reasoning and conjecture; any mystery will, probably, ever envelop many portions of his career, the destruction of original documents rendering impossible a close examination into several that rest on report alone: yet if so great an advance has already been made as the admission that the “personal monster whom More and Shakspeare exhibited has vanished,”† and that the restless habits resulting from a nervous temperament, and which have been made to indicate a Nero or Caligula,‡ are shown§ to have been, not the result of a demoniacal temper, but the usual accompaniment of those impetuous feelings, and of that vivid rapidity of thought, which, seeing all things clearly, could not brook opposition, or the unmanly subterfuge of double dealing, it is earnestly to be hoped, for the credit of our national history, for the honour of England and of her monarchs, that further discoveries, by throwing yet more light upon the dark and difficult times in which Richard III. flourished, will add to the proofs which already exist of his innocence as regards the great catalogue of crimes so long and so unjustly laid to his charge; and that thus his moral, equally with his personal, deformity may vanish under the bright influence of that searching examination into historical truth, that firm resolution of separating fact from fiction, which peculiarly characterize the present enlightened period.

These philosophical views having already rescued his memory from one portion of the fabulous tales which have made him a byword and reproach to posterity, fair ground is open for belief that the day is not far distant when truth and justice will prevail over prejudice and long-received opinion, and unite in discarding mere rumour and tradition for the recognition of facts that can be fully established; so that, the character and conduct of this prince being displayed in its true light, his actions dispassionately considered, and the verified details of his reign balanced against the unworthy motives attributed to him on no ground but surmise, atonement, however tardy, may at length be made to a monarch who, for three centuries and upwards, has been so unsparingly reviled, so bitterly calumniated, as

RICHARD THE THIRD.

* Aleyn's Henry VII.

† D'Israeli, *Amenities of Literature*, vol. ii. p. 105.

‡ Pol. Virg., p. 565.

§ Turner's *Middle Ages*, vol. iv. pp. 54. 84.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE WELL-KNOWN BALLAD OF “THE BABES IN THE WOOD” SUPPOSED TO BE A RHYTHMICAL TRADITION OF THE ALLEGED MURDER OF THE YOUNG PRINCES IN THE TOWER.

(See page 17.)

THAT the popular legend of “The Babes in the Wood” had its origin in, and was a disguised recital of, the reputed murder of his young nephews by Richard III., can scarcely be doubted when a comparison is instituted between that favourite metrical romance and the historical narratives of the Tudor chroniclers. The old editions of this interesting little ballad, which bears evident marks of antiquity, avowedly state that it was founded on fact; and its general resemblance to Sir Thomas More's account of the tragical event, and yet more with Shakspeare's description of the same dark deed, is very striking: many passages in the tragedy, and in the ballad, being couched in such parallel terms as to suggest the idea that both Sir Thomas More and Shakspeare were well acquainted with it, and aware of its true signification.

Throughout the whole of the tale there is a marked resemblance to several leading facts connected with Richard III. and his brother's children; and so singular a coincidence exists between many expressions in the poetical legend, and the historical details of the time, that it greatly favours the idea of the original ballad having been framed at a period when it would perhaps have been dangerous to speak of the event in plainer and more undisguised terms.

The children being placed under the guardianship of their uncle* by their father,—

“Whom wealth and riches did surround,
A man of high estate;”

the uncle's fair speeches to their mother when essaying to give her comfort,—

“Sweet sister, do not feare;”†

and the parting scene between the parent and her children when resigning them to their uncle,—

“With lippes as cold as any stone,
She kist her children small:
God bless you both, my children deare,—
With that the teares did fall;”‡

cannot fail to recall, almost word for word, the corresponding descriptions of the dramatist and historian, allowance being made for the license permitted in legendary lore, and the disguise in which these traditional allusions to real events were generally conveyed.

Then, the removal of the children from the abode of their parents to one selected by their guardian,—

“The children home he takes;”§

the avarice and ambition that tempted the uncle to commit the crime, and its being

“his minority
Is put into the trust of Richard Gloster.”
Shakspeare, Rich. III., Act I. Sc. III.

† “Sister, have comfort.”—*Ibid.*, Act II. Sc. II.

‡ “And therewithal she said unto the child, ‘Farewell, my own sweete son; God send you good keeping: let me kis you once yet ere you goe, for God knoweth when we shall kis together agayne.’ And therewith she kissed him, and blessed him, turned her back and wept.”—See Sir Thomas More's account of the parting of the young Duke of York and his mother, *Hist. Rycharde III.*, p. 62.

§ “And then the said duke caused the kyng to be removed up to the Tower, and his brother with him.”—*Fabyan's Chron.*, p. 513.

perpetrated in so short a time after their father's decease, and in utter disregard of his oath to him,*—

"He had not kept these pretty babes
A twelvemonth and a daye,
But for their wealth he did devise
To make them both awaye;†—

his hiring two ruffians for a large sum of money to destroy them,†—

"He bargained with two ruffians strong,
Which were of furious mood,
That they should take these children young
And slay them—in a wood;‡—

the compunction felt by the two ruffians, as related by Shakspeare, in very similar terms to those in the ballad,‡—

"So that the pretty speeche they had,
Made Murder's heart relent;
And they that took to do the deed
Full sore did now repent;§—

the completion of the "piteous massacre," yet the mystery attending the manner in which it was effected, typified in the ballad by the wandering of the children in the wood,—

"Thus wandered these poor innocents,
Till death did end their griefs;||—

and so cautiously reported by the cotemporary ecclesiastical historian;§ the very attitude in which the children met their death,—

"In one another's arms they dyed,
As wanting due relief;¶—

corresponding as it does with perhaps the most exquisite description in the whole of Shakspeare's immortal tragedy;|| the uncertainty attending their interment,¶—

"No burial these pretty babes
Of any man receives;¶—

their uncle possessing himself of their inheritance, and the wretched pangs of remorse which he suffered prior to his death,**—

"And now the heavy wrath of God
Upon their uncle fell;
Yes, fearful fiends did haunt his house,
His conscience felt a hell;††—

* "For Richard, by nature theyr uncle, by office the protectoure, to their father beholden, to themselfe bounden by oath, without any respect of Godde or the worlde, unnaturallye contrived to bereave them, not only their dignitie, but their lives."—*More's Ryc. III.*, p. 6.

† "To the execution [of the murther] whereof, he appointed Miles Forest, a fellow fleshed in murther beforetime; to him he joynd one John Dighton, a big, brode, square, strong knave."—*Ibid.*, p. 131.

‡ "Dighton and Forrest, whom I did suborn,
To do this piece of ruthless butchery,—
Albeit they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,—
Melting with tenderness and mild compassion,
Wept like two children in their death's sad story."
Shakspeare, Rich. III., Act IV. Sc. III.

§ "And it was reported that King Edward's children were dead, but by what kind of violent death was unknown."—*Hist. Chron. Croy.*, p. 568.

|| "O thus," quoth Dighton, "lay the gentle babes;—
"Thus, thus," quoth Forrest, "girdling one another
Within their alabaster innocent arms,"
Shakspeare, Rich. III., Act IV. Sc. III.

¶ "And thus were these innocent children privily slain and murdered, their bodies cast God wote where, by the cruel ambition of their unnatural uncle, and his despitious tormentors."—*More's Ryc. III.*, p. 132.

** "He toke ill rest a nights, rather slumbered than slept, troubled with fearful dreams, sodainly sometyme start up, leap out of bed, and run about the chamber; so was his restless herte continually toss'd and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormed remembrance of his abominable deed."—*Ibid.*, p. 134.

†† "My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain."
Shakspeare, Rich. III., Act V. Sc. III.

together with the retribution which followed the crime—the death of his wife—of his sons—and the desertion of his followers,*—

"And nothing by him staid;†—

the confession† eventually of the surviving ruffian, and the premature death of the uncle himself,—all facts in a great measure correct as regards the actual fate of Richard III.,—are very startling coincidences, to say the least, between the nursery legend and the reputed tragedy which is believed to have been thus obscurely perpetuated.

The probable period of the composition of this ballad, on the supposition that it was written with a political design, would seem to have been during the insurrection of the Duke of Buckingham,‡ by whom the report of the murder of the young princes was first circulated, and whose object it was to increase the disaffection that prevailed in consequence of their mysterious concealment. In which case, it was in all likelihood revived, with some additional stanzas, after the death of Richard III., and upon the appearance of Perkin Warbeck, who claimed to be one of the children of Edward IV. alleged to have been murdered in the Tower; for the ballad, if composed during Richard's life, would give force to Dighton's reported confession made after that monarch's decease; while the said avowal of the murderer would add strength to the metrical tradition, if, indeed, it was written and first circulated amongst the people at a time when great caution was requisite in promulgating so serious an accusation. It may be asked, however, why, as Henry VII. himself promulgated the fact of Tyrrel's and Dighton's confession, should there have been any necessity in his reign for the concealment observed throughout the ballad? Had it been first composed at the time of Tyrrel's arrest, there would, indeed, have been no necessity for disguise, much less would there have been any danger in openly declaring Richard as the murderer of his nephews. But as Henry VII. failed in all his efforts to adduce evidence of the murder,§ or to fix the guilt clearly and positively upon King Richard, the mystery in which the tradition was wrapped in the original ballad was better calculated to produce a political effect, than any after, though more positive, accusation. It is certain that even so late as the time of Lord Bacon,|| doubts were entertained as regards Richard being the murderer of his nephews; and Sir Thomas More, the first historian who narrates the tradition of their death, as perpetuated by Shakspeare, states, "that some remain yet in doubt whether they were in his days destroyed or not."¶ The ballad, therefore, in its mysterious form, if composed in King Richard's life, became singularly effective both in strengthening the tradition which Henry desired to have believed, and, if followed up, in affording a happy medium for that monarch to circulate the facts of Tyrrel's alleged confession; consequently, after detailing the death, and the judgments that befell the uncle, the legend concludes by saying,

"The fellow that did take in hand
These children for to kill,
Was for a robbery judged to dye;—
Such was God's blessed will."

Now Sir James Tyrrel, who is named by Shakspeare,* and described by Lord Bacon, as the person who undertook to slay the children, was arrested by King Henry

* "To his last breath often exclaiming that he was betrayed; saying, 'Treason! Treason! Treason!' and thus tasting what he had made others drink, he miserably ended his life."—*Rous*, p. 217.

† John Dighton and Miles Forrest were the reputed murderers. "Miles Forrest," says Sir Thomas More, "at Saint Martin's piecemeal rotted away." John Dighton confessed the murder in the reign of King Henry VII.—*More*, p. 132.

‡ "Whilst these things were passing, King Edward's two sons remained under sure custody, for whose release from captivity the people of the southern and western parts began very much to murmur. At length the people about London, in Kent and other counties, made a rising, proclaiming publicly that Henry, Duke of Buckingham, who was then residing at Brecknock in Wales, repenting the course of conduct he had pursued, would be their leader; and it was reported that King Edward's children were dead, but by what kind of violent death was unknown."—*Chron. Croy.*, p. 568.

§ Sir Geo. Buck's History of King Richard III., lib. iii., pp. 85, 86.

|| Lord Bacon's History of King Henry VII., p. 4.

¶ Sir Thomas More's Historie of Kyng Rycharde III., p. 126.

** Richard III., Act IV. Sc. II.

VII. shortly after the landing of Warbeck, and is asserted by Sir Thomas More to have confessed the tale* that has been narrated by all subsequent historians,—

“Who did confess the very truth,
The which is here exprest.”†

And what cannot but be considered a very remarkable point as connecting the legend with graver authority, Tyrrel did actually, some years afterwards, end his days on the scaffold (as the old ballad states), and also for another offence than the heinous crime which he is stated to have confessed.‡

The precise lapse of time, too, named in the poem,—

“Ere seven years came about,”—

corresponds exactly with the period of Tyrrel's arrest;§ as does also the fact of that imprisonment producing the alleged confession:—

“And now at length this wicked act
Did by this means come out.”

Moreover, the previous death of the guardian being mentioned in the preceding verse,—

“Their uncle having dyed,”

completes the general resemblance, in all leading points, between the ballad and the event it would seem to describe.

King Richard's successor, it is well known, took every possible means to fix the odium of the murder of his brother's children upon their uncle; and his emissaries were not likely to overlook a mode so attractive to the lower classes as the rhythmical odes common to the period. It is most probable, therefore, that the original song, on which was founded the popular tale of “The Babes in the Wood,” was written at the time above named: and when it is remembered that the old English metrical romances were the medium, in the middle ages, of handing down to posterity, in rude versification, traditions which it was not safe in that despotic period to narrate in a more explicit manner, an air of more than common interest attaches itself to this tale, which, if deducible from such a source, partakes of the same character as Chevy Chase, Robin Hood, Flodden Field, and those numberless historical ballads transmitted from sire to son by itinerant minstrels, the rude historians of those unrelenting times, and on the basis of which rests much interesting traditionary matter connected with our national annals.

The copy of the ballad whence the preceding extracts were made is the ancient one, in black letter, contained in the “Pepys Collection”|| in the library at Magdalen College, Cambridge. It differs very little from another old copy preserved in the British Museum,¶ or from the edition, more generally known, which is inserted in Percy's Reliques (vol. iii. p. 171.) Being, however, in black letter, which was not the ordinary type of the era in which Pepys flourished, it sanctions the idea that the copy preserved by that sagacious man was a reprint from one of much earlier date; for most of the chroniclers, whose compilations were originally published in

* “All things grew prepared to revolt and suspicion. There were but two persons that remained alive that could speak upon knowledge to the murder: Sir James Tyrrel, the employed man from King Richard, and John Dighton, his servant, one of the two butchers or tormentors. These the king caused to be committed to the Tower.”—*Bacon's Hen. VII.*, pp. 122, 123.

† “Very trouthe is it, and well knownen, that at such time as Syr James Turrell was in the Tower, for treason committed agaynste the most famous prince King Henry the Seventh, both Dighton and he were examined and confessed the murder.”—*More*, p. 132.

‡ “And as for Sir James Tyrrel, he was soon after beheaded in the Tower Yard, for other matters of treason. But John Dighton (who it seemeth spake best for the king) was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition.”—*Bacon*, p. 124.

§ Perkin Warbeck landed in Ireland, and proclaimed himself the young Duke of York, on the 5th May, 1492; just seven years after King Richard's death, who was slain the 22d August, 1485.

|| Vol. i. pp. 518, 519, No. 1053.

¶ The ballad preserved by Pepys is entitled “The Norfolk Gentleman his last Will and Testament, who committed the keeping of his Children to his own Brother, who dealt most wickedly with them, and how God plagued him for it.—The tune, Rogero.” The copy in the British Museum is similarly entitled, only less concise, it stating in addition, “who did most wickedly cause them to be destroyed, that so he might possess himself and children of the estate; but by the just judgments of the Almighty, himself and all that he had was destroyed from off the face of the earth.”

black letter, continued to be reprinted in that character, as is shown by many works of reference yet in use; whereas, the compositions of later date were printed in the large Roman type that belonged to the period in which they were composed. The circumstance of there being no date to the Pepys ballad is rather a proof of its antiquity; for all the most ancient ballads are without dates. According to Ritson, this tale was entered on the Stationers' books in the year 1595, but this fact by no means fixes, as he implies, the date of the composition; it merely shows the year in which it first appeared in print, having probably, from its popularity, and with a view to publication, been then for the first time committed to paper from recitation, as was the case with “Chevy Chase,” “Fair Rosamond,”* “Gil Morrice,” “Sir Patrick Spens,” and, indeed, all of our oldest historical legends.

This method of perpetuating by rehearsal these ancient metrical traditions, accounts for the apparently modern phraseology in which the earliest printed copies extant of this and other ballads are couched; the gradual though slight changes of each generation making the language keep pace with their own times, until it was finally noted down in its black letter form, as sung in the year 1595.

To the same cause, also, may be attributed the trifling variations of metre between the three copies preserved by Pepys, by Bishop Percy, and in the British Museum.

Two very rude woodcuts surmount the black letter copy at Cambridge: one representing the ruffians fighting, with a gallows and a man hanging in one corner, and at the side the children murdered; the other is apparently an heraldic emblematical device. The connection between the first cut, the description in the ballad of the children's beauty,—

—“framed in beautyes molde,”—

and Shakspeare's account of the murderous scene, is very remarkable; for he distinctly intimates that one ruffian was more merciful than the other;† and the babes, whose beauty he so touchingly narrates, being placed in one corner as actually murdered, together with the ignominious end which terminated the life of their destroyer, is even yet more in accordance with reputed facts. But the emblematical device speaks more forcibly in favour of the true nature and design of the ballad than all argument that can be adduced from similarity of events thus traditionally and historically reported; for it is a rude representation of a stag. Now the badge of the unfortunate Edward V. was a hind, or female stag—one of the hereditary badges of the House of York;‡ and Sandford, in describing that prince's shield of arms, states that it is “supported on the right side with the Lyon of March, and on the left with a Hind Argent.”§

Dr. Percy's Reliques is a work so well known and appreciated, that it becomes necessary, before concluding the present inquiry, to notice the learned author's surmise, that the ballad was probably derived from an old play, published in 1601, by Yarrington, and founded on an Italian novel. But, independent of the discrepancies between the ballad and the play, in which latter there is but one child, and he is stabbed by a ruffian who lives to bring the uncle to justice, the dramatic scene is laid at Padua, which affords a very strong argument in testing the originality of this popular legend, and its claims to be considered as a genuine English composition. The ballad says,

“Their pretty lippes with blackberries
Were all besmeared and dyed.”||

Now the blackberry¶ is not only unknown in Italy, but this fruit, so abundant in hedges and woods during the autumn, is a native of England only.

* “Fair Rosamond,” although of such ancient date as the year 1177, was only first made known in print in 1612.

† “A book of prayers on their pillow lay,
Which once, quoth Forrest, almost chang'd my mind;
But O, the devil!—there the villain stopp'd:
When Dighton thus told on—‘We smothered
The most replenished sweet work of Nature,
That, from the prime creation, e'er she fram'd.’”

Richard III., Act IV. Sc. II.

‡ *Archæologia*, vol. xvii. p. 226.

§ Sandford's *Geneal. Hist.*, book v. p. 400.

|| “Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
Which in their summer beauty kissed each other.”

Richard III., Act IV. Sc. V.

¶ *Rubus fruticosus*. See *Donn's Hortus Cantabrigiensis*, p. 245, and *Withering's British Plants*, vol. ii. p. 527.

Another very conclusive fact must not be overlooked, viz., that after the death of the children, the ballad adds, that

"Robin red-breast piously
Did cover them with leaves."

This bird, though not perhaps exclusively English, is nowhere so commonly found as in this country, where it is so proverbially domestic, so familiar in winter, and so invariably associated with local and pastoral scenes, that it has formed the favourite ornament of some of our sweetest native bards.

That this ballad was founded on actual occurrence, all commentators seem to agree; and although the style is humble, and even mean, yet the very circumstance of its unabated popularity for so many ages bespeaks an air of truth that would aid to establish the fact of its originating in some acknowledged and well-established event.

The few points in which the narrative differs from history, such as the youngest child being a girl, their parents dying at the same time, and the uncle perishing in prison, are only such variations as would be intentionally adopted, when the real event alluded to was, for certain reasons, purposely disguised, and which may be observed in all historical ballads, when they are compared with the facts on which the traditions are based. But the tale corresponds so essentially with the chroniclers; moreover, even the very moral with which it winds up is so similar to the reflections with which Fabyan,* Grafton,† Hall and Holinshed‡ terminate their relation of the event; that it cannot escape the observation of those who will take the trouble to compare the ballad with the historians who have perpetuated the "tragedyous hystory."

The comments upon this tale, contained in the "Spectator,"§ are worthy of attention, and considerably advance its claims to be considered as a national metrical tradition; for, whether perused with reference to the mysterious transaction which it would seem to have been designed to reveal, or admired only as one of those nursery tales which rest on the mind with so sweet a remembrance, it is, as Addison justly observes, "one of the darling songs of the common people, and has been the delight of most Englishmen in some part of their age."¶

B.

CAXTON'S "PICTURE OF LONDON IN 1472."

(See page 20.)

"I HAVE KNOWN it in my young age much more wealthy, prosperous and richer than it is at this day; and the cause is, that there is almost none that intendeth to the common weal, but only every man to his singular profit." And in another place Caxton says, "I see that the children that ben borne within the said citee encrease, and prouffite not like their faders and olders; but for moste parte, after that they ben coming to their perfite years of discretion and ripeness of age, how well that their faders have left to them grete quantity of goods, yet scarcely amonge ten two thryve. O blessed Lord, when I remember this I am all abashed; I cannot juge the cause; but fayrer, ne wiser, ne bet bespoken children in theyre youth ben no wher then ther ben in London; but at their full ryping there is no carnel, no good corn founden, but chaffe for the most parte." Again, in his work entitled "The Boke of the Ordre of Chyvalry or Knyghthood, dedicated to King Richard III. in 1484," he laments in strong and feeling language the decline of chivalry: "O ye knyghts of England, where is the custom and usage of noble chivalry that was used in those days? What do you now but go to the baynes [baths] and play at dyse? And some, not well-advysed, use not honest and good rule, again all order of knyghthood."... "I would demand a question, if I should not displeas: How many knyghtes ben ther now in England that have th' use and th' exercise of a knyghte—that is, to wit, that he knoweth his horse, and his horse him? I suppose, an a due serche sholde be made, there sholde be many founden that lacke."

Oldy's Brit. Lib., p. 191.

* *Fab. Chron.*, p. 517.

† *Kennet's Complete Hist. of Eng.*, vol. i. p. 512.

‡ *Spectator*, vol. i. No. 85.

† *Grafton*, pp. 232, 235.

¶ *Ibid.*

C.

DESCRIPTION OF HENRY VII. CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF RICHARD III.

(See page 23.)

"THE Earl of Richmond," says Hall, in his *Chronicle*, "was a man of no great stature, but so formed and decorated with all gyfies and lyniaments of nature, that he seemed more an angelical creature than a terrestrial personage. His countenance and aspect was cheerful and courageous; his haire yellow like the burnished golde; his eyes gray, shynynge, and quick; prompte and ready in answering; but of such sobrietie, that it could never be judged he were more dull than quick in speaking, such was his temperance." Grafton, corroborating the above description, and after stating him to be "of a wonderful beauty and fair complexion," adds, that in "matters of weighty importance" he was "supernatural and in a manner divine."* This glowing and superhuman account of King Henry VII. contrasts somewhat remarkably with the demoniacal description of Richard III. by the same chroniclers, and others who penned their works during the reign of the Tudor sovereigns. Thus, for example: "The tyrant King Richard was born," says Rous, "with teeth, and hair reaching to his shoulders, on the feast of the eleven thousand Virgins, at whose birth Scorpion was in the ascendant, which is the sign of the House of Mars; and, as a scorpion, mild in countenance, stingeth in the tail, so he showed himself to all."† Sir Thomas More, after enlarging upon his miraculous birth, describes him as "little of stature, ill-fetured of limbs, crook-backed, and hard-favoured of visage"... "malicious, wrathful, envious, and from afore his birth ever forward."‡ And Holinshed, after corroborating both the foregoing accounts, adds,§ that "his face was small, but his countenance cruel, and such that at the first aspect a man would judge it to savour and smell of malice, fraud and deceit. When he stood musing he would bite and chew busily his nether lip, as who said that his fierce nature in his cruel body, always chafed, stirred, and was ever unquiet; besides that the dagger which he wore he would (when he studied) with his hand pluck up, and draw from the sheath to the midst, never drawing it fully out."

D.

OFFSPRING OF EDWARD III. AND QUEEN PHILIPPA.

(See page 24.)

1. Edward of Woodstock, Prince of Wales, surnamed the Black Prince, and father of Richard II.
2. William of Hatfield, deceased in childhood.
3. Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, father of Philippa, (married to Edmund, Earl of March,) the ancestress of the royal House of York.
4. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, ancestor of the royal line of Lancaster.
5. Edmond of Langley, Duke of York. He was the root whence the kingly family of York branched itself—their claims on the crown being based on the union in marriage of the heirs of Clarence and York.
6. William of Windsor, died in infancy.
7. Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Buckingham, ancestor to Henry, Duke of Buckingham, beheaded by command of Richard III. at Salisbury.
8. Isabel, married to Ingelram de Coucy, created Earl of Bedford.
9. Joane, espoused by proxy to Alphonso, King of Castile and Leon; but deceased of the plague on her progress to Spain.
10. Blanche, died an infant.
11. Mary, the wife of John de Montfort, Duke of Britaine, surnamed the Valiant.
12. Margaret, consort of John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke. He was the first subject who followed the example of his royal father-in-law, King Edward III., in quartering of arms.

Sandford, Geneal. Hist., book iii. ch. iii. p. 177.

* *Grafton*, p. 948.

† *More*, p. 8.

‡ *Rous*, p. 215.

§ *Holinshed*, p. 447.

E.

ENUMERATION AND EXPLANATION OF THE DEVICES FORMERLY BORNE AS BADGES OF COGNIZANCE BY THE HOUSE OF YORK.

(See page 26.)

"WHILE searching among the Digby MSS.," says Sir Henry Ellis, "in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in the autumn of last year, I discovered an enumeration of the devices borne as badges of cognizance by Richard, Duke of York, the father of King Edward IV., written in a cotemporary hand, evidently in the duke's lifetime. I found it written on a blank leaf of parchment at the beginning of the Digby MSS. No. 28."

"These ben the names of the lordships with the badges that pertaineth to the Duke of York:—

1. The dukeship of York with the badges, ben the fawcon and the fetterlock.
2. The badges that he beareth by Conysbrow, ys the fawcon, with a maiden's head, and her hair hanging about her shoulders, with a crown about her neck.
3. The badges that he beareth by the Castle of Clifford is a white rose.
4. The badges that he beareth by the earldom of March is a white lion.
5. The badges that he beareth by the earldom of Ulster is a black dragon.
6. The badges that he beareth by King Edward III. is a blue boar, with his tusks and his cleis and his members of gold.
7. The badges that he beareth by King Richard II. is a white hart and the sun shining.
8. The badges that he beareth by the honour of Clare is a black bull, rough, his horns and his cleys and his members of gold.
9. The badges that he beareth by the 'fair maid of Kent' is a white hind."

Archæologia, vol. xvii. p. 226.

F.

SUPER CUSTODIA DUCIS EBORUM, ET PRISONARIORUM, APUD AGYNCOURT CAPTORUM.

(See page 27.)

SUPPLIE, humblement Robert Waterton que comme certains sommes des deniers A. D. 1415. currount, ou demande vers lui en l'escheker, a cause de la costages et An. 3 H. 5. expences si bien de Richard Duc de Zork come pour le salve garde, costages, et expences del Count de Ewe, Arthur de Bretagne, la Mareschall Buchecaud, &c., prisoniers au roy notre souveraigne seigneur que Dieux pardoint. Le quelle duc et autres seigneurs et prisoniers suisditz, estoient mysés en gouvernance et garde du dit Robert Waterton, par l'ordinance de notre souveraigne seigneur suisdit, et son tres sage conseil as diverses foitz parentre, noessisme jour de Marcz l'an tierce, nôtre dit souveraigne seigneur et de dit darreine jour d'Aust, tanque à le primer jour de May darreine passe, que please a voz tres sages discretions graunter lettres du garent du prive seal, directez as tresorer, barons, et chambelleyns del escheker, pur accompter ovesque le dit Robert par son serment, ou d'autri et son noun de toutz maniers des deniers, par luy rescieux, a cause des costages, expences, et salve garde du dit Duc de Zork et autres seigneurs et prisoniers suisditz deins le temps suisdit. Fesaunt a mesme le Robert due et pleyne allowance par le suisdit serement, de toutz maniers de deniers par lui paieez.

Si bien pour les coustages et expences du dit Duc de Zork a celi. per an. Et les costages, expences, et salve garde del Count de Ewe, Arthur de Bretagne, et le Mareschall Buchecaud, prisoniers (assuvoir) les trois ensemble a xxiii. iv. le jour, selone le pointment et ordinance notre dit souveraigne seigneur et son conseil.—See *Fœdera*, Lond. ed., tome ix. p. 317. King Henry, in a subsequent document (see p. 319) ordering immediate payment of the foregoing expenses, styles the petitioner "nostre bien amé escuier Robert Waterton;" and in a letter from this monarch to the Bishop of Durham, (inserted p. 801,) he commands him strictly to observe Robert Waterton's vigilance over the Duke of Orleans to prevent his attempting to escape.

G.

RHYTHMICAL LINES, COPIED FROM AN ANCIENT ROLL FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF AUGUSTUS VINCENT, WINDSOR HERALD, AND QUOTED BY HIM IN HIS "CATALOGUE OF THE NOBILITY," PUBLISHED 1622. (This very curious instrument is thus more particularly described by Weever, in his "Funeral Monuments," p. 734.)

(See page 30.)

"AT Clare in Suffolk stood a religious house of Augustine friars, whose foundation may be gathered out of certaine rythmical lines which, not many years since, I copied out of an ancient roll, as then in the custody of my dear deceased friend, Aug. Vincent, Windsor Herald; the rubrick, or the title in red letters, of this roll is as followeth:—

"This dialogue betwixt a secular asking and a friar answering at the grave of Dame Johanna of Acres,* showeth the lineal descent of the lords of the honour of Clare, from the time of the foundation of the friars in the same honour, the year of our Lord 1248, unto the first of May, the year 1460. The pictures of the secular priest and the friar are curiously limned upon the parchment. The verses are both in Latin and English. The translation of the Latin numbers into English stanzas seemeth to have been composed at one and the same time, as appears by the character."

After detailing the parentage of Joane of Acres, daughter of Edward I., and the derivation of that name from the town of her birth, it proceeds to speak of her marriage with Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, son of Sir Richard de Clare, who first brought the Augustine friars into England to dwell; then of the birth of their daughter united to Sir John de Burgh, Lord of Ulster, whose only child was united to Edward the Third's second son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence.† Their daughter Philippa married Sir Edmond Mortimer, the first Earl of March; and it is from that portion of the roll which relates more especially to them and their offspring, that the following minute detail of the parentage of Richard of York and his children is taken.

"Had she any issue?" "Yea, sir, sikerly."‡
 "What?" "A daughter." "What name had she?"
 "Like her mother, Elizabeth, sothely;"§
 "Who ever the husband of her might be?"
 "King Edward's son, the Third was he,
 Sir Lionel, which buried is, her by,||
 As for such a prince too simply."

"Left he any frute, this prince mighty?"
 "Sir, yea—a daughter, and Phillippa she hight;¶
 Whom Sir Edmond Mortimer wedded truly;
 First Earl of the March, a manly knight,
 Whose son, Sir Roger, by title of right
 Left heir another—Edmond again:
 Edmond left none, but died barren.

"Right thus did cese of the March's blode
 The heire male." "Whider passed the right
 Of the Marches landes, and to whom it stode,
 I wolde faine lerne, if that I might?"
 "Sir Roger, middel Erle, that noble knight,
 Tweyn daughters left of his blode roial—
 That one's issue died, that other's hath al."

"What hight that lady** who's issue had grace
 His lordship t' attaine?" "Dame Anne, I wys,

* Joane de Acres, second daughter of King Edward I., and consort of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, died A. D. 1305, and was buried in the church of the Augustine friars at Clare, in a chapel of her own foundation. "At whose tomb," says Sandford, "that dialogue in Latin and English, between a secular priest and a friar, is fancied to be spoken, (exhibited in Weever's Funeral Monuments,) containing the lineal descent of the lords of the honour of Clare."—Book iii. p. 142.

† Prince Lionel, having acquired the honour of Clare with Eliz. de Burgh, his wife, was, in Parliament 1362, created by Edward III. Duke of Clarence.

‡ Surely. (Spenser.)

§ Truly. (Saxon.)

|| Prince Lionel died at Alba, Pompeia, 1368, and his remains were brought to England to be interred by the side of his first wife, Elizabeth de Burgh, in the chancel of the Augustine friars at Clare in Suffolk.—*Sandford*, book iii. p. 221.

¶ She was named.

** What name had that lady.

To the Erle of Cambridge and she wife was,
Which both be dede. God graunte hem blys.
But her son Richard, which yet liveth,* is
Duke of Yorke, by descent of his fader,
And hath Marches landes by right of his moder."

"Is he sole or married, this prince myghty?"
"Sole, God forbede; it were great pitee."
"Whom hath he wedded?" "A gracious lady."
"What is her name, I thee prairie tell me?"
"Dame Cecile, sir." "Whose daughter was she?"
"Of the Erle of Westmoreland, I trowe the yengest
And yet grace hir fortunede to be the highest."

"Is there any frute betwixt hem two?"
"Yea, sir—thanked be God, ful glorious."
"Male or female?" "Sir, bothe two."
"The number of this progeny gracious,
And the names, to know I am desirous:
The order eke of birth, telle yf thou can;
And I will ever be, even thyn own man."

"Sir, after the tyme of long bareynesse,
God first sent Anne, which signyfieth grace;
In token that all her hertis heavynesse
He (as for bareynesse) wold fro hem chase.
Harry, Edward, and Edmonde, eche in his place
Succeded; and after tweyn daughters came,
Elizabeth and Margarete; and afterwards William.

"John after William next borne was,
Which both be passed to God's grace.
George was nexte: and after Thomas
Borne was; which sone after did pace
By the path of death to the heavenly place;
Richard liveth yet. But the last of alle
Was Ursula; to hym whom God list call.

"To the Duke of Excestre, Anne married is
In her tenner youthe. But my Lord Herry
God chosen hath, to inherite heaven's bliss;
And lefte Edward to succede temporally:
Now Erle of Marche: and Edmonde of Rutland sothely
Conute† bothe fortunabil to right high marriage.
The other foure stand yet in their pupillage.

"Longe mote he liven to God his plesauce,
This high and mighty prince in prosperite;
With virtue and victory, God him advaunce
Of all his enemyes; and graunte that hee
And the noble princesse his wife may see
Her childres children, or thei hens wende,
And after this outclary,‡ the joye that never shall ende."

H.

THE DUKE OF YORK'S SPEECH TO SIR DAVY HALL, IN REPLY TO HIS REMONSTRANCE,
BESECHING HIM TO DISREGARD QUEEN MARGARET'S TAUNTS.

(See page 33.)

"ALTHOUGH Sir Davy Hall, his old servant and chief counsellor, advised him to keep his castle, and to defend the same with his small number, till his son the Erle of March were come with his power of Marchmen and Welsh souldiers, yet he would not be counselled, but in a great fury said, 'A Davy, Davy, hast thou loved me so long, and

* This line proves that these rude verses were composed during the life of Richard, Duke of York, but after the decease of his parents; thus proclaiming the political purpose for which they were written.

† Knit, or knotted. (Saxon.)

‡ A passage out. (Saxon.)

now would'st have me dishonoured! Thou never saw'st me keep fortress when I was regent in Normandy, when the dolphin* himself with his puissance came to besiege me; but, like a man, and not like a bird included in a cage, I issued, and fought with mine enemies, to their loss ever (I thank God) and to my honour. If I have not kept myself within walls for fear of a great and strong prince, nor hid my face from any man living, would'st thou that I, for dread of a scolding woman, whose weapons are only her tongue and her nails, should incarcerate myself? Then all men might of me wonder, and all creatures may of me report dishonour, that a woman hath made me a dastard, whom no man ever to this day could yet prove a coward. And surely my mind is rather to die with honour than to live with shame; for of honour cometh fame, and of dishonour riseth infamy. Their great number shall not appal my spirits, but encourage them: therefore advance my banner, in the name of God and St. George; for surely I will fight with them, though I should fight alone."

Hall, fol. 183.

I.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD, AS GIVEN BY THE HISTORIAN HALL, CONSIDERED WITH REFERENCE TO OTHER CHRONICLERS.

(See page 34.)

THE tragedy enacted at the battle of Wakefield has been variously represented by different chroniclers; and though the greater part corroborate in the main the testimony of the Abbot of St. Albans, a cotemporary writer, as regards the revolting insults which he so minutely details, yet doubts have been advanced respecting Queen Margaret's presence at the fatal contest, and efforts made likewise to prove that the mockery was made over the duke's lifeless corpse. But on this point, as well as on all subjects connected with the private and personal history of this illustrious prince, the testimony of Hall, who positively asserts that the queen was present, and took an active share in the revolting proceedings of the day, becomes equal in value to any cotemporary writer, and superior even to such cotemporaries as were not actually eye-witnesses of the event; because this historian was the grandson of Sir Davy Hall, the brave knight whose name is so intimately associated with the Duke of York, throughout that prince's troubled career. Hall was his faithful follower and friend; "his chief counsellor," as well as his companion in arms; and during the early quarrels between York and Somerset, Sir Davy is named as contesting possession of Caen, in Normandy, with the latter noble, it having been left under his charge upon the duke's departure for England.—*Monstrel*, v. p. 123. He is afterwards found with his patron in Ireland, during his difficult position in that country; and his warning voice at Sendal was so urgently and imploringly exerted not to risk a battle, until their small band was joined by fresh forces under the young Earl of March, that the prince's ire was roused, and he impatiently replied in the memorable speech which has been transcribed in Appendix H.

At this early period of history, when narratives of ancestral exploits were transmitted from father to son as an heir-loom, and that the domestic affections were perpetually revived by the solemn yearly observance of the "obit," or death-day of parents and grandsires (see *Paston Letters*, vol. iv. Letter 74), particulars so interesting as the above would doubtless have been impressed upon young Hall's memory from his earliest childhood; it being more than probable that he had oftentimes heard the tale from the old knight's companions in arms, Sir Davy having himself fallen a victim to his zeal in defending his patron at this fatal contest.

The historian flourished about fifty years after the battle of Wakefield, but his work was not printed until after his decease; for, being bred to the law, and holding high and responsible situations in that profession,† his maturer years were devoted to it; and he probably saw the danger of publishing matter that, in the remotest degree, favoured the fallen dynasty, notwithstanding it had been crushed long antecedent to his own time. As his work was dedicated to Henry VIII., and was penned after the

* Dauphin.

† Edward Hall, author of the Chronicle entitled "The Union of the Houses of York and Lancaster," was educated at Eton, and a fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He afterwards studied at Gray's Inn, was called to the bar, made a sergeant at law, and a judge in the Sheriff's Court. He was also a member of the House of Commons.—*Gen. Biog. Dict.*

extinction of the House of York, it is not probable, however, that Hall would have stated so distinctly the presence of the queen before the Castle of Sandal, have reiterated her taunts to the duke of his "want of courage in suffering himself to be tamely braved by a woman," or have described the active part taken by Margaret relative to placing his head over the gates of York, had he not received particulars of the awful day from some associate of his grandsire, whom he especially mentions as forming one of the garrison of Sandal, and to have fallen in its defence. His testimony, then, taken in conjunction with Whethamstede, Abbot of St. Albans, to which city Queen Margaret and her army proceeded direct from Wakefield, (thus giving the ecclesiastical chronicler abundant means of hearing from the victors themselves those minute details of their recent treatment of the captured York which are given on his cotemporary authority,) must surely be considered evidence superior to any that can be adduced, merely from discrepancy on these disputed points by later historians, or from the silence of other annalists, who were wholly unconnected with the appalling circumstance.

J.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE REMARKABLE CAREER OF HENRY CLIFFORD, "THE SHEPHERD LORD."

(See page 34.)

THE Lord John Clifford, whose history is so remarkably connected with the House of York, was killed at Ferry-bridge, in the 26th year of his age; leaving, as the inheritor of his titles and vast estates, an infant heir, Henry, afterwards tenth Lord Clifford. Having rendered himself odious to the reigning family, in consequence of his having slain the young prince, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, a few months previously, the deceased Lord Clifford was attainted by act of Parliament; and his widow (the Baroness Vesci in her own right), fearing that the Yorkists would avenge themselves on the heir of a chieftain who had incurred their bitterest enmity, fled with her child to the wildest recesses of Cumberland, and, under the garb of a shepherd boy, effectually concealed him from all knowledge of those political enemies, whose indignation would probably have sacrificed the child in retaliation for the father's crimes. After the lapse of some years, the Lady Clifford espoused a second husband, Sir Launcelot Threlkald, to whom she imparted her secret: and who aided her in keeping "the shepherd lord" concealed from the Yorkist faction. For the space of twenty-four years the unconscious victim of political hatred tended his sheep, alike unconscious of his noble birth as of the maternal solicitude which watched unsuspected over the life of the mountain boy. After spending the prime of his days in perfect seclusion, amidst the fastnesses of his native county, during the reigns of Edward IV., Edward V., and Richard III., his name and title were at length made known to him; and, in the thirty-second year of his age, he was fully restored to his ancestral honours by King Henry VII. But although bred in obscurity, and, from necessity, deprived of all education, even so much as learning to write, lest "it might make discovery of him," the lordly spirit of a noble race remained unsubdued by the lowly occupation to which he was early inured. On his restoration to "all his baronies," he placed himself under the tuition of the monks of Bolton Priory, by means of whose tuition he made rapid progress in the acquirements of the age, and with whom, at his adjoining ancestral abode, "Barden Tower," he prosecuted the favourite studies of the period. Amongst the archives of the Clifford race are yet preserved records that testify the interest he took in astronomy, alchemy, and other philosophical pursuits, and the zeal with which he devoted himself to such branches of knowledge.

Moreover, he also gave proof that the warlike genius of "the stout Lord Cliffords" had slumbered—not slept—in the person of their remarkable descendant; for at the advanced age of sixty, casting aside his peaceful studies, and exchanging the philosopher's gown for the coat of mail, he acted a conspicuous part at the battle of Flodden Field, in which contest he was one of the principal commanders. He was twice married, and was the parent of ten children. Shortly after emerging from his lowly disguise, he married the cousin-german of the reigning sovereign, King Henry VII., Anne, the only daughter of Sir John St. John of Bletso; by whom he had three sons and four daughters; the eldest of whom, Henry, the eleventh Lord Clifford, succeeded to the family honours in 1523, and was speedily created Earl Clifford and Earl of Cumberland. The entire career of "the shepherd lord" forms, perhaps, one of the wildest

tales of romance which real life ever presented. He lived under the rule of six English monarchs, viz., Henry VI., Edward IV., Edward V., Richard III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII.; and whether his eventful history is considered with reference to the vicissitudes that marked his early days, the calm dignity and true wisdom that he displayed when emerging from abject poverty to feudal power, or the chivalrous feeling he evinced when distinguishing himself at the close of life on the battle-field, admiration cannot fail to be elicited at the strong natural understanding, the innate dignity, and the extraordinary firm and vigorous mind which, in all the stirring scenes of his unparalleled career characterized the checkered life of "the Shepherd Lord."

See *Hall's Chron.*, p. 253; *Collins's Peerage*, vol. vi. p. 360; and *Whittaker's History of Craven*.

K.

PETITIO JOHANNÆ COMITISSÆ DE WESTMORELAND SUPER CUSTODIA RICARDI DUCIS EBORUM. A. D. 1426. (PAT. 4 HEN. VI. P. 2. M. 15.)

PRO DUCE EBORUM, FACTO MILITE.

(See page 37.)

Rex omnibus, ad quos, &c., salutem.

Monstravit nobis carissima consanguinea nostra *Johanna Comitissa Westmerlandiæ*, qualiter ipsa, ut executrix testamenti carissimi domini et viri sui *Kadulphi*, nuper *Comitis Westmerlandiæ*, defuncti, habet custodiam et gubernationem carissimi consanguinei nostri *Ricardi Ducis Eborum*, virtute concessionis nostræ eidem nuper comiti factæ.

Pro ejus quidem ducis sustentatione, per avisamentum concilii nostri, concessimus eidem nuper comiti ducentas marcas percipiendas annuatim durante minore ætate ejusdem ducis. De quibus quidem ducentis marcis prædictus dux, honorificè prout convenit statui suo, sustentari non potest, pro eo quod ipse miles efficitur, et in honorem, ætatem, et hæreditatem crescit, qui majores expensas et custos exquirunt, ad magnum onus dictæ consanguineæ nostræ ut dicit. Nos præmissa considerantes, de avisamento et assensu concilii nostri, concessimus præfatæ consanguineæ nostræ centum marcas percipiendas annuatim, pro sustentatione ipsius ducis, ultra dictas ducentas marcas, durante minore ætate ejusdem ducis, de dominiis terris et tenementis quæ fuerunt Edmundi, nuper Comitis Marchiæ, nunc in manibus nostris ratione minoris ætatis ejusdem ducis existentibus, infra comitatus Dorsetiæ et Suffolciæ, per manus firmariorum vel occupatorum eorumdem; videlicet unam medietatem summæ prædictæ per manus firmariorum dominiorum, terrarum, et tenementorum prædictorum infra medietatem ejusdem summæ per manus firmariorum dominiorum, terrarum, et tenementorum prædictorum infra comitatum Suffolciæ.

In ejus, &c.

Teste Rege, apud Leycester, vicesimo sexto die Maii.

Per breve de privato sigillo, A. D. 1426. An. 4 Hen. VI.

Rymer's Fœdera, tome x. p. 358.

L.

DISASTROUS FATE OF ALL WHO BORE THE NAME OF RICHARD, WHO WERE EITHER IN FACT OR TITLE KINGS OF ENGLAND.

(See page 39.)

"IN the very haven," says Habington, "after a long and tempestuous voyage, thus perished the Duke of Yorke; as if it had been in the fate of all the Richards, who were either in fact or title kings of England, to end by violent deaths; Richard I. and Richard II. preceding him; his sonne Richard the Tyrant, and Richard, Duke of Yorke, his nephew, following him in the like disaster, though several wayes, and upon different quarrels."

Richard I., slain by the arrow of an assassin (*Bertram Jourdan*), when besieging the Castle of Chalons.

Richard II., deposed by his cousin, Henry of Lancaster, and murdered in Pomfret Castle.

Richard, Earl of Cambridge, his cousin, executed at Southampton for treason and rebellion.

Richard, Duke of York, son to the above earl, beheaded at Wakefield Green.

Richard III., slain at Bosworth Field, and *Richard*, the last Duke of York, of the Plantagenet line, said to be murdered in the Tower by his uncle, who terminated the Plantagenet dynasty.

Habington's Historie of Edward IV., p. 2.

M.

(See page 40.)

Is a "Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the government of the Royal Household, made in divers Reigns from King Edward III. to King William and Queen Mary," printed by the Society of Antiquaries, 1790, is inserted the following very curious document:—

"A compendious recytacion compiled of the order, rules and constructione of the house of the right excellent Princess Cecill, late mother unto the right noble prince, King Edward IV." It commences thus:—

"Me seemeth yt is requisite to understand the order of her owne person, concerninge God and the world." And after minutely detailing the manner in which she spent her time, her hours of devotion and meditation, her self-discipline and temperate habits, it ends by the following apostrophe:—"I trust to our Lord's mercy that this noble princesse, thus divideth the houres to his High pleasure."

Then follow very elaborate rules for the regulation of her house and household.

These are drawn up with extreme care, and are in every respect conformable to the severe discipline, as relates to diet, exacted by the Church of Rome, from rigid members of its communion. No portion of the establishment of the Lady Cecill was overlooked or disregarded; the most perfect method, and admirable regularity prevailed in each department, and the strictest order was enforced, as relates to justice, religion and morality. A few brief extracts will sufficiently exemplify the truth of this remark.

"At every half-yeare, the wages is payde to the householde; and livery clothe once a year. Payment of fees out of the householde is made once a year. Proclamacione is made foure times a yeare about Berkhamsted, in market-townes, to understande whether the purveyors, cators, and other make true paymente of my ladye's money or not; and also to understande by the same, whether my ladye's servantes make true payment for theyre owne debts or not: and if any defaulte be found, a remedy to be had forthwith for a recompence.

"The remaynes of every offyce be taken at every month's ende, to understande whether the officers be in arrearadye or not.

"To all sicke men is given a lybertye to have all such thinges as may be to their ease.

"If any man fall impotente, he hath styll the same wages that he had when he might doe best service, duringe my ladye's lyfe; and *xviid.* for his boarde weekelye, and *ixd.* for his servaunte. If he be a yeoman, *xiiid.*; a groome, or a page, tenpence."

N.

LETTER FROM THE EARL OF MARCH (AFTERWARDS EDWARD IV.) AND HIS BROTHER OF RUTLAND, TO THEIR FATHER, RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK.—COTT. MSS. YESP. F. III. FOL. 9.

(See page 41.)

Right high and right mighty prince, our full redoubted and right noble lord and father; as lowly with all our hearts, as we your true and natural sons can or may, we recommend us unto your noble grace, humbly beseeching your noble and worthy fatherhood daily to give us your hearty blessing; through which we trust much the rather to increase and grow to virtue, and to speed the better in all matters and things that we shall use, occupy, and exercise.

Right high and right mighty prince, our full redoubted lord and father, we thank our blessed Lord, not only of your honourable conduct, and good speed in all your matters and business, and of your gracious prevail against the intent and malice of your evil-willers, but also of the knowledge that it pleased your nobley* to let us now late have of the same, by relation of Sir Watier Deureux, knight, and John Milewattier, squier, and John at Nokes, yeoman of your honourable chamber. Also we thank your noblesse and good fatherhood of our green gowns, now late sent unto us to our great comfort; beseeching your good lordship to remember our portieux,† and that we might have some fine bonnets sent unto us by the next sure messenger, for necessity so requireth. Over this, right noble lord and father, please it your highness to wit, that we have charged your servant William Smith, bearer of these, for to declare unto your nobley certain things on our behalf, namely, concerning and touching the odious rule, and demening of Richard Crofte and of his brother. Wherefore we beseech your gracious lordship and full noble fatherhood, to hear him in exposition of the same, and to his relation to give full faith and credence.

Right high and right mighty prince, our full redoubted and right noble lord and father, we beseech Almighty Jesus give you a good life and long, with as much continual perfect prosperity, as your princely heart can best desire.

Written at your Castle of Ludlow, on Saturday in the Easter Week.

Your humble sons,

E. MARCHE, and
E. RUTLANDE.

See also *Ellis's Original Letters*, 1st series, vol. i. p. 9.

O.

IMMENSE POSSESSIONS INHERITED BY THE HOUSE OF YORK.

(See page 43.)

THE castles of Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire and Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, were the patrimonial inheritance of the family of York; all the dukes, from the first who bore that title, having possessed and dwelt at these their baronial halls; and, with the title, they descended to the next heir as his ancestral abode. King Edward III. gave Fotheringay, with its ancient castle, to his fifth son, Edmund of Langley, the first Duke of York, which was erected into a duchy in his person, an. 9 Richard II., 1385; and this prince, its first possessor of that race, rebuilt the castle and the keep in the form of a fetterlock, the device of the House of York. His son Edward, the second duke, who chiefly resided at Fotheringay, founded and endowed its magnificent collegiate church, for which he was obliged to mortgage great part of his estate, and in the choir of which he was buried, having been brought to England for that purpose after the battle of Agincourt, where he lost his life. From him Fotheringay Castle descended to his nephew and heir, the third duke, father of Richard III., who was born in this favourite abode of his ancestors. The body of the above-named third duke, with that of his young son, the Earl of Rutland, both slain at Wakefield, was removed here for interment by command of King Edward IV., his heir and successor; and here, also, at her earnest desire, was buried the Lady Cecily of York, who survived her illustrious consort thirty-five years.†

The Castle of Berkhamstead, also, came to the House of York from the first duke of that title, King Richard II. having bestowed it upon his uncle, Edmund de Langley, the said duke. He derived his surname from being born at a royal manor adjacent to Berkhamstead, called King's Langley; in the church appertaining to which he was buried, with his illustrious consort, Isabel of Castile. Berkhamstead remained in the family of York until that house became extinct, when it returned to the crown; its castle was the chief abode of Cecily, Duchess of York, during her long and eventful widowhood.‡

Ludlow Castle, in Shropshire, and the fortress of Wigmore in Herefordshire, first

* Noblesse.

† This was the breviary, a compendious missal, which contained not only the office of the mass, but all the services except the form of marriage.

‡ See Hutton's History and Antiquities of Fotheringay; Sandford's Geneal. Hist., book v. pp. 359. 369; Nichols' Royal Wills, p. 222.

§ Anglorum Speculum, p. 370; Harrison's Survey, p. 582; Walpole's Brit. Trav., 222.