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A CONCISE  
H I S T O R Y

• F

E N G L A N D.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES,

To the Death of GEORGE II.

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By JOHN WESLEY, A. M.

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V O L. II.

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A CONCISE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.



CHAPTER I.

HENRY IV.

\* **H**ENRY the fourth, knowing the weakness of his title, was determined to give his coronation all possible solemnity. But still he was in fear, for the heir of the house of Mortimer, who had been declared in parliament the true heir of the crown, was still alive, although yet but a boy of seven years of age. Him Henry detained, together with his younger brother, in an honourable custody, at Windsor castle.

Yet he found that the throne of an usurper is ever a bed of thorns. Such violent animosities broke out among the barons, in the first session of his parliament, that forty challenges were given and received, and forty gauntlets thrown down. But though these commotions were suppressed for that time, they soon broke

VOL. II.

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out

\* A. D. 1399.

out into rebellion ; and a conspiracy was set on foot for seizing Henry at Windsor, and replacing Richard on the throne, who was supposed to be yet alive. This plot was set on foot by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and lord Spencer. The particulars of their scheme were committed to writing, and each of the confederates had a copy signed by all the rest. Among the number of these, was the duke of Aumerle, who was furnished with a paper, which he dropt out of his bosom as he was sitting one day at dinner with his father the duke of York. The father privately took it up, and to his great astonishment discovered the contents, which he resolved, with all diligence, to discover to the king, and accordingly rode off to Windsor, where the court then resided. But the son guessing the cause of his father's expedition, hastening by a shorter way, discovered the whole to the king, and obtained the royal pardon before his father could arrive.

\* While Henry employed the most vigorous efforts to dispel the rising storm, the rebel army became considerable, and encamped near Cirencester, the leaders taking up their head-quarters within the city. Yet so careless were they, that they neglected to place guards at the gates and the avenues of the place. This was quickly perceived by the mayor of the town, who, assembling four hundred men in the night, secured the gates, so as to exclude the army encamped without, and then attacked the chiefs within. The earls of Kent and Salisbury were taken, after

\* A. D. 1400.

an obstinate resistance, and beheaded on the spot by the mayor's order. The earls of Huntington, and lord Spencer, escaped over the tops of the houses into the camp, in hopes of storming the town at the head of their forces; but they had the mortification to find the tents and baggage abandoned by the soldiers, who, upon hearing the tumult within, had concluded, that a party of the king's army had entered privately, and so fled with the utmost precipitation.

The two lords endeavoured to conceal themselves separately; but they were soon taken, and lost their heads upon the scaffold. Their deaths were soon after followed by those of Sir Thomas Blount, and Sir Benedict Sely; and when the quarters of these unhappy men were brought to London, no less than eighteen bishops, and thirty-four mitred abbots, joined the populace, and met them with the most indecent marks of joy and exultation. In this shocking procession, was seen the earl of Rutland carrying the head of lord Spencer, his brother-in-law, in triumph, after having betrayed him. This miscreant had been long enured to blood and treachery: he was instrumental in the murder of his uncle, the duke of Gloucester; he soon after deserted Richard, and joined Henry; not long after, he entered into a conspiracy against this monarch; and now, at last, betrayed those very associates whom he had seduced into this enterprize.

But the suppression of a single rebellion was not sufficient to give quiet to the kingdom.



The king of France had actually raised a vast armament to invade England; but a truce was soon after concluded for eight and twenty years; and it was agreed, that queen Isabel, who had been married to Richard, but whose marriage had never been consummated, should return to France, her native country. The Scotch, shortly after, began to renew their ancient disturbances; and while the English army marched northward to oppose their incursions, the Welsh, on the other side, under the conduct of Owen Glendour, attacked the kingdom. Many were the petty victories gained, and the ravages committed on either part. The name of Owen Glendour is respected among his countrymen to this day; but as all his conquests procured no lasting advantage, they are scarce worth a place in history. It will be sufficient to observe, that whatever honour the English lost on the side of Wales, they gained an equivalent on that of Scotland; the Welsh maintained their ground, although their chieftain, Glendour, was taken prisoner, while the Scotch still fled before the English.

In the year 1401 the famous statute for burning heretics was made; in virtue of which William Sawtre rector of St. Olith in London was soon after burnt in Smithfield.

† It was in a skirmish between the Scotch and the English, that Archibald, earl of Douglas, with many of the Scotch nobility, were taken prisoners by the earl of Northumberland. This success was considered at first as of signal advantage; but it was soon attended

tended with consequences that were fatal to the victors. When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he sent the earl orders not to ransom his prisoners, as he intended to detain them, in order to encrease his demands, in making peace with Scotland. This message was highly resented by the earl of Northumberland, who, by the laws of war that prevailed in that age, had a right to the ransom of all such as he had taken in battle. The command was still more irksome, as he thought the king his debtor, both for security and his crown. Indeed, the obligations which Henry owed him, were of a nature likely to produce ingratitude on the one side, and discontent on the other. The prince naturally became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne; and the subject thought himself entitled to every favour the crown had to bestow. Not but that Henry had already conferred the highest honours upon him; he had made him constable of the kingdom, and given him several other employments; but nothing could satisfy his ambition. † Accordingly, a scheme was laid, in which the Scotch and Welsh were to unite their forces, and to assist Northumberland in elevating Mortimer, as the true heir, to the crown of England. When all things were prepared, the earl was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick. But the want of his presence was well supplied by his son Harry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, who took the command of the troops, and marched them towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with

A 4

those

† A. D. 1403.

those of Glendour, who, some time before, had been exchanged from prison, and had now advanced with his forces as far as Shropshire. Henry who had received no intelligence of their designs, was at first greatly surprised. But having a small army in readiness, which he had intended against the Scotch, and knowing the importance of dispatch, he instantly hurried down to Shrewsbury, that he might give the rebels battle.

Upon the approach of the two armies, both sides seemed to shew a desire of reconciliation; but when they opened their mutual demands, the treaty was turned into abuse and recrimination. On one side was objected rebellion and ingratitude; on the other tyranny and usurpation. The two armies were pretty nearly equal, each consisting of about twelve thousand men; the animosity on both sides was inflamed to the highest pitch; and no prudence or military skill could determine on which side the victory might incline. Accordingly, a very bloody engagement ensued, in which the generals on both sides exerted themselves with great bravery. Henry was seen every where in the thickest of the fight; while his valiant son, fought by his side, and, though wounded in the face by an arrow, still kept the field, and performed astonishing acts of valour. On the other side, the daring Hotspur supported that renown, which he had acquired in so many bloody engagements, and every where fought out the king as a noble object of his indignation. At last, however, his death, by an arrow, decided the victory; and

and Henry once more prevailed. On that bloody day, two thousand three hundred gentlemen were slain, and about six thousand private men, of whom two thirds were of Hotspur's army.

Meantime Northumberland, who was lately recovered from his indisposition, was advancing with a body of troops to reinforce the army of the malcontents. But hearing by the way of his son's and his brother's misfortune, he dismissed his troops, not daring to keep the field with so small a force. For a while he attempted to find safety by flight, but at last being pressed by his pursuers, and finding himself totally without resource, he chose to throw himself upon the king's mercy. § Upon his appearing before Henry at York, he received a pardon; Henry probably thinking that he was sufficiently punished by the death of his favourite son.

But the extinction of one rebellion only seemed to give rise to another. The archbishop of York, entered into a confederacy with the earl of Nottingham, and the earl of Northumberland, so lately pardoned, to dethrone the king, and set young Mortimer in his place. Had the forces of these insurgents co-operated with those that were so lately overthrown, they might have overpowered any body of men, which the king could bring into the field; but they began their operations, just when their confederates were defeated. The earl of Westmoreland, who had been sent against them with a very inferior force, demanded a conference, to which they

A 5. readily

readily consented. The chiefs, on each side, met at Skipton, and, in the presence of both armies, entered upon their grievances and complaints. The archbishop loudly deplored the nation's injuries and his own; the earl not only allowed the justice of his remonstrances, but begged of him to propose the remedies. The archbishop entered upon many stipulations, and the earl granted them all. He now, therefore, entreated, that since they had nothing more to ask or to fear, they would dismiss their forces. || The insurgents immediately disbanded their troops, while he gave private orders that his own army should not disperse till further notice; and thus having disqualified them for defence, instantly seizing upon the archbishop, and the earl of Northampton, he carried them to the king at Pontefract. The form of a trial was an unnecessary ceremony, to men whose fate was predetermined; the archbishop of York was the first prelate who was capitally punished in England, the earl of Nottingham shared the same fate, and the earl of Northumberland found safety by flying into Scotland; but he was \* slain in a year or two after, in an incursion, by Sir Thomas Rokesby, sheriff of Yorkshire.

All this time the prince of Wales carried on the war against Owen Glendour; who after several defeats, died † at his daughter's house in Herefordshire, where he was entertained under the disguise of a shepherd.

‡ The king now, at the request of the commons granted a general amnesty, and created his

|| A. D. 1405. \* A. D. 1407. † A. D. 1409.  
‡ A. D. 1411.

his three sons, John, Thomas and Humphrey, dukes of Clarence, Bedford and Gloucester.

By these means Henry seemed to surmount all his troubles; and the calm, which was thus produced, was employed by him in endeavours to acquire the popularity, which he had lost by his preceding severities exercised during the preceding part of his reign. \* He often permitted the house of commons to assume powers, which had not been exercised by their predecessors. When they voted him the supplies, they appointed treasurers of their own, to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended; and required them to deliver in their accounts to the house. They proposed thirty very important articles for the government of the king's household; and, preserved their privileges, more entire during his reign, than that of any of his predecessors. But while the king laboured to retrieve the reputation he had lost, his son Henry, prince of Wales, seemed equally bent on incurring the public aversion. He became notorious for all kinds of debauchery; and ever chose to be surrounded by a set of wretches, who took pride in committing the most illegal acts, with the prince at their head. Such were the excesses into which he ran, that one of his dissolute companions having been brought to trial before Sir William Gascoigne, chief justice of the king's bench, for some misdemeanor, the prince was so exasperated that he struck the judge in open court. The venerable magistrate, who knew the reverence that was due to his station, behaved with a

A 6

dignity

\* A. D. 1412.

dignity that became his office, and immediately ordered the prince to be committed to prison. When this transaction was reported to the king, he could not help exclaiming in a transport; "Happy is the king, that has a magistrate endowed with courage to execute the laws upon such an offender; still more happy in having a son willing to submit to such a chastisement." This, in fact, is one of the first great instances we read in the English history, of a magistrate doing justice in opposition to power; since upon many former occasions, we find the judges only ministers of royal caprice.

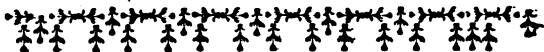
Henry, whose health had for some time been declining, did not long out-live this transaction. He was subject to fits, which bereaved him for the time, of his senses; and which, at last brought on the near approach of death at Westminster. As his constitution decayed, his fears of losing the crown redoubled, even to a childish anxiety. He could not be persuaded to sleep, unless the royal diadem were laid upon his pillow. As he was one day in a violent fit, the prince of Wales took up the crown and carried it away; but the king soon after recovering, demanded what was become of it? Being informed that the prince of Wales had carried it off: "What! said the king, would he rob me of my right before my death?" But the prince just then entering the room, assured his father that he had no such motives, replaced the crown where he had found it; and having received his father's blessing, retired. The king was taken with his last fit,  
while

while he was at his devotions before the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey, and from thence he was carried to the Jerusalem chamber. When he had recovered from his swoon, perceiving himself in a strange place, he desired to know if the apartment had any particular name: being informed that it was called the Jerusalem Chamber, he said, he then perceived a prophecy was fulfilled, which declared that he should die in Jerusalem. He soon after expired, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

If we consider this monarch on one side of his character, he will appear worthy applause; if on the other, of our warmest indignation. As a man, he was valiant, prudent, cool, and sagacious. These virtues adorned him in his private character; nor did his vices appear, till ambition brought him within sight of a throne: it was then that he was discovered to be unjust, cruel, gloomy and tyrannical; and though his reign contributed much to the happiness of his subjects, yet it was entirely destructive of his own. After all the blood that he had shed, in securing his ill-gotten crown, and after an uninterrupted series of troubles, when he began to promise himself happier days, he was cut off in the strength of his years!

HEN-





## C H A P. II.

## H E N R Y V.

\* **T**HE death of Henry IV. gave the people little concern, as he had always governed them rather by their fears than their affections. But the rejoicings made for the succession of his son, notwithstanding his extravagancies, were manifest and sincere. In the very height of the revel, he would often give instances of the noblest disposition; but it was his courage which in that martial age chiefly won the people's affection.

The first steps taken by the young king confirmed all those prepossessions in his favour. He called together his former companions, exhorted them to follow his example; and dismissed them from his presence, allowing them a competency to subsist upon. The faithful ministers of his father, at first trembled for their former justice, in the administration of their duty; but he soon eased them of their fears, by taking them into his friendship and confidence. Sir William Gascoigne, who was the most obnoxious, met with praises instead of reproaches, and was exhorted to persevere in the same impartial execution of justice.

But

\* A. D. 1413.

But Henry did not stop here; he shewed himself willing to correct, not only his own errors, but those of the former reign. He expressed the deepest sorrow for the unhappy Richard, and ordered his funeral obsequies to be performed with royal solemnity. He seemed ambitious to bury all party-distinctions in oblivion, the good men of either party were dear to him; and the bad, vainly alledged their loyalty as an extenuation of their vices. The exhortations as well as the example of the prince gave encouragement to virtue; all parties were equally attached to so just a prince, and the defects of his title were forgot.

In this manner, the people seemed happy in their new king; but it is seldom in the power of man to raise himself entirely above the prejudices of the age in which he lives. The clergy were resolved to continue their ancient power, not by reforming themselves, but by persecuting others. The heresy of Wickliff, or Lollardism, as it was called, began to spread more and more, while it received a new lustre from the protection of Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, who had been one of the king's domestics, and stood high in his favour. His character, both for civil and military excellence, pointed him out to Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, as the proper victim; and he applied to the king for permission to indict lord Cobham, as a miscreant guilty of heresy. But the prince resolved first to try what effect reason and persuasion would produce. He accordingly de-  
sired

fired a private conference with lord Cobham ; but he found him determined rather to part with life, than a good conscience. He therefore gave him up to the fury of his enemies, who condemned him to be burnt alive. But escaping from the Tower, the day before his execution, he retired into Wales.

In January, 1714, many of the Lollards assembling by night in St. Giles's fields, the king coming upon them at midnight took about eighty of them, thirty-seven of whom were hanged. Four years after Lord Cobham himself was taken and hung up with a chain by the middle ; and thus at a slow fire burned, or rather roasted, alive.

Charles the sixth now king of France was subject to frequent fits of lunacy. During his disease, his vassals and courtiers grew powerful from their sovereign's weakness. The administration of affairs was disputed between his brother Lewis, duke of Orleans, and his cousin-german, John, duke of Burgundy. Isabella, his queen, also had her party. Each of these, as they happened to prevail, branded their captives with the name of traitors ; and the gibbets were at once hung with the bodies of the accused and the accusers. This was thought, by Henry a favourable opportunity to recover from France those grants that had been formerly given up by treaty. † But previously he sent over ambassadors to Paris, offering a perpetual peace and alliance, on condition of being put in possession of those provinces, which had been ravished from the English during the former

† A. D. 1414.

former reign, and of espousing Catherine, the French king's daughter, in marriage, with a suitable dowry. These demands being rejected, Henry assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton; \* and landed at Harfleur, at the head of an army of fifty thousand men.

His first operations were upon Harfleur; which being pressed hard, promised at a certain day to surrender, unless relieved before that time. The day arriving, the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. From thence he advanced farther into the country. But the climate seemed to fight against the English; a contagious dysentery carrying off above three parts of Henry's army. Meantime the French, though disagreeing internally, united at the appearance of the common danger. An army of fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand foot, was by this time assembled, under the command of count Albret: and was now placed to intercept Henry's weakened forces on their return: who now began to repent of his rash inroad, and endeavoured to retire into Calais. In this retreat, which was at once both painful and dangerous, Henry took every precaution to inspire his troops with patience and perseverance; and shewed them in his own person the brightest example of fortitude and resignation. He was continually harrassed on his march by flying parties; and whenever he attempted to pass the river Somme, over which his march lay, he saw troops on the other side, ready to oppose his passage. However, he seized by surprize a passage near St. Quintin,

\* A. D. 1415.

Quintin, and there safely carried over his army.

But after he had passed the small river of Tertois at Blangi, he was surprised to observe from the heights, the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and so posted, that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. No situation could be more unfavourable than that in which he then found himself. His army was wasted with disease; the soldiers' spirits worn down with fatigue, destitute of provisions, and discouraged by their retreat. Their whole body amounted but to nine thousand men; and these were to sustain the shock of an enemy above ten times their number, headed by expert generals, and plentifully supplied with provisions. This disparity, as it depressed the English, so it raised the courage of the French; and so confident were they of success, that they began to treat for the ransom of their prisoners. Henry, on the other hand, though sensible of his extreme danger, did not omit any circumstance that could assist him. He drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods which guarded each flank; and he patiently expected, in that position, the attack of the enemy. The constable of France was at the head of one army; and Henry himself, with Edward, duke of York, commanded the other. For a time both armies silently gazed at each other, neither being willing to break their ranks by making the onset; which Henry perceiving, with a cheerful countenance cried out, "My friends,  
" since

“ since they will not begin, it is ours to set  
“ them the example ; come on, and the bles-  
“ sed Trinity be our protection.” Upon  
this, the whole army set forward with a shout,  
while the French waited their approach with  
intrepidity. The English archers, first let  
fly a shower of arrows three feet long, which  
did great execution. The French cavalry  
advancing to repel these, two hundred bow-  
men, who lay concealed, rising on a sudden,  
let fly among them, and produced such a con-  
fusion, that the archers threw by their arrows,  
and rushing in, fell upon them sword in  
hand. The French at first repulsed the as-  
sailants, enfeebled by disease ; but they soon  
made up the defect by their valour ; and re-  
solving to conquer or die, burst in upon the  
enemy with such impetuosity, that they were  
obliged to give way.

In the mean time a body of English horse,  
which had been concealed in a neighbouring  
wood, rushing out, flanked the French infan-  
try, and a general disorder ensued. The first  
line being routed, the second marched up to  
interrupt the progress of the victory. Henry,  
alighting from his horse, presented himself to  
the enemy with an undaunted countenance ;  
and at the head of his men fought on foot,  
encouraging some, and assisting others. Eight-  
teen French cavaliers, who were resolved to  
kill him, or die in the attempt, rushing from  
the ranks together, advanced ; and one of them  
stunned the king with a blow of his battle-ax.  
They then fell upon him in a body ; and he  
was upon the point of sinking, when David  
Gam, a valiant Welshman, aided by two of  
his

his countrymen, came up to the king's assistance, and soon turned the attention of the assailants from the king to themselves, till at length being overpowered, they fell dead at his feet. Henry had by this time recovered his senses; and fresh troops advancing to his relief, the eighteen French cavaliers were slain. The heat of the engagement still increasing, Henry's courage seemed also to increase, and the most dangerous situation was where he fought in person: his brother, stunned by a blow, fell at his feet; and while the king was endeavouring to succour him, he received another blow himself, which threw him upon his knees. But he soon recovered and leading on his troops with fresh ardour, they ran headlong upon the enemy; and put them into such disorder, that their leaders could never after bring them to the charge. The duke of Alençon, who commanded the second line, seeing it fly, resolved to retrieve the day, or fall in the attempt. Wherefore running up to Henry, and at the same time crying aloud, that he was the duke of Alençon, he discharged such a blow on his head, that it carried off a part of the king's helmet. Henry returned it, by striking the duke to the ground, and he was soon killed by the surrounding crowd; all the king's efforts to save him proving ineffectual. The French were now overthrown in every part of the field; their number, being crowded into a very narrow space, were incapable of either flying or making any resistance; so that they covered the ground with heaps of slain. After all appearance

appearance of opposition was over, the English had leisure to make prisoners. Henry now publicly returned thanks to heaven, and proclaimed that his success should be ascribed to God alone.

This battle was fatal to France, from the number of princes and nobility slain, or taken prisoners. Among the number of the slain, was the constable of France, the two brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Alençon, the duke of Barre, and the count de Morle. Among the prisoners, were the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, with several others of inferior quality. An archbishop of Sens also, perished fighting in this battle. The killed amounted to ten thousand; of whom eight thousand were gentlemen. The number of prisoners were fourteen thousand. The English who were slain were about four hundred.

Henry did not interrupt his retreat a moment after the battle of Agincourt; but carried his prisoners to Calais, and from thence to England, \* where the parliament, dazzled with the splendour of his late victories, granted him new supplies. With these supplies and new levies, he once more landed an army of twenty-eight thousand men in Normandy, and prepared to strike a decisive blow for the crown of France. That wretched country now was in a most deplorable situation. The whole kingdom appeared as one vast theatre of crimes murders, injustice, and devastation. The duke of Orleans was assassinated by the duke of Burgundy; and the duke of Burgundy, in his

† A. D. 1416.



his turn, fell by the treachery of the dauphin. At the same time, the duke's son, desirous of revenging his father's death, entered into a secret treaty with the English; and a league was concluded at Arras, between Henry and the young duke of Burgundy. Henry therefore, proceeded in his conquest, without much opposition from any quarter. Several towns and provinces submitted on his approach; the city of Rouen was besieged and taken; Pontoise and Gisors he soon became master of. He even threatened Paris by the terror of his power, and obliged the court to move to Troye. † Resolving to prosecute his conquest, he wintered in France, and early in the spring, took several more places. In January following, he had reduced † all Normandy, two hundred and fifteen years after it had been wrested from king John.

The duke of Burgundy now met Henry in order to ratify that treaty, by which the crown of France was to be transferred to a stranger. The imbecillity of Charles made him quite passive; and Henry dictated the terms throughout the whole negotiation. The principle articles of this treaty were, that Henry should espouse the princess Catharine; that king Charles should enjoy the title and dignity of king for life; but that Henry should be declared heir to the crown, and should be intrusted with the present administration of the government; that France and England should for ever be united under one king, but should still retain their respective laws and privileges; that Henry should unite  
his

‡ A. D. 1418. † A. D. 1419.

his arms with those of king Charles, and the duke of Burgundy, to subdue the dauphin and his partizans. Such was the tenor of a treaty, too repugnant to the real interests of both kingdoms to be of long duration.

‡ It was not long after this treaty, that Henry married the princess Catherine; after which he carried his father-in-law to Paris, and took a formal possession of that capital. There he obtained from the estates of the kingdom, a ratification of the late compact; and then turned his arms, against the Dauphin, who, wandered about a stranger in his own patrimony.

† Henry's supplies were not provided in such plenty, as to enable him to carry on the war, without returning in person to prevail upon his parliament for fresh succours; and, upon his arrival in England, though he found his subjects pleased with his conquests, yet they seemed doubtful as to the advantage of them. A treaty, which was likely to transfer the seat of empire from England, was not much relished by the parliament. They therefore, upon various pretences, refused him a supply equal to his exigencies, but he was resolved on pursuing his schemes; and joining to the supplies granted at home, the contributions levied on the conquered provinces, he was able once more to assemble an army of twenty-eight thousand men, and with these he landed at Calais.

In the mean time the Dauphin, a prince of great prudence and activity, omitted no opportunity of repairing his ruined situation.

He

‡ A. D. 1420. § A. D. 1421.

He prevailed upon the regent of Scotland to send him a body of eight thousand men; and with these; and some few forces of his own, he attacked the duke of Clarence, who commanded the troops in Henry's absence, and gained a complete victory.

This was the first action which turned the tide of success against the English. But it was of short duration, for Henry soon after appearing, the Dauphin fled; while many of the places, which held out for the Dauphin in the neighbourhood of Paris, surrendered to the conqueror. In this manner, while Henry was every where victorious, he fixed his residence at Paris; and while Charles had but a small court, he was attended with a very magnificent one. † On Whitsunday the two kings and their two queens with crowns on their heads, dined together in public; Charles receiving apparent homage, but Henry commanding with absolute authority.

In the mean time, the Dauphin was chased beyond the Loire, and almost totally dispossessed of all the northern provinces. He was even pursued into the south, by the united arms of the English and Burgundians, and threatened with total destruction.

Henry, at a time when both crowns were just devolved upon him, was seized with a fistula; a disorder, which from the unskillfulness of the physicians of the times, soon became mortal. Perceiving his end approaching, he sent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and a few other noblemen, and to them he delivered, in great tranquility, his last will with regard to the govern-

† A. D. 1422.

government of his kingdom and family. He recommended his son to their protection ; and though he regretted the being unable to accomplish the great object of his ambition in totally subduing France, yet he expressed great indifference at the approach of death ; and expired with the same intrepidity with which he had lived, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth year of his reign.

This prince possessed many virtues, but his military successes gave him credit for more than he possessed. It is certain, that he had the talent of attaching his friends by affability and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. He was a lover of justice : except in his persecution of the Lollards ; which can neither be defended nor excused. Except likewise his behaviour towards France, which he attacked without the least provocation. He filled it with widows and orphans, lamentation, misery, and every species of distress. And yet he died in full persuasion of having acted according to equity. So he deceived himself, as well as others ! But there is one that judgeth righteously.

Yet his reign was rather splendid than profitable ; the treasures of the nation were lavished on conquests, that even though they could have been maintained, would have proved injurious to the nation. Nevertheless he died fortunate, by falling in the midst of his triumphs, and leaving his subjects in the height of his reputation. Charles, who died two months after him, finished a wretched reign, past in frenzy and contempt, despised

by his friends, insulted by his allies, and leaving the most miserable subjects upon earth.

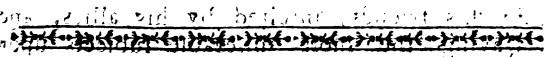
Henry left by his queen, Catherine of France, only one son not full nine months old, whose misfortunes, during the course of a long reign, surpassed all the glories and successes of his father.

The English triumphs at this time, in France, produced scarce any good effects at home; as they grew warlike, they became savage, and, panting after foreign possessions, forgot the arts of cultivating those that lay nearer home. Our language, instead of improving, was more neglected than before; Langland and Chaucer had begun to polish it, but it now relapsed into its former rudeness, and no poet or historian of note was born in this tempestuous period.



CHAP.

C. A.



CHAP. III.

HENRY VI.

**HENRY VI.** was not quite a year old, when he came to the throne; and his relations began soon after, to dispute the administration of government during his minority. The duke of Bedford, \* one of the most accomplished princes of the age, and equally experienced, both in the cabinet and the field, was appointed by parliament protector of England, and first counsellor to the king. His brother the duke of Gloucester, was fixed upon to govern, while he conducted the war in France; and, in order to limit the power of both brothers, a council was named, without whose approbation no measure of importance could be carried into execution.

As the conduct of military operations was at that time considered in a much superior light to civil employments, the duke of Bedford fixed his station in France, to repress the attempts of Charles VII. who succeeded his father to a nominal throne. Nothing could be more deplorable than the situation of that monarch on assuming his title to the crown. The English were masters of almost

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\* A. D. 1422.

all France; and Henry VI. though yet but an infant, || was solemnly invested with regal power by legates from Paris. The duke of Bedford was at the head of a numerous army, in the heart of the kingdom; while the duke of Burgundy, who had entered into a firm confederacy with him, seconded his claims. Yet, notwithstanding these unfavourable appearances, Charles (who though yet but twenty, united the prudence of age with the affability of youth) found means to bring back his subjects to their allegiance.

Indeed his first attempts were destitute of success; wherever he endeavoured to face the enemy he was overthrown. His authority was insulted even by his own servants; advantage after advantage was gained against him, and a battle fought near Vernueil, † in which he was totally defeated by the duke of Bedford, seemed to render his affairs desperate. However, from the impossibility of the English keeping the field without new supplies, § Bedford was obliged to retire into England, and in the mean time his vigilant enemy began to recover. Dumois, one of his generals, at the head of a thousand men, † compelled the earl of Warwick to raise the siege of Montargis; and this advantage, slight as it was, shewed the French that the English were not invincible.

\* But they soon had still greater reason to triumph: a new revolution was produced by means apparently the most unlikely. In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs,

|| A. D. 1423. † 1424. ‡ 1425. † 1429.  
\* 1429.

on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl, about twenty-seven years of age, called Joan of Arc. This girl had been a servant at a small inn; and in that humble station had submitted to those hardy employments which fit the body for fatigue. She was of an irreproachable life, and had hitherto testified no enterprizing qualities. She contentedly fulfilled the duties of her situation, and was remarkable only for her modesty and religion. But the miseries of her country excited her compassion. Her king expelled his native throne, her country laid in blood, and strangers executing unnumbered rapines before her eyes, warmed her heart with a desire of redress. Her mind enflamed by these objects, began to feel several impulses, which she was willing to take for the inspirations of heaven. She had recourse to one Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, and informed him of her destination, to free her native country. Baudricourt treated her with neglect; but her importunities at length prevailed; and, willing to make a trial of her pretensions, he gave her some attendants, who conducted her to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon.

The French court were willing to try every means to support their declining fortunes. It was therefore given out, that Joan was inspired; that she was able to discover the king among the number of his courtiers, although he had laid aside all the distinctions of his authority; that she had told him some

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secrets



secrets, which were only known to himself; and that she had demanded, and minutely described, a sword in the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois, which she had never seen. Then being armed cap-à-pes, and mounted on horse-back, she was shewn to the people. She was brought before the doctors of the university; who declared she had actually received her commission from above.

When the preparations for her mission were completely blazoned, their next aim was to send her against the enemy. The English were then besieging Orleans, the last resource of Charles, and every thing promised them a speedy surrender. Joan undertook to raise the siege; and to render herself still more remarkable, girded herself with the miraculous sword. She ordered all the soldiers to confess themselves before they set out, and assured them of success. Such confidence on her side soon raised the spirits of the French army; and even the English, who pretended to despise her efforts, felt themselves secretly influenced with terror. A supply of provisions was to be conveyed into the town; Joan, at the head of some French troops, covered the embarkation, and entered Orleans at the head of the convoy which she had safely protected. While she was leading her troops along, a dead silence and astonishment reigned among the English; and they regarded with religious awe that boldness which they thought nothing but supernatural assistance could inspire. But they were soon roused from their amazement by a sally from the town;

Joan

Joan led on the besieged; bringing them up to the trenches, and overpowering the besiegers in their own redoubts. In the attack she was wounded in the neck with an arrow; but instantly pulling it out with her own hands, and getting the wound dressed, she hastened back to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy. These successes continuing, the English found it was impossible to resist troops animated by such superior energy; and Suffolk, who conducted the attack, thinking it might be dangerous to remain in the presence of such a courageous and victorious enemy, raised the siege.

From being attacked, the French now became the aggressors. Charles formed a body of six thousand men, and sent them to besiege Jergeau, whither the English, commanded by the earl of Suffolk, had retired. The city was taken; Suffolk made prisoner; and Joan marched into the place in triumph, at the head of the army. A battle was soon after fought near Patay, where the English were worsted; and the generals, Scales and Talbot, taken prisoners.

The raising the siege of Orleans was one part of the maid's promise to the king of France; the crowning him at Rheims was the other. She now declared, that it was time to complete that ceremony; and Charles, in pursuance of her advice, set out for Rheims, at the head of twelve thousand men. The towns through which he passed opened their gates to him; and Rheims sent him its keys, upon his approach. The ceremony of his coronation

was there performed with the utmost solemnity; and the maid of Orleans, (for so she was now called) seeing the completion of her mission, desired leave to retire, alledging that she had now accomplished the end of her calling. But her services had been so great, that the king pressed her to stay till at length she complied with his request.

A tide of successes followed; Laon, Soissons, Provins, and many other towns and fortresses submitted on the first summons. On the other hand, the English, discomfited and dispirited, fled on every quarter. They now found themselves deprived of the conquests they had gained, as swiftly as they gained them: and the duke of Bedford saw himself divested of his strong holds without being able to stop the enemies' progress. In order to revive the declining state of his affairs, he resolved to have Henry crowned at Paris, hoping the natives would be allured to obedience, by the splendor of the ceremony. Henry was accordingly crowned; all the vassals that still continued under the English power swearing fealty and homage. But it was now too late for the ceremonies of a coronation to give a turn to the affairs of the English; the generality of the kingdom had declared against them; and the remainder only waited a convenient opportunity.

An event ensued soon after, which, though it promised to promote the English cause in France, in the end served to render it odious. The duke of Burgundy at the head of a powerful

ful army had laid siege to Compeign; and the  
 maid of Orleans had thrown herself into the  
 place, contrary to the wishes of the govern-  
 or, who did not desire any to share his au-  
 thority. The garrison were rejoiced at her  
 appearance, and believed themselves invinci-  
 ble under her protection. But their joy was  
 of short duration; for Joan having the day  
 after her arrival headed a sally, and twice  
 driven the enemy from their intrenchments,  
 she was at last obliged to retire, placing her-  
 self in the rear, to protect the retreat of her  
 forces. But in the end attempting to follow  
 her troops into the city, she found the gates  
 shut and the bridge drawn up by order of the  
 governor.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the besieg-  
 ers, in having taken a person who had been so  
 long a terror to them. The Te Deum was  
 publicly celebrated; and it was hoped, the  
 capture of this extraordinary person would  
 restore the English to their former victories.  
 The duke of Bedford was no sooner informed  
 of her being taken than he purchased her of  
 the count Vendome, who had made her his  
 prisoner, and ordered her to be committed to  
 close confinement. The credulity of both  
 nations was at that time so great, that nothing  
 was too absurd to gain belief. As Joan but a  
 little before, was regarded as a saint, she was  
 now considered as a sorceress. † Accordingly,  
 it was resolved in council to send her to Rouen  
 to be tried for witchcraft; and the bishop of  
 Beauvais, a man wholly devoted to the Eng-  
 lish interest, presented a petition against her

B 5

† A. D. 1435

for that purpose. The university of Paris was so mean as to join in the same request. Several prelates, among whom the cardinal of Winchester was the only Englishman, were appointed as her judges. They held their court in Rouen, where Henry then resided; and the maid, clothed in her former military apparel, but loaded with irons, was produced before this tribunal. Her behaviour there no way disgraced her former gallantry; she betrayed neither weakness nor womanish submission; but appealed to God for the truth of her former revelations. In the issue she was found guilty of Witchcraft and sentenced to be burnt alive in the market-place of Rouen; and this infamous sentence was accordingly executed upon her. She certainly deserved no such treatment; whether she was an honest enthusiast, or a person whom it pleased God to raise up for the deliverance of her country.

This horrid cruelty served only to enflame the hatred between the contending powers, without mending the cause of the invaders. One of the first misfortunes which the English felt, was the defection of the duke of Burgundy, who had for some time wished to break an unnatural connection, that only served to involve his country in ruin. \* A treaty was therefore concluded, between him and Charles, in which the latter made all the atonement possible for his offence; and the former agreed to assist him in driving the English out of France. This was a mortal blow to their cause; and might perhaps hasten the duke of Bedford's death, who died at Rouen a few days

\* A. D. 1435.

days after the treaty was concluded. The earl of Cambridge was appointed his successor to the regency of France.

From this period, the English affairs became irretrievable. The city of Paris returned to a sense of its duty. Lord Willoughby, who commanded it, was contented to stipulate for the safe retreat of his troops to Normandy. Thus ground was continually gained by the French; and notwithstanding their fields were laid waste, and their towns depopulated, yet they found protection from the weakness and divisions of the English. At length, both parties began to grow weary of a war, which was a burthen greater than either could support. But the terms of peace insisted upon by both were quite wide of each other. However a truce for twenty-two months was concluded, which left every thing on the present footing. \* No sooner was this agreed upon, than Charles employed himself with great industry and judgment in repairing those numberless ills, to which his kingdom, from the continuance of wars, both foreign and domestic, had so long been exposed. He established discipline among his troops, and justice among his governors. He revived agriculture, and repressed factions. Thus being prepared once more for taking the field, he took the first favourable occasion of breaking the truce; and Normandy was at the same time invaded by four powerful armies; one commanded by Charles himself; a second by the duke of Brittany; a third by the duke of Alençon; and a fourth by the count Dunois.

† A. D. 1437.

\* A. D. 1443.

Every place opened their gates almost as soon as the French appeared before them. Rouen was the only town that offered to hold out a siege; but the inhabitants clamoured so loud, that the duke of Somerset, who commanded, was obliged to capitulate. All Normandy and Guienne, that had so long acknowledged subjection to England, were lost in the space of a year; and the English saw themselves entirely dispossessed of a country, which for above three centuries they had considered as annexed to their native dominions. Calais alone remained of all their conquests; and this was but a small compensation for the blood and treasure which had been lavished, and only served to gratify ambition with a transient applause.

It may easily be supposed, that the bad successes in France, which began almost with Henry's reign, produced dissensions and factions at home. The duke of Gloucester, had been appointed regent of England, during his brother's absence. But many envied his situation. Among these was Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, the legitimate son of John of Ghent. This prelate, to whom the care of the king's education had been entrusted, was a man of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous disposition. He had continual disputes with the duke of Gloucester, and gained frequent advantages over the open temper of that prince. It was in vain that the duke of Bedford employed all his own authority, and that of parliament, to reconcile them; their mutual animosities served for several years to embarrass the

the government. The sentiments of these two leaders were particularly divided with regard to France. The cardinal encouraged every proposal of accommodation; the duke of Gloucester was for maintaining the honour of the English arms. In this contest, it became incumbent on one side to call in new auxiliaries. For this purpose, the cardinal was resolved to strengthen himself, by procuring a suitable match for Henry, who was now twenty-three years old; and then, by bringing the new-made queen over to his interests. Accordingly the earl of Suffolk, was sent over to France, apparently to settle the terms of the truce, but, in reality, to procure a match for the king. The cardinal and his friends had cast their eye on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem; but without either real power or possessions. This princess was considered as the most accomplished of the age, both in mind and person. The treaty was therefore hastened on by Suffolk, and the marriage soon after ratified in England.

|| The cardinal now strengthened by this new alliance (for the queen came immediately into his measures,) the duke of Gloucester soon found himself possessed of only the shadow of power; all his measures were overruled by his antagonist; and he was daily insulted in the most cruel manner. One of the principal steps his enemies took to render him odious, was to accuse his wife, the dutchess, of witchcraft. She was charged with conver-  
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|| A. D. 1445.



ing with one Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and reputed necromancer; and also one Mary Gurdemain, who was said to be a witch. It was asserted that these three in conjunction had made a figure of the king in wax, which was placed before a gentle fire; and as the wax dissolved, the king's strength was to waste; and upon its total dissolution his life was to be at an end. This accusation was readily attended to in that credulous age. The prisoners were pronounced guilty; neither the rank nor innocence of the dutches, could protect her: she was condemned to do penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment.

But this was only the beginning of the duke's distresses. \* The cardinal of Winchester was resolved to drive his resentment to the utmost; and accordingly procured a parliament to be summoned, not at London, which was too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmundsbury, where his adherents were sufficiently numerous to over-awe every opponent. As soon as he appeared, he was accused of treason, and thrown into prison; and on the day on which he was to make his defence, he was found dead in his bed.

The death of the duke of Gloucester was universally ascribed to the cardinal of Winchester, who himself died six weeks after, testifying the utmost remorse for the bloody scene he had acted. His death made room for the duke of York's claim to the crown, and so occasioned all the subsequent miseries. From this time discontent began to prevail among the people, and faction among the great. It was  
now

\* A. D. 1447.

now that the English were to pay the severe, though late, penalty for having unjustly deposed Richard the second; another Richard, duke of York, beginning to think of preferring his claims to the crown. This nobleman was descended by the mother's side, from Lionel, one of the sons of Edward the third, whereas the reigning king was descended from John of Ghent, a son of the same monarch, but younger than Lionel. Richard, therefore, stood plainly in succession before Henry; and he thought the unpopularity of the present reign favourable to his ambition. The ensign of Richard was a white rose, that of Henry a red; and this gave name to the two factions, whose animosity was now about to drench the kingdom with slaughter.

† The cardinal of Winchester being dead, the duke of Suffolk, who had a hand in Gloucester's assassination, took the lead in public affairs; and being secretly aided by the queen, managed all with uncontrollable authority. His conduct soon excited the jealousy or the hatred of the whole kingdom. The great nobility could ill brook the exaltation of one above them, who was of a birth inferior to their own. The people complained of his arbitrary measures; and the immense acquisitions which he had made in office. † Suffolk was not ignorant of the hatred of the people; but supposed that his crimes could not be proved against him. He endeavoured, therefore, to over-awe his enemies by boldly presenting himself to the charge. This was what the House of Commons had long wished for; they

† A. D. 1448. † A. D. 1450.

they immediately accused him of corruption, tyranny, and treason. He was accused of being the cause of the loss of France; and of betraying in office the secrets of his department. This accusation might be false; but the real motive, which was Suffolk's power, and the cruel use he made of it, was true. It was no easy matter from any one man's strength, to withstand the united resentment of a nation: the court was obliged to give up its favourite; and the king, banished him for five years. This was considered by some as an escape from justice; the captain of a vessel was therefore employed by his enemies to intercept him in his passage to France; he was seized near Dover, his head was struck off on the side of a long-boat; and his body thrown into the sea.

By the death of the duke of Suffolk, Richard of York saw himself rid of a potent enemy, and was pleased to see the discontents of the nation daily encrease. An insurrection soon followed, headed by John Cade. This man was a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly over into France for his crimes; but seeing the people upon his return prepared for violent measures, he assumed the name of Mortimer; and at the head of twenty thousand Kentish men advanced toward the capital, and encamped at Blackheath. The king sent a message to demand the cause of their assembling in arms; Cade answered that their aim was to punish evil ministers, and procure a redress of grievances. The king's council deeming these demands seditious, a

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body of fifteen thousand men was levied to oppose the insurgents; while Henry himself marched at their head towards Blackheath. At his approach, Cade retired, as if he had been afraid of an engagement, and lay in ambush in a wood. The king sent a detachment after the fugitives, and returned himself to London. This was what Cade desired, and falling out of his ambuscade, he cut the detachment in pieces.

The citizens of London soon after opened their gates to the victor; and Cade for some time maintained great order and discipline among his followers. He always led them out into the field during the night time; and published severe edicts against plunder, and violence of every kind.

Next day, being informed that the treasurer, lord Say, was in the city, he caused him to be apprehended, and beheaded without any form of trial; and in the evening returned to the Borough of Southwark. Thus for some days he continued the practice of entering the city in the morning, and quitting it at night; but at length being unable to keep his followers within bounds, the citizens resolved to shut their gates against him. Cade endeavouring to force his way, an engagement ensued between him and the citizens, which lasted all day, and was not discontinued until night put an end to the engagement. The archbishop of Canterbury, and the chancellor, who had taken refuge in the Tower, being informed of the situation of affairs, found means to draw up the same night an act of  
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amnesty, which was privately dispersed among the rebels, and had the desired effect. Gade saw himself in the morning abandoned by most of his followers, and, retreating to Rochester, was obliged to fly alone into the Woods of Kent, where a price being set upon his head by proclamation, he was discovered, and slain by one Alexander Eden.

The duke of York secretly fomented these disturbances; and, wrote to the king, advising a reformation in the ministry; the house of commons seconded his request. An address was presented against the duke of Somerset, the dutchess of Suffolk, the bishop of Chester, Sir John Tufton, and lord Dudley; praying the king to remove them for ever from his person and councils, and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court. The king willing to soften the general animosity against them, promised to banish a part of the obnoxious ministry for the space of a year.

§ However, soon after, the duke of York, raising a body of ten thousand men, marched towards London, demanding a reformation of the government, and the removal of the duke of Somerset from all power. He had hopes from the beginning that the citizens would have thrown open their gates to him; but was much mortified, when he was refused admission. Upon his retreat into Kent, a parley ensued between the king and him, in which the king seemed at length willing to comply. The duke of York was therefore persuaded to pay his respects to the king in his tent; but on repeating

repeating his charge against the duke of Somerset, he was surprized to see that minister step from behind the curtain, and offer to justify his innocence. York now perceived his danger, and repressed the impetuosity of his accusation. As soon as he left the presence, the king commanded him to be apprehended; but he was soon after suffered to retire to his seat at Wigmore, upon promising obedience for the future.

Such a reconciliation could be of no long duration; York still secretly aspired at the crown, and not long after, conspired with the earl of Salisbury and Warwick, to dethrone the king. Yet the queen was persuaded to take him with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick into the council. † This was a fatal blow to the house of Lancaster; all of that party were dismissed from court, and the duke of Somerset sent to the Tower.

But the next year, the king, who had been long indisposed, recovering from his illness, resumed his authority, and released the duke of Somerset from the Tower. The duke of York instantly flew to arms, and with about three thousand men, marched toward London. The king advancing against him with two thousand men, the armies met at St. Alban's. This was the first battle between the houses of York and Lancaster, in which the Yorkists gained the victory, tho' after a severe contest, and the duke of Somerset was slain. The king himself being wounded, was taken prisoner, and treated by the victor with respect and tenderness. § From thence he was led in triumph

† A. D. 1454. § A. D. 1455.

triumph to London; and the duke of York permitting him still to enjoy the title of king, reserved to himself the title of protector, in which consisted all the real power of the crown. † But it was not long before Henry was induced to assert his prerogative; and the duke of York was obliged to retire. At first a negotiation for peace was entered upon by both parties; but their mutual distrusts after some time broke out, and brought them into the field again. Their armies met at Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordshire, and the Yorkists gained some advantage. || But when a more general action was about to ensue, the night before the intended engagement, Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded a body of veterans for the duke of York, deserted with all his men to the king; which so intimidated the whole army of the Yorkists, that they separated the next day, without striking a blow. The duke of York fled to Ireland; the earl of Warwick, escaped to Calais, with the government of which he had been entrusted; and all the party concealed their intentions for a more favourable opportunity. Nor was this opportunity long wanting; Warwick having met with some successes at sea, landed in Kent, and being there joined by some other barons, marched up to London, amidst the acclamations of the people. The city immediately opened its gates; and his troops continually increasing, he soon found himself in a condition to face the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him. Warwick was one of the most celebrated generals

† A. D. 1456. || Sept. 23, 1459.

generals of his age, extremely artful, incontestably brave, equally skilful in council and the field, and inspired with implacable hatred against the queen. On the other side, the queen herself ranged the army in battalia, and gave the necessary orders, while the poor king was constrained to be a spectator of these melancholy operations. Both armies met on a plain near Northampton; the queen's forces amounting to about five and twenty thousand men, the earl of Warwick's to near double that number. While the queen went about from rank to rank, the king remained in his tent. The battle continued for five hours, with the utmost obstinacy; but at length the numbers of Warwick prevailed. The queen's army was overthrown; and she had the misfortune to see the king once more brought back prisoner to his capital in triumph.

The cause of the Yorkists being thus confirmed by the strongest argument, a parliament was called to give it their more formal sanction. The duke of York, whose prospects began to widen as he rose, now began to claim the crown. But he did not entirely gain his cause: it was determined that Henry should possess the throne for his life; and that the duke of York should be his successor.

The queen, now seemed destitute of every resource; her armies were routed, her husband taken prisoner, and the parliament disclaimed her cause; yet, though she had lost all, she still retained her native intrepidity. Being now a fugitive, distant from the capital, opposed by a victorious army, and a  
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consummate general, she still tried every resource. She flew to Wales; and there endeavoured to animate her old friends, and to acquire new. The nobility of the North, were moved by indignation to find the southern barons dispose of the crown, and settle the government. They began to consider the royal cause as unjustly oppressed; and the queen soon found herself at the head of twenty thousand men. || She and her old enemy, the duke of York, once more met upon Wakefield Green, near the castle of Sandal; and victory now declared for the queen. The duke of York was killed in the action; and as his body was found among the slain, his head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown, in derision of his pretended title. His son, the earl of Rutland, a youth of seventeen, was taken prisoner and killed in cold blood, by lord Clifford, in revenge for his father's death, who had fallen in the battle of St. Alban's.

Margaret, marched towards London in order to give the king liberty; but the earl of Warwick, who now put himself at the head of the Yorkists, commanded an army, in which he led about the captive king to give a sanction to his attempts. Upon the approach of the Lancastrians he set his forces in order, and gave battle to the queen at Bernard's Heath near St. Alban's. While the armies were warmly engaged, lord Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of Yorkists withdrew from the combat, and this decided the

|| Dec. 24. A. D. 1460.

the victory in favour of the queen. Above two thousand of the Yorkists perished in the battle, and the person of the king again fell into the hands of his own party.

It only now remained, that the city of London should declare in the queen's favour, but Warwick had previously secured it in his interests; and the citizens refused to open their gates to her summons. In the mean time, young Edward, the eldest son of the late duke of York, began to repair the losses his party had lately sustained. This prince, in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his person, his bravery, and popular deportment, advanced towards London with the remainder of Warwick's army; and obliging Margaret to retire to the North, entered the city amidst the acclamations of the people. \* Perceiving his own popularity, he supposed that now was the time to lay his claim to the crown; and his friend Warwick, assembling the citizens in St. John's fields, pronounced an harangue, setting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and usurpation of the house of Lancaster. He then demanded whether they chose Henry for their king; to which the people crying, a York! a York! he quickly called an assembly of lords and bishops, at Baynard's castle, and these ratified their choice. The young duke was proclaimed king, by the title of Edward IV. and then conducted with great ceremony to the palace.

But Margaret was resolved to strike another blow. Upon her retiring to the North, great numbers

\* A. D. 1461.

numbers flocked to her standard, and five were able in a few days, to assemble an army of sixty thousand men in Yorkshire. On the other side, the earl of Warwick conducted young Edward at the head of forty thousand men to oppose her. Both sides at length met near Tooton, in the county of York, to decide the fate of empire, and never was England depopulated by so terrible an engagement. It was a dreadful sight, to behold an hundred thousand men of the same country engaged against each other. While the army of Edward was advancing to the charge, there happened a great fall of snow; which driving full in the faces of the enemy blinded them; and this advantage, seconded by an impetuous onset, decided the victory in their favour. Edward issued orders to give no quarter; and a bloody slaughter ensued, in which near forty thousand of the Lancastrians were slain. Edward entered York victorious; and taking down the heads of his father and the earl of Salisbury, put up that of the earl of Devonshire in their stead.

In the mean time, Margaret hearing the fate of her army, fled with Henry and her son to Scotland. † But no calamity was able to repress her perseverance; though so often overcome, yet she was resolved once more to enter England with five thousand men, granted her by the French king. But her little fleet was dispersed by a tempest, while she herself escaped, with some difficulty, into the mouth of the Tweed. Soon after, a defeat, which her few forces suffered at Hexham, seemed to render her cause desperate; and

† A. D. 1463.

and the cruelty which was practised upon all her adherents, rendered it still more dangerous.

The loss of this battle deprived her of every resource; she and her husband were obliged to seek for safety in a separate flight, without attendants, and without even the necessaries of life. The unfortunate king, thought he could remain concealed in England; but he was soon taken prisoner, carried to London with ignominy, and confined in the Tower. Margaret flying with her son into a forest, was set upon in the night by robbers, who, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. But one of those lawless men, when he knew her station, resolved to procure her safety at the hazard of his own; and conducted her to the sea-coast, whence she made her escape to her father in Flanders. To the same court the dukes of Somerset and Exeter retired; and they, literally speaking, felt all the miseries of want. Philippe Comines, says he saw the duke of Exeter following the duke of Burgundy's equipage bare-footed, and serving for his livelihood as a footman. This was a strange situation for a lord, who had conducted armies, and was allied to kings and princes.

Edward being now, by means of the earl of Warwick, fixed upon the throne, reigned in peace and security, while his title was recognized by parliament, and universally submitted to by the people. † He, began therefore, to give a loose to his favourite passions; and a spirit of gallantry, and cruelty, was seen in

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† A. D. 1446.

his court. In the same palace which one day exhibited a spectacle of horror, was seen the day following a mask or a pageant; and the king would at once gallant a mistress, and inspect an execution. In order to turn him from these pursuits, the earl of Warwick advised him to marry; and went over to France to procure Bona of Savoy, and the match was accordingly concluded. But whilst the earl was hastening the negotiation in France, the king married Elizabeth Wideville, with whom he had fallen in love, and whom he had vainly endeavoured to debauch. Having thus given Warwick cause of offence, he widened the breach, by driving him from the council. Every incident tended to increase the jealousy between the king, and this powerful subject; the favour shewn the queen's party, and the contempt which was thrown upon the earl. \* Warwick, whose prudence was equal to his bravery, soon made use of both to assist his revenge; he gained the duke of Clarence, brother to the king; and to confirm him in his interests, gave him his daughter in marriage. Thus a dangerous combination was formed against Edward; and an incident that followed, contributed to fan the flame. The inhabitants about St. Leonard's Hospital in Yorkshire, complained that the duties levied for that institution; which were originally allotted for pious uses, were now secreted by the managers. They soon after rose in a body to oppose the ecclesiastical severities that were levelled against them by the earl of Pembroke. This rebellion was quieted by a pardon from Edward; yet some others

\* A. D. 1346.

others, that broke out shortly after, appeared favourable to Warwick's designs. Vengeance seemed to be his only motive; and that he pursued with unabating assiduity. But Edward was soon at the head of a numerous army. Meantime Warwick, and the duke of Clarence, thought best to quit the kingdom; and embarking for Calais, seized some Flemish vessels, with which they entered one of the ports of France. § Here they entered into an union with Margaret, both sides forgetting their mutual animosity. Lewis, the king of France, prepared a fleet to escort them; and seizing the opportunity, they landed at Dartmouth with a small body of troops, while Edward was in the North, suppressing an insurrection, which had lately appeared there. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the success of Warwick upon this occasion. The spirit of discontent with which many were infected, and the general instability of the English nation, conspired with his ambition; and in less than six days such multitudes flocked to his standard, that he saw himself at the head of threescore thousand men.

It was now Edward's turn to fly the kingdom. He had just time to escape an attempt made upon him, by the marquis of Montacute; and to embark on board a small fleet, which lay off Lynn in Norfolk. Nor were his dangers lessened at sea, where he was chased by some ships belonging to the Hanse-towns, who were then at war with both France and England. But at length he landed safely in Holland, where he received a cool reception from the duke of Burgundy.

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§ A. D. 1470.

In the mean time, Warwick advanced to London; and once more Henry was placed upon a dangerous throne. A parliament was called, which confirmed Henry's title with great solemnity; and Warwick was himself received among the people under the title of the King-maker. All the attainders of the Lancastrians were reversed; and every one was restored, who had lost either honours, or fortune. All the considerable Yorkists either fled to the continent, or took shelter in sanctuaries.

But Edward's party though repressed, was not destroyed. Though an exile he had many partizans at home; and after an absence of nine months, being seconded by a small body of forces, granted him by the duke of Burgundy, he made a descent at Ravenpur, in Yorkshire. His army increased upon his march toward London, which opened her gates to him; and the wretched Henry was once more plucked from his throne, to be sent to his former mansion.

Warwick now found his party daily declining; but what gave the most dreadful blow to his hopes was the defection of his son-in-law the duke of Clarence, who went over to Edward. Nothing remained to Warwick, but to cut short a state of suspense by hazarding a battle. His forces were inferior to those of Edward, but he placed his dependence upon his own generalship. With this resolution, he marched from St. Albans, where he was stationed, and advancing towards Barnet, there resolved to wait for Edward, who was

was not slow in marching down to oppose him. Warwick and Edward were at that time considered as the two most renowned generals of the age; and now was to be struck the decisive blow that was to fix Edward on the throne or to overthrow his pretensions for ever.

The battle began early in the morning, and lasted till noon; for never did two armies fight with greater obstinacy, not honour, but life, depending on the issue of the contest. The example of Warwick inspired his troops with more than common resolution, and victory for a while seemed to declare in his favour. But a part of his army mistaking a body of their own forces for that of the enemy, fell furiously upon them; and this error turned the fortune of the day. Warwick did all that experience, valour, or conduct could suggest, to retrieve the mistake; but it was now too late; wherefore, finding all hopes gone, he resolved to sell the conquerors a dear-bought victory. He had, contrary to his usual practice, engaged that day on foot; and leading a chosen body of troops into the thickest of the slaughter, he there fell, in the midst of his enemies, covered over with wounds. His brother underwent the same fate; and ten thousand of his adherents were slain, Edward having ordered that no quarter should be given.

Margaret was at that time returning from France with her son, the prince of Wales, where she had been negotiating for fresh supplies. She had scarce time to refresh herself from the fatigues of her voyage, when she



received the fatal news. Her grief now, for the first time, found way in a torrent of tears, and yielding to her fate, she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire.

She had not been long there, before she found some few friends still willing to assist her fallen fortunes. Tudor, earl of Pembroke, Courtney, earl of Devonshire, the lords Wenlock and St. John, with other men of rank, offered to assist her to the last. A dawn of hope was sufficient to revive the courage of this magnanimous woman; and the recollection of her former misfortunes gave way to the flattering prospect of another trial. She had now fought battles in almost every province in England; Tewksbury-Park was the scene that terminated her attempts. The duke of Somerset headed her army; a man who had shared her dangers, and had ever been steady in her cause. When Edward attacked him in his intrenchments, he repulsed him with such vigour, that the enemy retired with precipitation; upon which the duke, supposing them routed, pursued, and ordered lord Wenlock to support his charge. But this lord disobeyed his orders; and Somerset's forces were soon overpowered by numbers. In this dreadful exigence, the duke, finding that all was over, and beholding Wenlock remaining in the very place where he had first drawn up his men, with his heavy battle-ax in both hands, he ran upon the coward, and with one blow dashed out his brains.

The queen and the prince were taken prisoners, and brought into the presence of Edward. The young prince appeared before the

the

the conqueror with undaunted majesty; and being asked, in an insulting manner, how he dared to invade England, the young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his ruined fortune, replied, "I have entered the dominions of my father, to revenge his injuries, and redress my own." The barbarous Edward, enraged at his intrepidity, struck him on the mouth with his gauntlet; and this served as a signal for others, who like wild beasts, rushing on the unarmed youth, stabbed him to the heart with their daggers. Henry himself did not long survive: but how he died, whether thro' grief, or by violence, is uncertain: it is most probable, Edward gave orders for murdering him privately. Of all those that were taken, none were suffered to survive but Margaret. It was expected that she would be ransomed by the king of France; and in this they were not deceived, as that monarch paid the king of England fifty thousand crowns for her freedom. This extraordinary woman, after having sustained the cause of her husband in twelve battles, after having survived her friends, fortunes, and children, died a few years after, in privacy in France, with few claims to our pity, except her courage and her distresses.

Henry, tho' not well qualified for a king, was unquestionably a good man. He was chaste, temperate, sincerely religious, and abhorred both injustice and cruelty. And these virtues would have rendered him an accomplished prince, had they been attended with the spirit of a sovereign.

Among the number of his mistresses was the  
~~the first of which was a woman of quality~~  
 a woman of quality, but not so good as  
 but who had not virtue enough to resist the  
 temptations of a lascivious man, and a non-  
 arch.

Edward now enjoying a quiet \*  
 thought the best way to govern  
 with his subjects, was to be  
 to his dominions, and to

## CHAP. IV.

### EDWARD IV.

**O**F all people the English are the most  
 compassionate; and a throne raised up  
 on cruelty never wanted enemies among them.  
 Nothing could be more ill-judged than any  
 attempts to govern such a people by the hands  
 of the executioner; yet the leaders of each  
 faction seemed insensible of this truth. Ed-  
 ward being now freed from great enemies,  
 turned to the punishment of those of lesser  
 note; so that the gibbets were hung with his  
 adversaries, and their estates confiscated to  
 his use.

But while he was thus rendering himself  
 terrible on the one hand, he was immersed in  
 abandoned pleasures on the other. Nature  
 was not unfavourable to him; he was al-  
 lowed to be the most beautiful man of his  
 time. His courtiers were willing to encou-  
 rage those debaucheries in which they had a  
 share; and the clergy, as they themselves  
 practised every kind of lewdness, were ready  
 to lend absolution to all his failings. The  
 truth is, enormous vices were so common,  
 that adultery was held but a slight offence.  
 Among

Among the number of his mistresses was the wife of one Shore, a merchant in the city, a woman of exquisite beauty and good sense, but who had not virtue enough to resist the temptations of a beautiful man, and a monarch.

\* England now enjoying a calm, Edward thought the best way to ingratiate himself with his subjects, would be to assert his right to his dominions in France. To prosecute this, he sent to his ally, the duke of Burgundy, a reinforcement of three thousand men, and soon after, passed over himself at the head of a numerous army. Lewis the eleventh, then king of France, was alarmed at this formidable invasion, which he strove to obviate by treaty. This succeeded; the two kings had an interview at the bridge of Perpignan; and, upon the promise of a stipulated sum, Edward agreed to lead his forces back to England. This monarch wanted to return home to his mistresses to spend upon them the money he was to receive from France; and the French monarch hoped soon to be in a posture to refuse these sums which he had only made a promise to pay.

Upon the conclusion of this expedition, Edward appeared to be actuated by private passions unworthy a sovereign. Among the details of private wrongs, which are too minute for history, an act of tyranny of which he was guilty in his own family deserves the detestation of posterity. The duke of Clarence, by all his services in deserting Warwick, had never been able to recover the king's friend-  
 C 5

\* A. D. 1474-

ship. A pretext was therefore sought to ruin him; and his hasty temper soon gave the occasion. The king hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet, an intimate of the duke's, killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner. Burdet vexed at the loss, broke into a passion, and wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who had advised the king to it. For this, Burdet was tried for his life, and publicly executed at Tyburn. The duke of Clarence, upon the death of his friend exclaimed against the iniquity of the sentence. The king, highly offended with this liberty, or using that as a pretext against him, had him arraigned before the house of peers, and appeared in person as his accuser. In those times every crime alledged by the prevailing party was fatal; the duke was found guilty; and being granted a choice of the manner in which he would die, he was privately drowned in a but of malmsey in the tower; a whimsical choice, and implying that he had an extraordinary passion for that liquor.

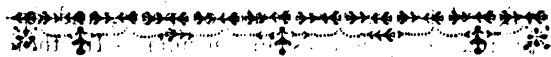
The rest of this monarch's life was spent in riot and debauchery; in useless treaties with France, in which he was ever deceived, and in empty threats against the monarch who had deceived him. His parliament, mere ministers of his will, consented to a war with France, at a time when his alliances upon the continent were so broken, that it was impossible for it to succeed.

White

E D W A R D IV.  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.

While Edward was employed in making preparations for it, he was seized with a fever, of which he expired in the forty-second year of his age, (and counting from his first usurpation,) in the twenty-third of his reign. The character of this prince is easily summed up. His best qualities were courage and beauty; his bad, a combination of all vices. Beside five daughters, this king left two sons, Edward, prince of Wales his successor, then in his thirteenth year; and Richard, duke of York, in his ninth.

The king's conduct was so far from being virtuous, that he had him- self committed the most heinous crimes.



gallantry, and yet he was so far from being virtuous, that he had him- self committed the most heinous crimes.

C H A R L E S V.

was confined in the tower; and he died in the year 1400.

E D W A R D V.

**U**PON the death of Edward, the kingdom was divided into two new factions. The queen's family, who during the last reign had grown into power, was become obnoxious to the old nobility, who would not act in subordination to persons whom they considered as inferiors. The king himself, during his lifetime, had been able to over-awe these animosities; and on his death-bed endeavoured to guard against their increase. He expressed a

\* A. D. 1483.

desire, that his brother, the duke of Gloucester, should be intrusted with the regency, and recommended peace and unanimity during the minority of his son. But the king was no sooner dead, than the parties broke out with all their former resentments. The queen immediately sent to her brother Rivers, to raise a body of troops. The duke of Buckingham and Lord Hastings acquainted Richard with this; and as the protectorship of the realm of right belonged to him during the king's minority, they exhorted him to claim his privilege, offering to provide a thousand men well armed, who should be ready to march at his command.

Being sure of the assistance of these noblemen, he resolved to take the king out of the custody of the earl of Rivers, and having procured that nobleman to be arrested, he met young Edward in person, and offered to conduct him up to London, with the most profound demonstrations of respect. Immediately after, he convoked a great council of the nobility, who unanimously declared him protector of the king and kingdom.

His next step was to get the charge of the king's brother, who, with the queen, his mother, had taken sanctuary in Westminster Abbey. The queen was hardly persuaded to deliver up her child; but at last she was induced to comply. In a few days after, they were both lodged in the Tower, then a royal palace;

on the doubt many of these facts are And, Every thing that follows against the duke of Gloucester, we must remember, is Henry the Seventh's account.

prison; though one part of it was also a prison. It was the usual place from whence the procession at a coronation began. Lord Stanley, a man of deep penetration, was the first to disclose his fears of the protector's having ill designs; and communicated his suspicions to Lord Hastings, who long had been firmly attached to the king's family. Hastings would at first give the surmise no credit; and probably his wishes that such a project might not be true, influenced his judgment, and confirmed his security. In the mean time, orders had been dispatched to detain the lords Rivers, Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, who had been confined in Pontefract castle. On the very day on which they were beheld, the protector summoned a council in the Tower, whither Lord Hastings amongst others repaired. The duke of Gloucester came thither at nine o'clock in the morning with a most cheerful countenance, saluting and meeting with the utmost affability and demonstrations of unusual good humour. He then left the council, as if called away by other business; but desired that his absence might not interrupt the debates. In about an hour he returned, quite altered in look, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and showing by a frequent change of countenance, the signs of some inward perturbation. A silence ensued for some time; and the lords looked upon each other. At length he broke out:

\* Their being placed here therefore, was no reason of proof of any ill design against them. I doubt this whole account. It is no way probable.



out: "My lords, what punishment do they  
 "deserve, who have conspired against my  
 "life?" This question redoubled the as-  
 tonishment of the assembly; lord Hastings at  
 length made answer, that whoever did so,  
 deserved to be punished as a traitor. "These  
 "traitors, cried the protector, are the sor-  
 "cerers, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore,  
 "his mistress, with others, their associates."  
 The amazement of the council seemed to in-  
 crease; and lord Hastings again said: "If  
 "they have committed such a crime, they  
 "deserve punishment." "If!" cried the  
 "protector, with a loud voice, dost thou  
 "answer me with Ifs? I tell thee that they  
 "have conspired my death; and that thou,  
 "traitor, art an accomplice in their crime."  
 He then struck the table twice with his hand;  
 and the room was instantly filled with armed  
 men. "I arrest thee, continues he, turning  
 "to Hastings, for high treason;" and at the  
 same time gave him in charge to the soldiers.  
 He was obliged to make a short confession to  
 the next priest that was at hand; and hurried  
 out to the Little Green before the Tower-  
 chapel, and there beheaded.

The protector having thus got rid of those  
 he most feared, fell upon Jane Shore, the  
 late king's mistress. † This unfortunate  
 woman was an enemy too humble to excite  
 his jealousy: yet as he had accused her of  
 witchcraft, of which all the world saw she  
 was innocent, he thought proper to make her  
 an example, for those faults of which she was  
 really

† This tale likewise is quite improbable.

really guilty. Jane Shore was the most guilty of his mistresses in his abandoned court. She was ever known to intercede for the distressed and was usually applied to as mediator for mercy. She was charitable, generous, and of a most pleasing conversation; her wit being said to be as irresistible as her beauty. As she was blameless in other respects, the protector ordered her to be fued for incontinency. The charge against her was too notorious to be denied; she pleaded guilty, and was condemned to walk bare-foot through the city, and to do penance in St. Paul's church in a white sheet, with a wax taper in her hand, before thousands of spectators. She lived above forty years after this sentence, reduced to extreme wretchedness; and Sir Thomas More, assures us, that he saw her gathering herbs in a field near the city for her nightly repast; an extraordinary example of the ingratitude of courts, and the reverses of fortune.

The protector now thought it high time to aspire to the throne more openly. He had quite gained the duke of Buckingham, a man of talents and power, who used all his arts to infuse into the people an opinion of the bastardy of the late king, and also that of his children. Doctor Shaw, a popular preacher, harangued the people from St. Paul's Cross to the same purpose; where, after having displayed the incontinence of the queen, and insisted on the illegality of the young king's title;

‡ Remember, this also is Henry VII's story.

with, he expatiated on the virtues of the protector. It is the protector, cried he, "who carries in his face the image of virtue, and the marks of a true descent. He alone can restore the lost glory and honour of the nation." It was hoped, upon this occasion, that some of the populace would have cried out, Long live king Richard! but the audience remaining silent, the duke of Buckingham undertook to persuade them, in his turn. His speech was copious upon the calamities of the last reign, and the bastardy of the present race; he saw only one method of shielding off the miseries that threatened the state, which was, to elect the protector; but he seemed apprehensive that he would never be prevailed on to accept of a crown, accompanied with such difficulty and danger. He next asked his auditors, whether they would have the protector for their king? But was mortified to find that a total silence ensued. But some of Buckingham's servants, raising a feeble cry of "God save king Richard! the mob at the door, throwing up their caps, repeated, A Richard! a Richard!"

The duke, the next day, at the head of the mayor and aldermen, went to wait upon the protector, at Baynard's castle, with offers of the crown. When Richard was told that a great multitude was waiting at the door, he appeared in a gallery between two bishops, and seemed surpris'd at such a concourse of people. But when he was informed that their business

\* An idle, senseless, improbable tale! But such as the desperate cause of king Henry required.

Business was to offer him the crown, he did  
 stand against accepting it; he alledging his  
 love for the late king, his brother, his af-  
 fection for the children under his care, and  
 his own infirmity. Buckingham plainly  
 told him, that the people were bent on  
 making him king, that they had now pro-  
 ceeded too far to recede; and therefore,  
 in case of his refusal, were determined to  
 offer the crown where it would meet a more  
 ready acceptance. "I perceive," replied  
 the protector, that the kingdom is resolved  
 to load me with preferments, unequal to  
 my abilities or my choice; yet since it is  
 my duty to obey the dictates of a free peo-  
 ple, I will, though reluctantly, accept their  
 petition. I therefore, from this moment,  
 enter upon the government of England  
 and France, with a resolution to defend  
 the one, and subdue the other." The  
 crowd being thus dismissed, each man return-  
 ed home, pondering upon the proceedings of  
 the day, and making such remarks as pas-  
 sions, interest or party might suggest.

At the head of the next day, at the head of the  
 protector, at Baynard's castle, with others of  
 the crown. When Richard was told that a  
 great multitude was waiting at the door, he  
 entered into a gallery between two shops,  
 and remained there a considerable  
 time, but when he was informed that the  
 business

CHAP.

An odd, remote, improbable tale! But such  
 as the desperate state of King Henry required

Richard caused himself to be crowned king at London, and afterwards at York. The clergy he endeavored to reduce to their obedience; and towards the end of the year, he was crowned king at Westminster.

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C H A P. VI.

R I C H A R D III.

\* **A**S soon as Richard was seated upon the throne, he sent the governor of the Tower orders to put the two young princes to death; but this brave man, whose name was Brackenbury, refused to be made the instrument of a tyrant's will. A fit instrument, however, was not long wanting; Sir James Tyrrel readily undertook the office, and Brackenbury was ordered to resign to him the keys for one night. Tyrrel choosing three associates, Slater, Deighton, and Forest, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber, where the princes were lodged; and sending in the assassins, he bid them execute their commission, while he himself stood without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a sound sleep: after suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they shewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel; who ordered them to be buried in the Tower.

\* A. D. 1483.

† This undoubtedly is an absolute falsehood; for both of them were alive long after his death.

them to be buried at the stair-foot, deep in the ground, under an heap of stones. These facts appeared in the succeeding reign, being confessed by the perpetrators; who, however escaped punishment.

Richard caused himself to be crowned first at London, and afterwards at York. The clergy he endeavoured to secure by great indulgencies; and his friends, by bestowing rewards on them, in proportion as they were instrumental in placing him on the throne.

But while he thus endeavoured to establish his power, he found it threatened on a quarter where he least expected. The duke of Buckingham, though he had received the greatest rewards for his services, yet continued to wish for more. He had already several posts and governments conferred upon him; but making a demand of the confiscated lands in Hereford, to which his family had an ancient claim, Richard, either reluctantly complied with his request, or but partially indulged it. A conflict ensued; and no sooner had Buckingham supposed himself injured, than he resolved to dethrone Richard. At first he was in doubt, whether he should put up for the crown himself, or set up another; but the latter resolution prevailing, he determined to declare for Henry, earl of Richmond, at that time an exile in Brittany.

Henry, earl of Richmond, was at that time detained in a kind of honourable custody by the duke of Brittany. He was one of those, who

† That is, they affirmed, what king Henry invented; no wonder, that they "escaped punishment."

who had the good fortune to escape the numerous massacres of the preceding reigns; but as he was a descendant of John of Ghent, by the female line, he was for that reason obnoxious to those in power. He had long lived in exile; and was at one time delivered up to the ambassadors of Edward, who were preparing to carry him over to England, when the prince, who delivered him, repented of what he had done, and took him from the ambassadors just as they were leading him on ship-board. This was the youth on whom the duke of Buckingham cast his eye, and a negotiation was begun between them. Henry's hereditary right to the throne was doubtful; but to improve his title, a marriage was projected between him and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late king, and the queen dowager heartily acceded to the measure.

Richard, mean time, began to suspect Buckingham's fidelity; and the informations which he daily received, left him no room to doubt. But he soon had the plainest proofs; intelligence arriving that this nobleman was at the head of a large body of men in arms, and marching towards the western shore. Richard, whose courage no dangers could allay, immediately put himself in a posture of defence, and prepared to meet the insurgents with his usual expedition. But it needed not; for as Buckingham was advancing by hasty marches towards Gloucester, where he designed to cross the Severn, just at that time the river was swelled to such a degree, that the

the country on both sides was deluged. This inundation continued for ten days; during which Buckingham's army, composed of Welshmen, could neither pass the river, nor find subsistence on their own side; they were therefore obliged to disperse, and return home, notwithstanding all the duke's efforts. In this helpless situation, the duke, after a short deliberation, took refuge at the house of one Banister, who had been his servant, and who had received repeated obligations from his family. But the wicked seldom find, as they seldom exert, friendship. Banister, unable to resist the temptation of a large reward, a thousand pounds, that was set up on the duke's head, went and betrayed him to the sheriff of Shropshire; who surrounding the house with armed men, seized the duke, in the habit of a peasant, and conducted him to Salisbury; where he was instantly tried, condemned, and executed, according to the summary method practised in those ages.

In the mean time the duke of Richmond landed in England; but finding his hopes frustrated by the failure of Buckingham, he hastily set sail again, and returned to Brittany. Thus every occurrence seemed to promise Richard a long possession of the crown; however, the authority of parliament was still wanting to give a sanction to his proceedings; but that was easily procured. \* An act was passed, confirming the illegitimacy of Edward's children; an act of attainder also was confirmed against Henry, earl of Richmond; and

\* A. D. 1484.



and all Richard's wishes seemed to be the aim of their deliberations.

But among those who still excited his jealousy, was the lord Stanley, who was married to the widow of Edward; and to keep him stedfast in obedience, he took his son as an hostage. He now also wanted to get rid of his present queen, Anne, to make room for a match with his niece, the princess Elizabeth\*, by whose alliance he hoped to cover the injustice of his claims. This lady, whom he desired to get rid of, had been espoused (not married) to the young prince of Wales. She died soon after, of a consumptive disorder.

|| Meantime he received information, that the earl of Richmond was once more making preparations to land in England. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the center of the kingdom, and had given commissions to several of his friends, to oppose the enemy wherever he should land. The account received of Richmond's preparations was not ungrounded; he set out from Harfleur in Normandy, with a retinue of about two thousand persons; and, after a voyage of six days, arrived at Milford-Haven, in Wales, where he landed without opposition. Sir Rice-ap-Thomas, and Sir Walter Herbert, who were intrusted to oppose him in Wales, were both in his interests; the one im-

|| A. D. 1485.

\* He did not desire this alliance: but Elizabeth did, as appears from letters now in the Arundel library.

immediately deserted to him, and the other made but a feeble opposition. Upon news of this descent, Richard instantly resolved to meet him, and decide their pretensions by a battle. Richmond, on the other hand, being reinforced by Sir Thomas Bourchier, Sir Walter Hungerford, and others, to the number of about six thousand, boldly advanced with the same intention; and in a few days, both armies drew near Bosworth-field, to determine a contest that had now for more than forty years filled the kingdom with civil commotions.

The army of Richard was above double that of Henry; but the confidence of the latter lay in the secret assurances of lord Stanley, who with a body of seven thousand men, hovered near the field of battle, and declined engaging on either side.

Richard perceiving his enemy advance, drew up his army, of about thirteen thousand men, in order of battle; he gave the command of the van-guard to the duke of Norfolk, while he led the main body himself, with the crown on his head, designing by this either to inspire the enemy with awe, or to render himself conspicuous to his own army. The van of Richmond's army was commanded by John, earl of Oxford; Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing, Sir John Savage the left; while the earl himself, accompanied by his uncle, the earl of Pembroke, placed himself in the main body. Lord Stanley in the mean time, posted himself on one flank, between the two armies, while his brother took

took his station on the other, which was opposite. Richard seeing him in this situation, immediately sent him orders to unite himself to the main body, which the other refusing, he gave instant orders for beheading lord Stanley's son. He was persuaded, however, to postpone the execution; and directed the trumpets to sound to battle. The two armies approaching each other, the battle began with a shower of arrows, and soon the adverse fronts were seen closing. This was what lord Stanley had for some time expected, who immediately joined the line of Richmond, and thus turned the fortune of the day; inspiring unusual courage into Henry's soldiers, and throwing Richard's into confusion. The intrepid king perceiving the danger of his situation, spurred up his horse into the thickest of the fight, while Richmond quitted his station behind, to encourage his troops by his presence in the front. Richard perceiving him, was desirous of ending all by one blow; and with irresistible fury flew through thousands to attack him. He slew sir William Brandon, the earl's standard bearer, who attempted to stop his career. Sir John Cheney having taken Brandon's place, was thrown by him to the ground; but they were then separated by the interposing crowd. Richard, thus disappointed, went, by his presence, to inspire his troops at another quarter; but at length perceiving his army every where yielding or flying, and finding that all was gone, he rushed with a loud shout into the midst of the enemy, and sold his life as dear as he could.

could. After the battle, his body was found stripped among an heap of slain, covered over with wounds. In this manner, it was thrown across an horse, the head hanging down on one side, and the legs on the other, and thus carried to Leicester. It lay there two days exposed to public view, and then was privately buried in the abbey church.

His greatest enemies acknowledge, that after his accession to the throne, "his administration was conducted with the strictest justice; that he enacted the most salutary laws, and established the wisest regulations; and that if his reign had been protracted he might have proved an excellent king."

Richard's crown being found by one of Henry's soldiers on the field of battle, it was immediately placed upon the head of the conqueror, while the whole army, with one voice cried out, "Long live king Henry!"

Thus ended the reign of Richard; and by his death the race of the Plantagenet kings, who had been in possession of the crown during the space of three hundred and thirty years, became extinct. Thus ended also the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, by which most of the ancient families of the kingdom were extinguished, and more than an hundred thousand men lost their lives, either by the sword or the executioner.

These dissensions had, for some time, reduced the kingdom to a state of savage barbarity. Laws, arts, and commerce, which had before emitted some feeble gleams, were entirely neglected; for the practice of arms:

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and

and to be a conqueror was sufficient in the eyes of the brutal people, to stand for every other virtue. The English had as yet, but little idea of legal subordination; nor could they give any applause to those who attempted to cultivate the arts of peace, the whole of their study being turned for war. The ferocity of the people to each other was incredible. However, the women, whatever part they took in the disturbances of the government, were exempted from capital punishments; nor were they ever put to death, except when convicted of witchcraft or poisoning. As for the clergy, they were entirely distinct from the laity, both in customs, laws and learning. They were governed by the code of civil law, drawn up in the times of Justinian; while the laity were held by the common law, which had been traditional from times immemorial. The clergy, however we may be told to the contrary, understood and wrote Latin fluently; while the laity on the other hand, understood nothing of Latin, but applied themselves wholly to the French language, when they aspired at the character of a polite education. In short, as there was no knowledge of government among the individuals, but what totally resulted from power, the state was like a feverish constitution, ever subject to ferment and disorder. France, indeed, had served for some time as a drain for the peccant humours; but when that was no longer open; the disorders of the constitution seemed daily to increase, and vented themselves at last in all the horrors of a long continued civil war.

Whoever

Whoever desires to know the real character of King Richard, should read, the "Historic Doubts," written by Mr. Walpole. An extract from them is here subjoined.

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to vitoral of T ...  
aliberant ...

CH A P. VII.

**I** Doubt, says a late writer, whether the whole stream of our historians, misled by their originals, have not falsified this reign in our annals in the grossest manner. The moderns are only guilty of taking on trust what they ought to have examined more scrupulously, as the authors whom they copied were all-rancked on one side in a flagrant season of party. But no excuse can be made for the original authors, who, I doubt, have violated all rules of truth.

The confusions which attended the civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster, threw an obscurity over that part of our annals, which it is almost impossible to dispel. We have scarce any authentic monuments of the reign of Edward the Fourth; and ought to read his history with much distrust, from the boundless partiality of the succeeding writers to the opposite cause. That diffidence should increase when we proceed to the reign of his brother.

It occurred to me some years ago, that the picture of Richard the Third, as drawn by historians, was a character formed by prejudice and invention. I did not take Shakspeare's tragedy for a genuine representation, but for a tragedy of imagination. Many of the crimes imputed to Richard seemed improbable; and, what was stronger, contrary to his interest. A few incidental circumstances corroborated my opinion; an original instrument was pointed out to me last winter, which gave rise to the following sheets; and as it was easy to perceive, under all the glare of encomiums which historians have heaped on the wisdom of Henry the Seventh, that he was a mean and unfeeling tyrant. I suspected that they had blackened his rival, that Henry might appear in a kind of amiable light. The more I examined, the more I was confirmed in my opinion:-----and with regard to Henry, one consequence I could not help drawing; that we have either no authentic memorials of Richard's crimes, or at most, no account of them but from Lancastrian historians; whereas the vices and injustice of Henry are avowed by the concurrent testimony of his panegyrists. Suspicious and calumny were fastened on Richard as to many assassinations. The murders committed by Henry were indeed executions----and executions pass for prudence with prudent historians; for when a successful king is chief justice, historians become a voluntary jury.

I am not going to write a vindication of Richard; all I mean to shew, is, that though he may have been as bad as we are told he was, we have no reason to believe so.

I will state the list of the crimes charged on Richard; with the authorities on which he was accused; I will give a faithful account of the historians by whom he was accused; and will then examine the circumstances of each crime and each evidence; and lastly, show that some of the crimes were contrary to Richard's interest; almost all inconsistent with probability or with dates; and some of them involved in material contradictions.

Supposed crimes of Richard the Third.

- 1st. His murder of Edward prince of Wales.
- 2d. His murder of Henry the Sixth.
- 3d. The murder of his brother George duke of Clarence.
- 4th. The execution of Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan.
- 5th. The execution of Lord Hastings.
- 6th. The murder of Edward the Fifth and his brother.
- 7th. The murder of his own queen.

To which may be added, as they are thrown into the list to blacken him, his intended match with his own niece Elizabeth, the penance of Jane Shore, and his own personal deformities.



John. Of the murder of Edward prince of Wales, son of Henry the Sixth.

Edward the Fourth behaved with all the parts of a politician and the cruelty of a conqueror. Indeed on neither side do there seem to have been any scruples: Edward and Margaret entered into any engagements, took any oaths, violated them, and indulged their revenge, as often as they were depressed or victorious. After the battle of Tewksbury, in which Margaret and her son were made prisoners, young Edward was brought to the presence of Edward the Fourth; "but after the king," says Fabian, the oldest historian of those times, "had questioned with the said Sir Edwarde, and he had answered hym contrary his pleasure, he strake him with his gauntlet upon the face; after which stroke, he was by the kynges servants incontynently slaine." The chronicle of Croyland of the same date says, the prince was slain "*ultracibus quorundam manibus*," but names nobody.

Hall says, "The kyng stroke him with his gauntlet, whome incontynent, they that stode about, which were George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Gloucester, Thomas, marques Dorset, and William lord Hastynge, sodainly murthered and pitiously manguelled." Thus much had the story gained from the time of Fabian to that of Hall.

Hollingshed repeats these very words, consequently is a transcriber and no new authority.

John

John Stowe reverts to Fabian's account, and affirms no more, than that the king smote the young prince on the face, and after, his servants slew him.

A contemporary names the king's servants as perpetrators of the murder: Is not that more probable than that the king's own brothers should have dipped their hands in so foul an assassination? Richard, in particular, is allowed on all hands to have been a brave and martial prince: he had great share in the victory at Tewksbury: some years afterwards, he commanded his brother's troops in Scotland, and made himself master of Edinburgh. Such men may be carried by ambition to command the execution of those who stand in their way; but are not likely to lend their hand, in cold blood, to a base, and, to themselves, useless assassination. How did it import Richard in what manner the young prince was put to death? If he had so early planned the ambitious designs ascribed to him, he might have trusted to his brother Edward, so much more immediately concerned, that the young prince would not be spared. If those views did not take place in his heart till long afterwards, what interest had Richard to murder an unhappy young prince? This crime therefore was so unnecessary, and is so far from being established by any authority, that he deserves to be entirely acquitted of it.

## II. The murder of Henry the Sixth.

This charge, no better supported than the preceding, is still more improbable. "Of

" the death of this prince, Henry the Sixth, P  
 " says Fabian, " divers tales were told. But  
 " the most common, fame went, that he was  
 " stricken with a dagger by the hands of the  
 " duke of Gloucester." *What of that said base*  
 Hall says, " Poor kyng Henry the Sixte,  
 " a little before deprived of his realme and  
 " imperial croune, was now in the Tower  
 " of London spoyled of his life and all  
 " worldly felicity by Richard duke of Glou-  
 " cester (as the constant fame ranne) which,  
 " to thintent that kyng Edward his brother,  
 " should be clere out of al secret suspicion  
 " of sudden invasion, murdered the said  
 " kyng with a dagger." Whatever Richard  
 was, it seems he was a most kind-hearted  
 brother, and scrupled not on any occasion to  
 be the Jack Ketch of the times. We shall see  
 him soon (if the evidence were to be believed)  
 perform the same friendly office for Edward,  
 on their brother Clarence. And we must  
 admire that he, whose dagger was so flensed  
 in murder for the service of another, should  
 be so put to it to find the means of making  
 away with his nephews, whose deaths were  
 considerably more essential to him. But can  
 this accusation be allowed gravely? If Rich-  
 ard aspired to the crown, whose whole con-  
 duct during Edward's reign was a scene, as  
 we are told, of plausibility and decorum,  
 would he officiously and unnecessarily have ta-  
 ken on himself the odium of slaying a saint-  
 like monarch, adored by the people? Was it  
 his interest to save Edward's character at the  
 expence of his own? Did Henry stand in his  
 way, deposed, imprisoned, and now childless?  
 The

The blind and indiscriminate zeal with which every crime committed in that bloody age was placed to Richard's account, makes it greatly probable, that interest of party had more hand than truth in drawing his picture.

III. The murder of his brother Clarence.

In the examination of this article, I shall set aside our historians (whose gossiping narratives, as we have seen, deserve little regard) because we have better authority; and this is the attainder of the duke of Clarence, as it is set forth in the Parliamentary History. The crimes of Clarence are there particularly enumerated, and even his dealing with conjurers, a charge however absurd, yet often made use of in that age. Eleanor Cobham, wife of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, had been condemned on a parallel accusation. Whether Clarence was guilty we cannot easily tell; for in those times neither the public nor the prisoner usually knew the evidence on which sentence was passed. Nor was much information given to or asked by parliament itself, previous to bills of attainder. The duke of Clarence appears to have been at once a weak, volatile, injudicious, and ambitious man. He had abandoned his brother Edward, had espoused the daughter of Warwick, the great enemy of their house, and had even been declared successor to Henry the Sixth and his son prince Edward. Conduct so absurd must have left lasting impressions on Edward's mind, not to be effaced by Clarence's subsequent treachery to Henry and Warwick. Hall, Hollinghed, and Stowe, say not a word of

Richard being the person who put the sentence in execution; but, on the contrary, they all say he openly resisted the murder of Clarence: all too record another circumstance, which is perfectly ridiculous, that Clarence was drowned in a butt of malmsey. Whoever can believe that a butt of wine was the engine of his death, may believe that Richard helped him into it, and kept him down till he was suffocated. But the strong evidence on which Richard must be acquitted, even of having contributed to his death, was the testimony of Edward himself. Being some time afterward solicited to pardon a notorious criminal, the king's conscience broke forth; "Unhappy brother!" cried he, "for whom no man would interced---yet ye all can be intercessors for a villain!" If Richard had been instigator or executioner, it is not likely that the king would have assumed the whole crime to himself, without bestowing a share on his brother Gloucester. Is it possible to renew the charge, and not recollect this acquittal?

The three preceding accusations are quite improbable. What follows is more obscure; and it is on the ensuing transactions that we have no authority on which to form positive conclusions. I speak particularly of the deaths of Edward the Fifth and his brother. It is very doubtful whether they were murdered or not: and if they were, it is impossible to believe the account as fabricated and divulged by Henry the Seventh, on whose testimony the murder must rest at last; for they, who speak most positively, refer to the story which

which he was pleased to publish, eleven years after their supposed deaths, and which is so absurd, so incoherent, and so repugnant to dates and other facts, that as it is no longer necessary to pay court to his Majesty, we cannot but treat his assertions as an impudent fiction.

And here it will be important to examine those historians on whose relation the story first depends. Previous to this I must ascertain one or two dates, for they are stubborn evidence and cannot be rejected.

Edward the Fourth died April 9th 1483.

Edward, his eldest son, was then thirteen years of age.

Richard, duke of York, his second son, was about nine.

We have but two cotemporary historians, the author of the Chronicle of Croyland, and John Fabian. The first, who wrote in his convent, and only mentioned incidentally affairs of state, is very concise. When his assertions are positive, and not merely flying reports, he ought to be admitted as evidence, since we have no better. And yet a monk who busies himself in recording the insignificant events of his own monastery, was not likely to know the most mysterious secrets of state; I mean, as he was not employed in those iniquitous transactions---if he had been, we might expect still less truth from him.

John Fabian was a merchant, and had been sheriff of London, and died in 1512; he consequently lived on the spot at that very inter-

resting period. Yet no sheriff was ever less qualified to write a history of England. His narrative is dry, uncircumstantial and unimportant: he mentions the deaths of princes and revolutions of government, with the same phlegm and brevity as he would speak of the appointment of churchwardens.

But the great source from whence all later historians have taken their materials for the reign of Richard the Third, is Sir Thomas More. Grafton, the next in order, has copied him verbatim: so does Hollingshed; and we are told by the former in a marginal note, that Sir Thomas was under-sheriff of London when he composed his work. He was then in the vigour of his fancy, and fresh from the study of the Greek and Roman historians, whose manner he has imitated in divers imaginary orations. They serve to lengthen an unknown history of little more than two months into a sizeable volume; but are no more to be received as genuine, than the facts they are adduced to countenance. An under-sheriff of London, aged but twenty-eight, was not likely to be furnished with materials from any high authority, and could not receive them from the best authority, I mean the adverse party, who were proscribed, and all their chiefs banished or put to death. Let us again recur to dates: Sir Thomas More was born in 1480: he was appointed under-sheriff in 1508, and received his informations from archbishop Morton. And could he have drawn from a more corrupted

\* Vide Biog. Britannica. p. 3159.

source? **Morton** had not only violated his allegiance to **Richard**; but had been the chief engine to dethrone him, and to plant a bastard upon the throne? Of all men living there could not be a more suspicious testimony than his, except the king's; and had the archbishop selected **More** for the historian of those dark scenes, who had so much interest to blacken **Richard**, as the man who had risen to be prime minister to his rival?

**Sir Thomas** wrote his reign of **Edward the Fifth** as he wrote his *Utopia*; to amuse his leisure and exercise his fancy. He took up a canvas and embroidered it with a flowing design; as his imagination suggested the colours. I should deal more severely with his respected memory on any other hypothesis. He has been guilty of such palpable falsehoods, as while they destroy his credit as an historian, would reproach his veracity as a man; if we could impute them to premeditated perversion of truth, and not to youthful levity and inaccuracy. Standing as they do, the sole ground-work of that reign's history, I am authorized to pronounce the work, a mere romance.

There was a foreign writer in that age, of far greater authority, whose negligent simplicity and veracity are unquestionable; who had great opportunities of knowing our story, and whose testimony is corroborated by our records: I mean **Philip de Comines**. He and **Buck** agree with one another, and with the rolls of parliament; **Sir Thomas More** with none of them.

I



It perhaps have less penetration; but the parliamentary history, the comparison of dates, and the authentic monument lately come to light, and from which I shall give extracts, have convinced me, that, if Buck is too favourable, all our historians are blind guides, and have not made out a twentieth part of their assertions.

The story of Edward the Fifth is thus related by Sir Thomas More, and copied from him by all our historians.

When the king his father died, the prince kept his court at Ludlow, under the tuition of his uncle Anthony earl Rivers. Richard duke of Gloucester was in the north, returning from his successful expedition against the Scots. The queen wrote instantly to her brother to bring up the young king to London, with a train of two thousand horse: a fact allowed by historians, and which, whether a prudent caution or not, was the first overt-act of the new reign; and likely to strike, as it did the duke of Gloucester, and the ancient nobility with a jealousy, that the queen intended to exclude them from the administration.

Edward, on his death-bed, had patched up a reconciliation between his wife's kindred and the great lords of the court; particularly between the marquis of Dorset, the queen's son, and the lord chamberlain Hastings. Yet whether the disgusted lords had only seemed to yield, or whether the steps taken by the queen gave them new umbrage, it appears that the duke of Buckingham was the first to communicate his suspicions to Gloucester, and

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to dedicate himself to his service. Lord Hastings was scarce less forward to join in like measures.

In the king's journey to London, the duke's of Gloucester and Buckingham, having before arrested the earl of Rivers, accused the marquis of Dorset, and their uncle Rivers, of ambitious and hostile designs, to which ends the marquis had entered the Tower, taken treasure thence, and sent a force to sea.

Be it observed, that as Gloucester was the first prince of the blood, the constitution pointed him out as regent; no will, no disposition of the late king was even alledged to bar his pretensions; he had served the state with bravery, success, and fidelity; and the queen herself, who had been insulted by Clarence, had had no cause to complain of Gloucester. Yet all her conduct intimated designs of governing by force in the name of her son. If these facts are impartially stated, and grounded on the confession of those who inveigh most bitterly against Richard's memory, let us allow that at least *thus far* he acted as most princes would have done in his situation, and rather instigated by others, than from any before-conceived ambition and system.

Lord Richard, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawte, were with lord Rivers sent prisoners to Pomfret, while the dukes conducted the king by easy stages to London.

The queen hearing what had happened, took sanctuary at Westminster, with her other son the duke of York, and the princesses her daughters. Rotheram, archbishop of York  
and

and Lord Chancellor, repaired to her with the great seal, and endeavoured to comfort her with a friendly message from Hastings, who was with the confederate lords, on the road. "A woe worth him!" quoth the queen, "for it is he that goeth about to destroy me and my blood!" Not a word is said of her suspecting the duke of Gloucester.

The dukes continued their march, declaring they were bringing the king to his coronation. Hastings, who seems to have preceded them, endeavoured to pacify the apprehensions in the people, acquainting them that the arrested lords had been imprisoned for plotting against the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham. As both those princes were of the blood royal, this accusation was not ill founded, it having evidently been the intention, to bar them from any share in the administration, to which, by the custom of the realm, they were intitled. So much depends on this foundation, that I shall be excused from enforcing it. The queen's party were the aggressors; and though that alone would not justify all the following excesses, yet we must not judge of those times by the present. Neither the crown nor the great men were restrained by established forms as they are at present; and from the death of Edward the Third, force alone had dictated. Henry the Fourth had stepped into the throne contrary to all justice. A title so defective had

§ Henry duke of Buckingham was the immediate descendant and heir of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward the Third.

had opened a door to attempts as violent; and the various innovations introduced in the latter years of Henry the Sixth had annihilated all ideas of order. Richard duke of York had been declared successor to the crown during the life of Henry and of his son prince Edward, and, as appears by the Parliamentary History, though not noticed by our careless historians, was even appointed prince of Wales. The duke of Clarence had received much such another declaration in his favour during the short restoration of Henry. What temptations were these precedents to an affronted prince? We shall see soon what encouragement they gave him to examine closely into his nephew's pretensions; and how imprudent it was in the queen to provoke Gloucester, when her very existence as queen was liable to strong objections. Nor ought the subsequent executions of lord Rivers, lord Richard Grey, and of lord Hastings himself, to be considered in so strong a light, as they would appear in, if acted in modern times. During the wars of York and Lancaster, no forms of trial had been observed. Not only peers taken in battle had been put to death without process; but whoever, though not in arms, was made prisoner by the victorious party, underwent the same fate. Trials had never been used with any degree of strictness, as at present; and though Richard was pursued and killed as an usurper, the Solomon that succeeded him, was not a jot less of a tyrant. Henry the Eighth was still less of a temper to give greater latitude to the laws. In fact, little ceremony or judicial proceeding

was

was observed on trials, till the reign of Elizabeth, the first of our princes, under whom any gravity or equity was allowed in cases of treason. And this is all I contend for, that the crimes of Richard, which he really committed, at least we have some reason to believe so, were more the crimes of the age than of the man. And except these executions of Rivers, Grey, and Hastings, I defy anybody to prove one other of those charged on him, from any good authority.

Sir Thomas confesses, that *divers lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for favour of the queen, or for fear of themselves, assembled companies, and went flocking together in harness*. Let us strip this paragraph of its historic burkins, and it is plain that *the queen's party took up arms* †. This is no indifferent circumstance. She had plotted to keep possession of the king, and to govern in his name by force, but had been outwitted, and her family had been imprisoned for the attempt. Conscious that she was discovered, she had secured herself and her younger children in sanctuary. Necessity rather than law justified her proceedings --- But what excuse can be made for her faction having recourse to arms? Who was authorised, by the tenour of former reigns, to guard the king's person, till parliament should declare a regency, but his uncle and the princes of the blood? endeavouring to establish the queen's authority by force, was rebellion. I state this minutely, because the fact has never been attended to;

† This is confirmed by the chronicle of Croyland, p. 566.

and later historians pass it over, as if Richard had hurried on the deposition of his nephews without any colour, and without the least provocation. Hastings is even said to have warned the citizens that matters were likely to come to a field (a battle) from the opposition of the adverse party, though as yet no symptom had appeared of designs against the king, whom the two dukes were bringing to his coronation. Nay, it is not probable that Gloucester had as yet meditated more than the regency; had he had designs on the crown, would he have weakened his own claim by assuming the protectorate, which he could not accept but by acknowledging the title of his nephew? This seems to me to have been the case. The ambition of the queen and her family alarmed the princes and the nobility: Gloucester, Buckingham, Hastings, and many more had checked those attempts. The next step was to secure the regency; but none of these acts could be done without grievous provocation to the queen. As soon as her son should come of age, she might regain her power and the means of revenge. Self-security prompted the princes and lords to guard against this reverse; and the depression of the queen called forth and revived all the hatred of her enemies. Her marriage had given universal offence to the nobility, and been the source of all the late bloodshed. The great earl of Warwick, provoked at the contempt shewn to him by king Edward while negotiating a match for him in France, had abandoned him for Henry the Sixth, whom

he

he had again set on the throne. These calamities were still fresh in every mind, and no doubt contributed to raise Gloucester to the throne, which he could not have attained without almost general concurrence; yet if we are to believe historians, He, Buckingham, the mayor of London, and one Dr. Shaw, operated this revolution by a sermon and a speech to the people, though the people would not even give a huzza to the proposal. The change of government in the Rehearsal is not effected more easily by the physician and gentleman usher,

“Do you take this, and I’ll seize your chair.”

In what manner Richard was invested with the protectorate does not appear: Probably as the parliament was not sitting, this dignity was conferred on him by the assent of the lords and the privy council; and as we hear of no opposition, certainly none was made. He was the only person to whom that rank was due; his right could not and does not seem to have been questioned. The Chronicle of Croyland corroborates my opinion, saying,  
 “Acceptitque dictus Ricardus dux Glocestriæ  
 illum solennem magistratum, qui ducei  
 Humfrido Glocestriæ, stante minore  
 ætate regis Henrici, ut regni protector ap-  
 pellaretur, olim contingebat. Ea igitur  
 auctoritate usus est, de consensu & bene-  
 placito *omnium dominorum,*” p. 556.

Thus far therefore it must be allowed that Richard acted no illegal part, nor discovered more ambition than became him. He had defeated

defeated the queen's innovations, and secured her accomplices. He afterwards sent for the younger brother by the archbishop of Canterbury. And the chronicle declares, that the queen *Verbis gratanter annuens, dimisit puerum.* The king, who had been lodged in the palace of the bishop of London, was then removed with his brother to the Tower.

This last circumstance has not a little contributed to raise horror in vulgar minds, who of late years have been accustomed to see no persons of rank lodged in the Tower but state criminals. But in that age the case was widely different. It not only appears by a map engraven so late as the reign of queen Elizabeth, that the Tower was a royal palace, in which were ranges of buildings called the king's and queen's apartments, now demolished; but it is a known fact, that they did often lodge there, especially previous to their coronations. I come now to one of the principal transactions of this dark period: I mean Richard's assumption of the crown. Sir Thomas More's account of this is totally improbable, and positively false in the groundwork of that revolution. For what man of common sense can believe, that Richard would publicly asperse the honour of his own mother? That mother, Cecily duchess dowager of York, a princess of a spotless character, was then living: so were two of her daughters, the duchesses of Suffolk and Burgundy, Richard's own sisters: one of them, the duchess of Suffolk walked at his ensuing coronation, and her



her son the earl of Lincoln was by Richard himself, after the death of his own son, declared heir apparent to the crown. Is it, can it be credible, that Richard actuated a venal preacher to declare to the people from the pulpit at Paul's cross, that his mother had been an adulteress, and that her two eldest sons, Edward the Fourth and the duke of Clarence were spurious; and that the good lady had not given a legitimate child to her husband, but the protector, and I suppose the dutches of Suffolk, though no mention is said to be made of her in the sermon? For as the dutches of Suffolk was older than Richard, and consequently would have been involved in the charge of bastardy, could he have declared her son his heir, he who set aside his brother Edward's children for their illegitimacy? Ladies of the least disputable galantry generally suffer their husbands to beget his heir; and if doubts arise on the legitimacy of their issue, the younger branches seem most liable to suspicion--- but a tale so gross could not have passed even on the mob---no proof, no presumption of the fact was

‡ What should we think of a modern historian, who should sink all mention of the convention parliament, and only tell us that one Dr. Burnet got up into the pulpit, and assured the people that Henrietta Maria (a little more suspected of galantry than duchess Cecily) produced Charles the Second and James the Second in adultery, and gave no legitimate issue to Charles the First, but Mary princess of Orange, mother of king William; that the people laughed at him, and so the prince of Orange became king?

was pretended. Were the || duchess and her daughters silent on so scandalous an insinuation? The imputation was beyond measure atrocious and absurd. What! taint the fame of his mother to pave his way to the crown! Who had heard of her guilt? And if guilty, how came she to stop the career of her intrigues? But Richard had better pretensions, and had no occasion to start doubts even on his own legitimacy, which was too much connected with that of his brothers to be tossed and bandied about before the multitude. Clarence had been solemnly attainted by act of parliament, and his children were out of the question. The doubts on the validity of Edward's marriage were better grounds for Richard's proceedings than aspersions of his mother's honour. On that invalidity he claimed the crown, and obtained it; and with such universal concurrence, that the nation undoubtedly was on his side---but as he could not deprive his nephews, on that foundation, without bastardizing their sisters too, no wonder the historians, who wrote under the Lancastrian domination, have used all their art and industry to misrepresent the fact. If the marriage of Edward the Fourth with the widow Grey was bigamy, and consequently null, what became of the title of Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry the Seventh? What

|| It appears from Rymer's *Fœdera*, that the very first act of Richard's reign is dated from *quadam alterâ camera juxta capellam in hospitio domine Cecilie ducissæ Eborum*. It does not look much as if he had publicly accused his mother of adultery, when he held his first council at her house.

What became of it? Why a bastard branch of Lancaster, matched with a bastard of York, were obtruded on the nation as the right heirs of the crown; and, as far as two negatives can make an affirmative, they were so.

Buck, whose integrity will more and more appear, affirms that, before Edward had espoused the lady Grey, he had been contracted to the lady Eleanor Butler, and married to her by the bishop of Bath. Sir Thomas More, on the contrary (and here it is that I am unwillingly obliged to charge that great man with wilful falshood) pretends that the duchess of York, his mother, endeavouring to dissuade him from so disproportionate an alliance, urged him with a precontract to one Elizabeth Lucy, who, however, being pressed, confessed herself his concubine. Such indeed she was; but in Richard's pursuit of the crown, no question at all was made of this Elizabeth Lucy. We have the most undoubted authorities to assure us, that Edward's precontract or marriage, urged to invalidate his match with the lady Grey, was with the lady Eleanor Talbot, widow of the lord Butler of Sudely, and sister of the earl of Shrewsbury, one of the greatest peers in the kingdom; her mother was the lady Katherine Stafford, daughter of Humphrey duke of Buckingham, prince of the blood: an alliance in that age never reckoned unsuitable. Hear the evidence. Honest Philip de Comines says, "that the bishop of Bath informed Richard that he had married king Edward

to an English lady; & dit cet eveſque  
 "qu'il les avoit eſpouſes, & que n'y avoit  
 "que luy & ceux deux." This deſcription  
 marks out the lady Butlet, and not Elizabeth  
 Lucy. The Chronicle of Croyland is more  
 expreſs. "Color autem introitus & captus  
 "poſſeſſionis hujusmodi is erat. Oſtende-  
 "batur per modum ſupplicationis in quodam  
 "rotulo pergameni quod filii regis Edwardi  
 "erant baſtardi, ſupponendo illum precon-  
 "traſſe cum quâdam dominâ Alienorâ Bo-  
 "teſer, antequam reginam Elizabeth dux-  
 "ſſet uxorem; atque inſuper, quod ſanguis  
 "alterius fratris ſui, Georgii ducis Clarentiæ,  
 "ſuiſſet attinctus; ita quod hodie nullus cer-  
 "tus & incorruptus ſanguis linealis ex parte  
 "Ricardi ducis Eboraci poterat inveniri,  
 "niſi in perſonâ dicti Ricardi ducis Gloceſ-  
 "triæ. Quo circa ſupplicabatur ei in fine  
 "ejuſdem rotuli, *ex parte dominorum & com-*  
 "*munitatis regni, ut juſ ſuum in ſe aſſumeret.*"

Is this full? Is this evidence? Here we ſee  
 the origin of the tale relating to the duchess  
 of York; *nullus certus & incorruptus ſanguis* :  
 from theſe miſtaken or perverted words flowed  
 the report of Richard's aſperſing his mother's  
 honour. But as if truth was doomed to  
 emerge, though ſtified for near three hundred  
 years, the roll of parliament is at length come  
 to light, and ſets forth, "that though *the*  
 "*three eſtates* which petitioned Richard to aſ-  
 "ſume the crown were not aſſembled in form  
 "of parliament;" yet it rehearſes the ſuppli-  
 cation (recorded by the chronicle above)  
 and declares, "that king Edward was and

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"ſtood

stood married and troth plight to one dame  
 Eleanor Butler, daughter to the earl of  
 Shrewsbury, with whom the said king Ed-  
 ward had made a pre-contract of matri-  
 mony, long before he made his pretended  
 marriage with Elizabeth Grey. Could  
 Sir Thomas More be ignorant of this fact?  
 or, if ignorant, where is his competence as  
 an historian? And how egregiously absurd is  
 his romance of Richard's assuming the crown  
 in consequence of Dr. Shaw's sermon and  
 Buckingham's harangue, to neither of which  
 he pretends the people assented! It is evi-  
 dent that the nobility called the validity of  
 the queen's marriage in question, and that  
 Richard was solemnly invited by the three  
 estates to accept the regal dignity. The no-  
 bility asserted Richard's claim from their  
 hatred and jealousy of the queen's family,  
 and many of them from the conviction of  
 Edward's pre-contract. Many might con-  
 cur from provocation at the attempts that had  
 been made to disturb the due course of law,  
 and some from apprehension of a minority.  
 The great regularity with which the corona-  
 tion was prepared and conducted, and the  
 extraordinary concourse of the nobility at it,  
 have not at all the air of an unwelcome re-  
 volution, accomplished merely by violence.  
 On the contrary, it bore great resemblance  
 to a much later event, which, being the last  
 of the kind, we term *The Revolution*. The  
 three estates of nobility, clergy and people,  
 which called Richard to the crown, and whose  
 act was confirmed by the subsequent parlia-  
 ment, trod the same steps as the convention  
 did,

did, which elected the prince of Orange; both setting aside an illegal pretender, the legitimacy of whose birth was called in question. And it appears that Richard's cause was as good as king William's, and that in both instances it was a free election. The art used by Sir Thomas More (when he could not deny a pre-contract) in endeavouring to shift that objection on Elizabeth Lucy, a married woman, contrary to the specific words of the act of parliament, betrays the badness of the Lancastrian cause, which would make us wonder at the nobility's giving way to the act for bastardizing the children of Edward the Fourth. But reinstate the claim of the lady Butler, which was well known, and conceive the interest that her great relations must have made to set aside the queen's marriage, nothing appears more natural than Richard's succession. His usurpation vanishes, and in a few pages more I shall shew that his consequential cruelty vanishes too.

In this whole story nothing is less known to us than the grounds on which Lord Hastings was put to death. He had lived in open enmity with the queen and her family, and had been but newly reconciled to her son: yet Sir Thomas owns lord Hastings was one of the first to abet Richard's proceedings against her, and concurred in all the protector's measures. We are amazed therefore to find this lord the first sacrifice under the new government. Sir Thomas owns that the protector *loved him well, and lost he was to have him lost.* What then can

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we think, but that Hastings really was plotting to defeat the new settlement, contrary to the intention of the three estates. And who can tell whether the suddenness of the execution was not the effect of necessity? The gates of the Tower were shut during that rapid scene; the protector and his adherents appeared in the first rusty armour that was at hand: but this is alledged against them, as contrived to gain belief, as if they had been in danger of their lives. The argument is gratis dictum; and as Richard loved Hastings, it is more reasonable to believe, that Richard acted in self-defence, than that he exercised a wanton, unnecessary, and disgusting cruelty. The collateral circumstances introduced by More do but weaken his account; I mean, the idle accusations put into the mouth of Richard, such as his bearing his withered arm, and imputing it to Sorcery, and to his blending the queen and Jane Shore in the same plot. Cruel or not, Richard was no fool; and therefore it is highly improbable that he should lay the withering of his arm on recent witchcraft, if it was true, as Sir Thomas More pretends, that it never had been otherwise.----For the other accusation of a league between Elizabeth and Jane Shore, Sir Thomas More ridicules it himself, and treats it as highly unlikely. But being unlikely, was it not more natural for him to think, that it never was urged by Richard? And though Sir Thomas again draws aside our attention by the penance of Jane, which she certainly underwent, it is no kind

kind of proof that the protector accused the queen of having plotted with mistress Shore\*. What relates to that unhappy fair one I shall examine at the end of this work.

- The very day on which Hastings was executed, ~~was~~ beheaded earl Rivers, lord Richard Grey, Vaughan, and Haute. These executions are indubitable; were consonant to the manners and violence of the age; and perhaps justifiable by that wicked code, state-necessity.

All obstacles thus removed, and Richard being solemnly instated in the throne by the concurrent voice of the three estates, "He openly," says Sir Thomas More, "took upon him to be king, the † ninth day of June, and the morrow after was proclaimed, riding to Westminster with great state; and calling the judges before him, straitly commanded them to execute the laws without favour or delay, with many good exhortations, of the which he followed not one." This is an invidious and false accusation. Richard, in his regal capacity, was an excellent king, and for the short time of

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his

\* So far from it, that, as Mr. Hume remarks, there is in Rymer's *Ecœdera* a proclamation of Richard, in which he accuses, not the lord Hastings, but the marquis of Dorset, of connexion with Jane Shore.

† Though I have copied our historian, as the rest have copied him in this date, I must desire the reader to take notice, that this very date is another of Sir D. More's errors; for in the public acts is a deed of Edward the Fifth, dated June 17th.



his reign enacted many wise and wholesome laws. I doubt even whether one of the best proofs of his usurpation was not the goodness of his government, according to a common remark, that princes of doubtful titles make the best masters. Certain it is, that in many parts of the kingdom, not poisoned by faction, he was much beloved; and even after his death the northern counties gave open testimony of their affection to his memory.

On the sixth of July Richard was crowned, and soon after set out on a progress to York, on his way visiting Gloucester, the seat of his former duchy. And now it is that I must call up the attention of the reader, the capital and bloody scene of Richard's life being dated from this progress. The narrative teems with notorious falsehoods, and is flatly contradicted by so many unquestionable facts, that if we have no other reason to believe the murder of Edward the Fifth and his brother, than the account transmitted to us, we shall very much doubt whether they ever were murdered at all. I will state the account, examine it, and produce evidence to confute it.

Richard before he left London, had taken no measures to accomplish the assassination; but on the road "his mind misgave him, that while his nephews lived, he should not possess the crown with security\*. Upon this reflection he dispatched one Richard Greeno to Sir Robert Brakenbury, lieutenant of the Tower, with a letter that

\* Sir T. More.

"the same Sir Robert in any wise should put  
 "the two children to death. This Greene  
 "did his errand to Brakenbury, who plain-  
 "ly answered that he never would put them  
 "to death." Green returned with this an-  
 "swer to the king who was then at Warwick,  
 "wherewith he took such displeasure, that the  
 "same night he said unto a page, "Ah! whom  
 "shall a man trust? They that I have  
 "brought up myself, they that I thought  
 "would have most surely served me, even  
 "those will do nothing for me." "Sir,"  
 "saith the page, "there lieth one in the  
 "chamber without, that I dare say will doe  
 "your grace pleasure;" meaning by this,  
 "James Tyrrel, whom says Sir Thomas a few  
 "pages afterwards, he there made a knight,  
 "The man," continues More, "had an  
 "high heart, and sore longed upwards, not  
 "rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being  
 "hindered and kept under by Sir Richard  
 "Ratcliffe and Sir William Catesby." Tir-  
 "rel accepted the commission, received warrant  
 "to authorize Brakenbury to deliver to him the  
 "keys of the Tower for one night; and having  
 "selected two other villains called Miles Forest  
 "and John Dighton, the two latter smothered  
 "the innocent princes in their beds, and then  
 "called Tirlrel to be witness of the execution.  
 "It is difficult to crowd more improbabilities  
 "and lies together than are comprehended in  
 "this short narrative. Who can believe, if  
 "Richard meditated the murder, that he took  
 "no care to sift Brakenbury before he left Lon-  
 "don? Who can believe that he would trust to

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atrocious a commission to a letter? And who can imagine, that on Brakenbury's non-compliance, Richard would have ordered him to cede the government of the Tower to Titch for one night only, the purpose of which had been so plainly pointed out by the preceding message? And had such weak steps been taken, could the murder itself have remained a problem? And yet Sir Thomas More himself is forced to confess at last, "that the deaths of the two young princes have nevertheless so far come in question, that some remained long in doubt, whether they were in his days destroyed, or no." Very

\* It appears from the *Fœdera*, that Brakenbury was appointed Constable of the Tower July 7th; that he surrendered his patent March 9th of the following year, and had one more ample granted to him. If it is supposed that Richard renewed this patent to Sir Robert Brakenbury, to prevent his disclosing what he knew of the murder, I then ask, if it is probable that a man too virtuous or too cautious to embark in an assassination, would have laid down his life in that usurper's cause, as Sir Robert did, being killed on Richard's side at Bosworth, when many other of his adherents betrayed him?

† This is confirmed by lord Bacon, "Neither wanted there even at that time, secret rumours and whisperings (which afterwards gathered strength, and turned to great trouble) that the two young sons of king Edward the Fourth, or one of them (which were said to be destroyed in the Tower) were not indeed murdered, but conveyed secretly away, and yet living."

Reign of Henry VII, p. 4.

Very memorable words, sufficient to balance More's own testimony with the most sanguine believers. He adds, "these doubts not only arose from the uncertainty men were in, whether Perkin Warbeck was the true duke of York, but for that all things were so covertly demeaned, that there was nothing plain and openly proved." Sir Thomas goes on to affirm, "that he does not relate the story after every way that he had heard, but after that way that he had heard it by such men and such means, as he thought it hard but it should be true." This affirmation rests on the credibility of certain reporters, we do not know whom. But to proceed to the confutation. James Tirrel, a man in no secret trust with the king, and kept down by Catesby and Ratcliffe, is recommended as a proper person by a nameless page. In the first place Richard was crowned at York (after this transaction) September 3<sup>rd</sup>. Edward the Fourth had not been dead four months, and Richard in possession of any power not above two months, and those very bustling and active: Tirrel must have been impatient indeed, if the page had had time to observe his discontent at the superior confidence of Ratcliff and Catesby. It happens unluckily too, that great part of the time Ratcliff was absent, Sir Thomas More himself telling us that Sir Richard Ratcliffe had the custody of the prisoners at Pontefract, and presided at their execution there. But a much more unlucky circumstance is, that James Tirrel, said to be knighted for this horrid

horrid service, was not only a knight before, but a great or very considerable officer of the crown; and in that situation had walked at Richard's preceding coronation.

That Sir James Tirrel was and did walk as master of the horse at Richard's coronation cannot be contested. A most curious, invaluable, and authentic monument has lately been discovered, the coronation-roll of Richard the Third. Two several deliveries of parcels of stuff are there expressly entered, as made to "Sir James Tirrel, knyght, maister of the hors of our sayd soverayn lorde the kynge." What now becomes of Sir Thomas More's informers, and of their narrative, which he thought hard but must be true?

I will go a step farther, and consider the evidence of this murder, as produced by Henry the seventh some years afterwards, when it was necessary for his majesty to hope it had been true; at least to hope the people would think so. On the appearance of Pefkin Warbeck, who gave himself out for the second of the brothers, who was believed so by most people, and at least feared by the king to be so, he bestirred himself to prove that both the princes had been murdered by his predecessor. There had been but three actors, besides Richard who had commanded the execution and was dead. These were Sir James Tirrel, Dighton, and Forrest; and these were all the persons whose depositions Henry pretended to produce: at least of two of them, for Forrest it seems had rotted piecemeal away; a kind of death unknown at present

sent to the college. Dighton certainly avowed the fact, and was suffered to go unpunished where ever he pleased, undoubtedly that he might spread the tale. And observe these remarkable words of Lord Bacon, "John Dighton, who it seemeth spake best for the king, was forewith set at liberty." In truth, every step of this pretended discovery, as it stands in Lord Bacon, warns us to give no heed to it, Dighton and Tirrel agreed both in a tale, as the king gave out. Their confession therefore was not publickly made, and as Sir James Tirrel too was suffered to live; but was shut up in the Tower, and put to death afterwards, for we know not what treason; what can we believe, but that Dighton was some low mercenary wretch hired to assume the guilt of a crime he had not committed, and that Sir James Tirrel never did, never would confess what he had not done; and was therefore put out of the way on a fictitious imputation? It must be observed too, that no enquiry was made into the murder on the accession of Henry the Seventh, the natural time for it, when the passions of men were heated, and when the duke of Norfolk, lord Lovel, Catesby, Ratcliffe, and the real abettors or

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It appears by Hall, that Sir James Tirrel had even enjoyed the favour of Henry; for Tirrel is named as captain of Guisnes in a list of valiant officers that were sent by Henry, in his fifth year, on an expedition into Flanders. Does this look as if Tirrel was so much as suspected of the murder? And who can believe this pretended confession afterwards?

accomplices of Richard, were attainted and executed. No mention of such a murder was made in the very act of parliament that attainted Richard himself, and which would have been the most heinous aggravation of his crimes. And no prosecution of the supposed assassins was even thought of till eleven years afterwards, on the appearance of Perkin Warbeck. Tirrel is not named in the act of attainder; and such omissions cannot but induce us to surmise that Henry had never been certain of the deaths of the princes, nor ever interested himself to prove that both were dead, till he had great reason to believe that one of them was alive.

Having thus disproved the account of the murder, let us now examine, whether we can be sure that the murder was committed.

Of all men it was most incumbent on cardinal Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury, to ascertain the fact. To him had the queen entrusted her younger son, and the prelate had pledged himself for his security—unless every step of this history is involved in falsehood. Yet what was the behaviour of the archbishop? He appears not to have made the least inquiry into the reports of the murder of both children; nay, not even after Richard's death: on the contrary, Bouchier was the very man who placed the crown on his head\*; and yet not one historian censures this

\* As cardinal Bouchier set the crown on Richard's head at Westminster, so did archbishop Rotherham at York. These prelates either did not believe the reports of the murder, or they had not time to do so. Richard

this conduct of Beaufort and his associates could not have justified this shameful negligence. Every body knows what was the authority of priests in that age; an archbishop was sacred, no cardinal inviolable. As Beaufort betrayed Richard, was it not incumbent on him to show that the duke of York had been assassinated in spite of all his endeavours to save him? What can be argued from this inactivity of Beaufort, but that he did not believe the children were murdered?

Richard's conduct in a parallel case is a strong presumption that this barbarity was falsely laid to his charge. Edward, earl of Warwick, his nephew, and son of the duke of Clarence, was in his power too, and no indifferent rival, if king Edward's children were bastards. Clarence had been attainted; but so had almost every prince who had aspired to the crown after Richard the second. Richard duke of York, the father of Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third, was son of Richard earl of Cambridge, beheaded for treason; yet that duke of York held his father's attainder no bar to his succession. Yet how did Richard the Third treat his nephew and competitor, the young Warwick? John Rous, says never saw him, nor ever heard of him. Richard had murdered his nephews, or were shamefully complaisant themselves. Yet their characters stand unimpeached in history. Could Richard be guilty, and the archbishops be blameless? Could both be ignorant what was become of the young princes, when both had negotiated with the queen dowager? As neither is accused of being the creature of Richard, it is probable that neither of them believed he had taken off his nephews.



a zealous Lancastrian and contemporary, shall inform us; and will at the same time tell us an important anecdote, maliciously suppressed or ignorantly omitted by all our historians. Richard actually proclaimed him heir to the crown after the death of his own son, and ordered him to be served next to himself and the queen, though he afterwards set him aside. The very day after the battle of Bosworth, the usurper Richmond was so far from being led aside from attention to his interest by the glare of his new-acquired crown, that he sent for the earl of Warwick from Sheriff-Hutton and committed him to the Tower, from whence he never stirred more, falling a sacrifice to the inhuman jealousy of Henry, as his sister, the venerable countess of Salisbury, did afterwards to that of Henry the Eighth. Richard, on the contrary, was very affectionate to his family: instances appear in his treatment of the earls of Warwick and Lincoln. The Lady Ann Poole, sister of the latter, Richard had agreed to marry to the prince of Scotland.

The more generous behaviour of Richard to the same young prince (Warwick) ought to be

† P. 218. Rous is the more to be credited for this fact, as he saw the earl of Warwick in company with Richard at Warwick the year before on the progress to York, which shews that the king treated his nephew with kindness, and did not confine him till the plots of his enemies thickening, Richard found it necessary to secure such as had any pretensions to the crown. This will account for his preferring the earl of Lincoln, who, being his sister's son, could have no prior claim before himself.

be applied to the case of Edward the Fifth, if no proof exists of the murder. But what suspicious words are those of Sir Thomas More, quoted above, and unobserved by all our historians: "*Some remained long in doubt,*" says he, "*whether they (the children) were in his (Richard's) days destroyed or no.*" If they were not destroyed *in his days*, in whose days were they murdered? Who will tell me that Henry the Seventh did not find the eldest at least, prisoner in the Tower; and if he did, what was there in Henry's nature or character to prevent our surmises going farther?

And here let me lament that two of the greatest men in our annals have prostituted their admirable pens, the one to blacken a great prince, the other to varnish a pitiful tyrant. I mean the two chancellors, Sir Thomas More and lord Bacon. The most senseless stories of the mob are converted to history, by the former; the latter is still more culpable; he has held up to the imitation of succeeding princes, a man whose nearest approach to wisdom was mean cunning; and has raised into a legislator, a sanguinary, sordid, and trembling usurper. Henry was a tyrannic husband and ungrateful master; he cheated as well as oppressed his subjects, bartered the honour of the nation for foreign gold, and cut off every branch of the royal family, to ensure possession to his no title. Had he had any title, he could claim it but from his mother, and her he set aside. But of all titles he preferred that of conquest, which, if allowable in a foreign prince, can never be valid in a native, but

ought to make him the execration of his countrymen.

There is nothing strained in the supposition of Richard's sparing his nephew. At least it is certain *now*, that though he dispossessed, he undoubtedly treated him at first with indulgence, attention, and respect; and though the proof I am going to give, must have mortified the friends of the dethroned young prince, yet it shewed great aversion to cruelty, and was an indication that Richard rather assumed the crown for a season, than as meaning to detain it always from his brother's posterity. It is well known that in the Saxon times nothing was more common in cases of minority than for the uncle to be preferred to the nephew; yet I have no doubt but Richard went so far as to insinuate an intention of restoring the crown when young Edward should be of full age. I have three strong proofs of this. In the first place Sir Thomas More reports that the duke of Buckingham in his conversations with Morton, after his defection from Richard, told the bishop that the protector's first proposal had been to take the crown, till Edward his nephew should attain the age of twenty-four years. Morton was certainly competent evidence of these discourses, and therefore a credible one; and the idea is confirmed by the two other proofs I alluded to; the second of which was, that Richard's son did *not* walk at his father's coronation.

But though Richard's son did not walk at his father's coronation, Edward the Fifth did, and this is my third proof. I conceive all the

astonish-

astonishment of my readers at this assertion, and yet it is founded on strong evidence. In the coronation roll itself is this amazing entry ;

“ To Lord Edward, son of late king Edward the Fourth, for his apparel and array, that is to say, a short gowne made of two yards and three quarters of crymson clothe of gold, lyned with two yards  $\frac{3}{4}$  of blac velvet, a long gowne made of vi yards D of crymson cloth of gold lynned with six yards of green damask, a shorte gowne made of two yards  $\frac{3}{4}$  of purpell velvett lyned with two yards  $\frac{3}{4}$  of green damask, a doublett and a stomacher made of two yards of blac satyn, &c.” besides two foot cloths, a bonnet of purple velvet, nine horse harness, and nine saddle houses (houfings) of blue velvet, gilt spurs, with many other rich articles, and magnificent apparel for his henchmen or pages.

Let no body tell me that these robes, this magnificence, these trappings for a cavalcade, were for the use of a prisoner. Marvellous as the fact is, there can no longer be any doubt but the deposed young king walked at his uncle's coronation. This precious monument, a terrible reproach to Sir Thomas More and his copyists, who have been silent on so public an event, exists in the great wardrobe; it is written on vellom, and is bound with the coronation rolls of Henry the Seventh and Eighth. It is the account of Peter Courteys keeper of the great wardrobe, and dates from the day of king Edward the Fourth his death, to the feast of the purification in the February of the following year.

Peter

Peter Courteys specifies what stuff he found in the wardrobe, what contracts he made for the ensuing coronation, and the deliveries in consequence. The whole is couched in the most minute and regular manner, and is preferable to a thousand vague and interested histories. The concourse of nobility at that ceremony was extraordinary great: there were present no fewer than three duchesses of Norfolk. Has this the air of a forced and precipitate election? Or does it not indicate a voluntary concurrence of the nobility? No mention being made in the roll of the young duke of York, no robes being ordered for him, it looks extremely as if he was not in Richard's custody; and strengthens the probability that will appear hereafter, of his having been conveyed away.

Can it be doubted now, but that Richard meant to have it thought that his assumption of the crown was only temporary? But when he proceeded to bastardize his nephew by act of parliament, then it became necessary to set him entirely aside; stronger proofs of the bastardy might have come out; and it is reasonable to infer this, for on the death of his own son, when Richard had no longer any reason of family to bar his brother Edward's children, instead of again calling them to the succession, as he at first projected, he settled the crown on the issue of his sister, Suffolk, declaring her eldest son the earl of Lincoln his successor. That young prince was slain in the battle of Stoke against Henry the Seventh, and his younger brother the earl  
of

of Suffolk, who had fled to Flanders, was extorted from the archduke Philip, who by contrary winds had been driven into England. Henry took a solemn oath not to put him to death; but copying David rather than Solomon, he, on his death-bed, recommended it to his son Henry the Eighth to execute Suffolk; and Henry the Eighth was too pious not to obey the injunction.

They who the most firmly believe the murder of the two princes, more strongly than the age did in which it was pretended to be committed; urge the disappearance of the princes as a proof of the murder, but that argument vanishes entirely, at least with regard to one of them, if Perkin Warbeck was the true duke of York, as I shall shew, it is greatly probable he was.

With regard to the elder, his disappearance is no kind of proof that he was murdered; he might die in the Tower. I have insinuated, that it is not impossible, but Henry the Seventh might find him alive in the Tower. We may be very sure if he did find Edward alive there, he would not have notified his existence, to acquit Richard and hazard his own crown. The circumstances of the murder were evidently false, and invented by Henry to discredit Perkin; and the time of the murder is absolutely a fiction, for it appears by the roll of parliament, which bastardized Edward the Fifth, that he was then alive, which was seven months after the time assigned by More for his murder. If Richard spared him seven months, what could suggest a reason for his

his murder afterwards. To take him off then was strengthening the plan of the earl of Richmond, who aimed at the crown by marrying Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth. As the house of York, never rose again, as the reverse of Richard's fortune deprived him of any friend, and as no contemporaries but Fabian and the author of the Chronicle have written a word on that period, and they too slightly to inform us, it is impossible to know whether Richard ever took any steps to refute the calumny. The confessions of Sir Thomas More and Lord Bacon that many doubted of the murder, amount to a violent presumption that they were not murdered: and to a proof that their deaths were never declared. No man has ever doubted that Edward the Second, Richard the Second, and Henry the Sixth perished at the times that were given out. Neither Henry the Fourth, nor Edward the Fourth thought it would much help their titles to leave it doubtful whether their competitors existed or not.

As Richard gained the crown by the illegitimacy of his nephews, his causing them to be murdered, would not only have shewn that he did not trust to that plea, but would have transferred their claim to their sisters. And I must not be told that his intended marriage with his niece is an answer to my argument; for were that imputation true, it had nothing to do with the murder of her brothers. And here the comparison and irrefragability of dates puts this matter out of all doubt. It was

was not till the very close of his reign that Richard is even supposed to have thought of marrying his niece. The deaths of his nephews are dated in July or August 1483. His own son did not die till April 1484, nor his queen till March 1485. He certainly therefore did not mean to strengthen his title by marrying his niece to the disinherison of his own son; and having on the loss of that son, declared his nephew the earl of Lincoln his successor, it is plain that he still trusted to the illegitimacy of his brother's children; and in no case can it be thought that he wished to give strength to the claim of the princess Elizabeth.

Let us now examine the accusation of his intending to marry that niece: one of the consequences of which intention is a vague suspicion of poisoning his wife. The physicians declared she could not hold out till April; and Mr. Buck saw in the earl of Arundel's library a letter written in passionate strains of love for her uncle by Elizabeth to the duke of Norfolk. Now is it in nature to believe that the princess could be impatient to marry him, if she knew or thought he had murdered her brothers? Had Richard been eager to wed his niece, and had his character been as impetuously wicked as it is represented, he would not have let the forward princess wait for the slow decay of her rival; nor did he think of it till nine months after the death of his son; which shows it was only to prevent Richmond's marrying her. Learning the



the projected marriage of Elizabeth and the earl of Richmond, he amused the young princess with the hopes of making her his queen; and that Richard feared that alliance, is plain from his sending her to the castle of Sheriff-Hutton on the landing of Richmond.

The behaviour of the queen dowager must also be noticed. She was stripped by her son-in-law Henry of all her possessions, and confined to a monastery, for delivering up her daughters to Richard. Historians too are lavish in their censures on her for consenting to bestow her daughter on the murderer of her sons and brother. But if the murder of her sons is, as we have seen, most uncertain, this solemn charge falls to the ground: and for the deaths of her brother and lord Richard Grey, one of her eldest sons, it has already appeared that she imputed them to Hastings. It is much more likely that Richard convinced her he had not murdered her sons, than that she delivered up her daughters to him believing it. The rigour exercised on her by Henry the Seventh on her countenancing Lambert Simnel, evidently set up to try the temper of the nation in favour of some prince of the house of York, is a violent presumption that the queen dowager believed her second son living.

It was in the second year of Henry the Seventh that Lambert Simnel appeared. This youth first personated Richard duke of York, then Edward earl of Warwick; and was undoubtedly an impostor. Lord Bacon owns it was whispered every-where, that

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at least one of the children of Edward the Fourth was living. Such whispers prove two things; one, that the murder was very uncertain: the second, that it would have been very dangerous to disprove the murder: Henry being at least as much interested as Richard had been to have the children dead. Richard had set them aside as bastards, and thence had a title to the crown; but Henry was himself the issue of a bastard line, and had no title at all. Faction had set him on the throne, and his match with the supposed heiress of York induced the nation to wink at the defect in his own blood. The children of Clarence and of the duchess of Suffolk were living; so was the young duke of Buckingham, legitimately sprung from the youngest son of Edward the Third; whereas Henry came of the spurious stock of John of Ghent. Lambert Simnel appeared before Henry had had time to disgust the nation, as he did afterwards, by his tyranny, cruelty, and exactions. But what was most remarkable, the queen dowager tampered in this plot. Is it to be believed, that mere turbulence could in a year's time influence that woman to throw the nation again into a civil war, and attempt to dethrone her own daughter? And in favour of whom? Of the issue of Clarence, whom she had contributed to have put to death, or in favour of an impostor? There is not common sense in the supposition. No; she certainly knew or believed that Richard, her second son, had escaped and was living, and was glad to overturn the usurper without risking her child. The plot failed, and the queen dowager

dowager was shut up, where she remained till her death, "in prison, || poverty, and solitude." The king trumped up a silly accusation of her having delivered her daughters out of sanctuary to king Richard, "which proceeding," says the noble historian, "being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, makes it very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the king upon reason of policie, would not publish." How truth sometimes escapes from the most courtly pen! What interpretation can be put on these words, but that the king found the queen dowager was privy to the escape or at least existence of her second son, and secured her, lest she should bear testimony to the truth, and foment insurrections in his favour? Lord Bacon adds, "It is likewise no small argument that *there was some secret in it*; for that the priest Simon himself (who set Lambert to work) after he was taken, was never brought to execution, no, not so much as to publicke trial, but was only shut up close in a dungeon.

"For Lambert, the king would not take his life," continues Henry's biographer, "both out of magnanimitie" (a most proper picture of so mean a mind!) "and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death he would be forgotten too soon, but being kept alive, he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the *like enchantments of people* in time to come." What! do lawful princes live  
in

|| Lord Bacon.

in dread of a possibility of phantoms ! Oh ! no ; but Henry knew what he had to fear ; and he hoped by keeping up the memory of Simnel's imposture, to discredit the true duke of York, as another puppet, when ever he should really appear.

That appearance did not happen till some years afterwards, and in Henry's eleventh year. Lord Bacon had taken infinite pains to prove a second imposture ; and yet owns, " that the king's manner of shewing things " by pieces and by darke lights, hath so " muffled it, that it hath left it almost a " mysterie to this day." What has he left a mystery ? and what did he try to muffle ? Not the imposture, but the truth. Had so politic a man any interest to leave the matter doubtful ? Did he try to leave it so ? On the contrary, his diligence to detect the imposture was prodigious. Did he publish his narrative to obscure or elucidate the transaction ? Was it his manner to muffle any point that he could clear up, especially when it behoved him to have it declared ? When Lambert Simnel first personated the earl of Warwick, did not Henry exhibit that poor prince on a Sunday throughout all the principal streets of London ? Was he not conducted to Paul's cross, and openly examined by the nobility ? " which did in effect marre the pageant of " Ireland." Was not Lambert himself taken in Henry's service, and kept in his court for the same purpose ? In short, what did Henry ever muffle and disguise but the truth ? and why was his whole conduct so different.

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in the cases of Lambert and Perkin, if their cases were not totally different? No doubt remains on the former; the gross falsehoods and contradictions in which Henry's account of the latter is involved, make it evident that he himself could never detect the imposture of the latter, if it was one. Dates, which every historian has neglected, again come to our aid, and cannot be controverted.

Richard duke of York was born in 1474. Perkin Warbeck was not heard of before 1495, when duke Richard would have been Twenty-one. Margaret of York, dutchess dowager of Burgundy, and sister of Edward the Fourth, is said by lord Bacon to have been the Juno who persecuted the pious Æneas, Henry, and set up his phantom against him. She it was, says lord Bacon, p. 115, “who informed Perkin of all the particulars that concerned the person of Richard duke of York, which he was to act, describing unto him the personages, lineaments, and features of the king and queen, his pretended parents, and of his brother and sisters, and divers others that were nearest him in his childhood; together with all passages, some secret, some common, that were fit for a child's memory, until the death of king Edward. Then she added the particulars of the time, from the king's death, until he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad, as while he was in sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his brother's

“ther’s death, and his own escape, she knew  
 “they were things that verie few could con-  
 “trole: and therefore she taught him only  
 “to tell a smooth and likely tale of those  
 “matters, warning him not to vary from it.”

Indeed! Margaret must in truth have been a Juno, a divine power, if she could give all these instructions to purpose. This passage is so very important, the whole story depends so much upon it, that if I can show the utter impossibility of its being true, Perkin will remain the true duke of York for any thing we can prove to the contrary; and for Henry, Sir Thomas More, lord Bacon, and their copyists, it will be impossible to give any longer credit to their narratives.

I have said that duke Richard was born in 1474. Unfortunately his aunt Margaret was married out of England in 1467, seven years before he was born, and never returned thither. Was not she singularly capable of describing to Perkin, her nephew, whom she had never seen? How well informed was she of the times of his childhood and of all passages relating to his brother and sisters! Oh! but she had English refugees about her. She must have had many, and those of most intimate connection with the court, if she and they together could compose a tolerable story for Perkin, that was to take in the most minute passages of so many years. Who informed Margaret, that she might inform Perkin, of what passed in sanctuary? Ay; and who told her what passed in the Tower? Let the warmest asserter of the imposture answer that question, and I will give up all I have

have said. Forest was dead, and the supposed priest; Sir James Tirrel and Dighton, were in Henry's hands. Had they trumpeted about the story of their own guilt and infamy, till Henry, *after* Perkin's appearance, found it necessary to publish it? Sir James Tirrel and Dighton had certainly never gone to the court of Burgundy to make a merit with Margaret of having murdered her nephews. How came she to know accurately and authentically a tale which no mortal else knew? Did Perkin or did he not correspond in his narrative with Tirrel and Dighton! If he did, how was it possible for him to know it? If he did not, is it morally credible that Henry would not have made those variations public? If Edward the Fifth was murdered, and the duke of York saved, Perkin could know it but by being the latter. If he did not know it, what was so obvious as his detection? We must allow Perkin to be the true duke of York, or give up the whole story of Tirrel and Dighton. When Henry had Perkin, Tirrel, and Dighton in his power, he had nothing to do but to confront them, and the imposture was detected. It would not have been sufficient that Margaret had enjoined him *to tell a smooth and likely tale of those matters*. A man does not tell a likely tale, nor was a *likely* tale enough, of matters of which he is totally ignorant.

Still farther: why was Perkin never confronted with the queen dowager, with Henry's own queen, and with the princesses, her sisters? Why were they never asked, Is this your son?  
Is

Is this your brother? Was Henry afraid to trust to their natural emotion? Yet "he himself," says lord Bacon, p. 186, saw him "sometimes out of a window, or in passage." This implies that the queens and princesses never did see him; and yet they surely were the persons who could best detect the counterfeit, if he had been one. Had the young man a *voluntary*, coherent, and credible confession, no other evidence of his imposture would be wanted; but failing that, we cannot help asking, Why the obvious means of detection were not employed? Those means having been omitted, our suspicions remain in full force.

Henry, who thus neglected every means of confounding the impostor, took every step he would have done, if convinced that Perkin was the true duke of York. His utmost industry was exerted in sifting to the bottom of the plot, in learning who was engaged in the conspiracy, and in detaching the chief supporters. By his spies he came to the knowledge not of the imposture, but of what rather tended to prove that Perkin was a genuine Plantagenet: I mean such a list of great men actually in his court and in trust about his person, that no wonder he was seriously alarmed. Sir Robert Clifford, who had fled to Margaret, wrote to England, that he was positive the claimant was the very identical duke of York, son of Edward the Fourth, whom he had so often seen, and was perfectly acquainted with. This man, Clifford, was bribed back to Henry's service; and what was the consequence? He



accused Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain, the very man who had set the crown on Henry's head in Bosworth field, and own brother to the earl of Derby, the then actual husband of Henry's mother, of being in the conspiracy? This was indeed essential to Henry to know; but what did it proclaim to the nation? What could stagger the allegiance of such, but the firm persuasion that Perkin was the true duke of York? A spirit of faction and disgust has even in later times hurried men into treasonable combinations; but however Sir William Stanley might be dissatisfied, as not thinking himself adequately rewarded, yet is it credible that he should risk such favour, such riches, as lord Bacon allows he possessed, on the wild bottom of a Flemish counterfeit? The lord Fitzwalter and other great men suffered in the same cause; and which is remarkable, the first was executed at Calais---another presumption that Henry would not venture to have his evidence made public. And the strongest presumption of all is, that not one of the sufferers is pretended to have recanted; they all died in the persuasion that they had engaged in a righteous cause. When peers, knights of the garter, privy councillors, suffer death, from conviction of a matter of which they were proper judges (for which of them but must know their late master's son?) it would be rash indeed in us to affirm that they laid down their lives for an imposture, and died with a lie in their mouths,

What,

What can be said against king James of Scotland, who bestowed a lady of his own blood in marriage on Perkin? At war with Henry, James would naturally support his rival, whether genuine or suppositious. He and Charles the Eighth both gave him aid and both gave him up, as the wind of their interest shifted about. Recent instances of such conduct have been seen! but what prince has gone so far as to stake his belief in a doubtful cause, by sacrificing a princess of his own blood in confirmation of it?

But it is needless to multiply presumptions. Henry's conduct and the narrative he published, are sufficient to stagger every impartial reader. Lord Bacon confesses *the king did himself no good* by the publication of that narrative, and that mankind was astonished to find no mention in it of the dutchess Margaret's machinations. But how could lord Bacon stop there? Why did he not conjecture that there was no proof of that tale? What interest had Henry to manage a widow of Burgundy? He had applied to the archduke Philip to banish Perkin: Philip replied, he had no power over the lands of the dutchess's dowry. It is therefore most credible that the dutchess had supported Perkin, on the persuasion he was her nephew; and Henry not being able to prove the reports he had spread of her having trained up an impostor, chose to drop all mention of Margaret, because nothing was so natural as her supporting the heir of her own house. On the contrary, in Perkin's confession, as it was called,

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and which though preserved by Grafton, was suppressed by lord Bacon, not only as repugnant to his lordship's account, but to common sense. Perkin affirms, that "having failed to Lisbon in a ship with the lady Brampton, who lord Bacon says, was sent by Margaret to conduct him thither, and from thence having resorted to Ireland, it was at Cork that they of the town first threaped upon him that he was son of the duke of Clarence; and others afterwards, that he was the duke of York." But the contradictions both in lord Bacon's account, and in Henry's narrative, are irreconcilable and insurmountable: the former solves the likeness†, which is allowing the likeness, of Perkin to Edward the Fourth, by supposing that the king had an intrigue with his mother; of which he gives this silly relation; that Perkin Warbeck, whose surname it seems was Peter Osbeck, was son of a Flemish converted Jew (of which Hebrew extraction Perkin says not a word † in his confession) who with his wife Katherine de Faro came to London on business; and she producing a son, king  
Edward,

† As this solution of the likeness is not authorized by the youth's supposed narrative, the likeness remains uncontrovertible, and consequently another argument of his being king Edward's son.

‡ On the contrary, Perkin calls his grandfather Diryck Osbeck; Diryck every body knows is Theodoric, and Theodoricis certainly no Jewish appellation. Perkin too mentions several of his relations and their employments at Tournay, without any hint or a Hebrew connexion.

Edward, in consideration of the conversion, or intrigue, stood godfather to the child and gave him the name of *Peter*. Can one help laughing at being told that a king called *Edward* gave the name of *Peter* to his godson? But of this transmutation and christening Perkin, in his supposed confession, says not a word, nor pretends to have ever set foot in England, till he landed there in pursuit of the crown; and yet an English birth and some stay, though in his very childhood, was a better way of accounting for the purity of his accent, than either of the preposterous tales produced by lord Bacon or by Henry. The former says, that Perkin, roving up and down between Antwerp and Tournay and other towns, and living much in English company had the English tongue perfect. Henry was so afraid of not ascertaining a good foundation of Perkin's English accent, that he makes him learn the language twice over. "Being sent with a merchant of Turney, called Berlo, to the mart of Antwerp; the said Berlo set me," says Perkin, "to borde in a skinner's house, that dwelled beside the house of the English nation. And after this the said Berlo set me with a merchant of Middleborough to service for *to learn the language*, with whom I dwelled from Christmas to Easter, and when I went into Portyngale." One does not learn any language very perfectly; and with a good, nay, undistinguishable accent, between Christmas and Easter; but here let us pause. If this account was true, the other relating to the dutchess

Margaret was false; and then how came Perkin by so accurate a knowledge of the English court, that he did not falter, nor could be detected in his tale? If the confession was *not* true, it remains that it was trumped up by Henry, and then Perkin must be allowed the true duke of York.

But the gross contradiction of all follows: "It was in Ireland," says Perkin, "in this very narrative and confession, that against my will they made me to learne English, and taught me what I should do and say." Amazing! what, forced him to learn English, after, as he says himself in the very same page, he had learnt it at Antwerp? What an impudence was there in royal power to obtrude such stuff on the world! Yet this confession, as it is called, was the poor young man forced to read at his execution---no doubt in dread of worse torture. Mr. Hume owns that it was believed to have been drawn from him by torture. What matters how it was obtained; it could not be true: and as Henry could put together no more plausible account, commiseration will shed a tear over a hapless youth, sacrificed to the jealousy of an usurper, and in all probability the victim of a tyrant, who has made the world believe that the duke of York, executed by his own orders, had been previously murdered by his predecessor.

With regard to the person of Richard, it appears to have been as much misrepresented as his actions. The old countess of Desmond, who had danced with Richard, declared he was the handsomest man in the room,

room, except his brother Edward, and was very well made. And Dr. Shaw in his sermon appealed to the people, whether Richard was not the express image of his father's person, who was neither ugly nor deformed? Not all the protector's power could have kept the muscles of the mob in awe and prevented their laughing at so ridiculous an apostrophe, had Richard been a little, crooked, withered, hump-back'd monster, as later historians would have us believe.

The truth was this. Richard, who was slender and not tall, had one shoulder a little higher than the other: a defect, by the magnifying glasses of party, by distance of time, and by the amplification of tradition, easily swelled to shocking deformity; for falshood itself generally pays so much respect to truth as to make it the basis of its superstructures. Who can believe that an eye-witness, and so minute a painter, would have mentioned nothing but the inequality of shoulders, if Richard's form had been a compound of ugliness? Could a Yorkist have drawn a less disgusting representation? And yet Rous was a vehement Lancastrian! and the moment he ceased to have truth before his eyes, gave into all the virulence and forgeries of his party, telling us in another place, "that Richard remained two years in his mother's womb, and came forth at last with teeth, and hair on his shoulders." I leave it to the learned in the profession to decide whether women can go two years with their burden, and produce a living infant; but that

this long pregnancy did not prevent the dutcheſs, his mother, from bearing afterwards I can prove; and could we recover the regiſter of the births of her children, I ſhould not be ſurprized to find, that as ſhe was a very fruitful woman, there was not above a year between the birth of Richard and his preceding brother Thomas\*. However, an ancient † bard, who wrote after Richard was born and during the life of his father, tells us,

Richard liveth yet, but the laſt of all  
Was Urfula, to him whom God liſt call.

Be it as it will, this fooliſh tale, with the circumſtances of his being born with hair and teeth, was coined to intimate how careful Providence was, when it formed a tyrant, to  
give

\* The author I am going to quote, gives us the order in which the dutcheſs Cecily's children were born, thus; Ann dutcheſs of Exeter, Henry, Edward the Fourth, Edmund earl of Rutland, Elizabeth dutcheſs of Suffolk, Margaret dutcheſs of Burgundy, William, John, George duke of Clarence, Thomas, Richard the Third, and Urfula. Cox, in his history of Ireland, ſays that Clarence was born in 1451. Buck computed Richard the Third to have fallen at the age of thirty-four or five; but by Cox's account, he could not be more than thirty-two. Still this makes it probable, that their mother bore them and their interyening brother Thomas as ſoon as ſhe well could, one after another.

† See Vincent's Errors in Brooke's Heraldry p. 623.

give due warning of what was to be expected. And yet these portents were far from prognosticating a tyrant; for this plain reason, that all other tyrants have been born without these prognostics. Does it require more time to ripen a foetus, that is to prove a destroyer, than it takes to form an Aristides? Are there outward and visible signs of a bloody nature? Who was handsomer than Alexander, Augustus, or Louis the Fourteenth? and yet who ever commanded the spilling of more human blood?

Having mentioned John Rous, it is necessary I should say something more of him, as he lived in Richard's time, and even wrote his reign; and yet I have omitted him in the list of contemporary writers. The truth is, he was pointed out to me after the preceding sheets were finished; and upon inspection I found him too despicable and lying an author, even amongst monkish authors, to venture to quote him, but for two facts; for the one of which as he was an eye-witness, and for the other, as it was of public notoriety, he is competent authority.

The first is his description of the person of Richard; the second, relating to the young earl of Warwick, I have recorded in its place.

This John Rous, so early as in the reign of Edward the Fourth, had retired to the hermitage of Guy's Cliff, where he was a chantry priest, and where he spent the remaining part of his life in what he called studying and writing antiquities. Amongst  
other



other works, most of which are *not* unfortunately lost, he composed a history of the kings of England. It begins with the creation, and is compiled indiscriminately from the Bible and from monastic writers. Moses, he tells us, does not mention all the cities founded before the deluge, but Barnard de Breydenback, dean of Mayence, does. With the same taste he acquaints us, that, though the Book of Genesis says nothing of the matter, Giraldus Cambrensis writes, that Caphera or Cesara, Noah's niece, being apprehensive of the deluge, set out for Ireland, where, with three men and fifty women, she arrived safe with one ship, the rest perishing in the general destruction.

A history, so happily begun, never falls off: prophecies, omens, judgments, and religious foundations compose the bulk of the book. The lives and actions of our monarchs, and the great events of their reigns, seemed to the author to deserve little place in a history of England. To Richard he ascribes the death of Henry the sixth; and adds, that many persons believed he executed the murder with his own hands: but he records another circumstance that alone must weaken all suspicion of Richard's guilt in that transaction. Richard not only caused the body to be removed from Chertsey, and solemnly interred at Windsor, but it was publicly exposed, and, if we will believe the monk, was found almost entire, and emitted a gracious perfume, though no care had been taken to embalm it. Is it credible that Richard, if the murderer, would have

have exhibited this unnecessary mummery, only to revive the memory of his own guilt? Was it not rather intended to recall the cruelty of his brother Edward, whose children he had set aside, and whom by the comparison of this act of piety, he hoped to depreciate in the eyes of the people? The very example had been pointed out to him by Henry the Fifth, who bestowed a pompous funeral on Richard the Second, murdered by order of his father. But there is one circumstance, which, besides the weakness and credulity of the man, renders his testimony exceedingly suspicious. After having said, that, *if he may speak truth in Richard's favour* §, he must own that, though small in stature and strength, Richard was a noble knight, and defended himself to the last breath with eminent valour, the monk suddenly turns and apostrophizes Henry the Seventh, to whom he had dedicated his work, and whom he flatters to the best of his poor abilities; but above all things, for having bestowed the name of Arthur on his eldest son, who, this injudicious and over-hasty prophet foresees, will restore the glory of his great ancestor of the same name. Had Henry christened his second son Merlin, I do not doubt but poor Rous would have had still more divine visions about Henry the Eighth, though born to shake half the pillars of credulity.

In short, no reliance can be had on an author of such a frame of mind, so removed  
from

§ Attamen si ad ejus honorem veritatem dicam,  
p. 218.

from the scene of action, and so devoted to the Welch intruder on the throne. Super-added to this incapacity and defects, he had prejudices or attachments of a private nature : he had singular affection for the Beauchamps, earls of Warwick, zealous Lancastrians, and had written their lives. One capital crime that he imputes to Richard is the imprisonment of his mother-in-law, Ann Beauchamp countess of Warwick, mother of his queen. It does seem that this great lady was very hardly treated ; but I have shown from the Chronicle of Croyland, that it was Edward the Fourth, not Richard, that stripped her of her possessions. She was widow too of that turbulent Warwick, the king-maker ; and Henry the Seventh bore witness that she was faithfully loyal to Henry the Sixth. Still it seems extraordinary that the Queen did not or could not obtain the enlargement of her mother. When Henry the Seventh attained the crown, she recovered her liberty and vast estates : yet, young as his majesty was, both in years and avarice, for this munificence took place in his third year, still he gave evidence of the falshood and rapacity of his nature ; for though by act of parliament he cancelled the former act that had deprived her, *as against all reason, conscience, and course of nature, and contrary to the laws of God and man*†, and restored her possessions to her, this was but a farce, and like his wonted hypocrisy ; for the very same year he obliged her to convey the whole estate to him, leaving

† Vide Dugdale's Warwickshire in Beauchamp.

Leaving her nothing but the manor of Sutton for her maintenance. Richard had married her daughter; but what claim had Henry to her inheritance? This attachment of Rous to the house of Beauchamp, and the dedication of his work to Henry, would make his testimony most suspicious, even if he had guarded his work within the rules of probability, and not rendered it a contemptible legend.

Every part of Richard's story is involved in obscurity: we neither know what natural children he had, nor what became of them. Sandford says, he had a daughter called Katherine, whom William Herbert earl of Huntingdon covenanted to marry, and to make her a fair and sufficient estate of certain of his manors to the yearly value of 200l, over and above all charges. As this lord received a confirmation of his title from Henry the Seventh, no doubt the poor young lady would have been sacrificed to that interest. But Dugdale seems to think she died before the nuptials were consummated: "whether this marriage took effect or not I cannot say; for sure it is that she died in her tender years." Drake § affirms, that Richard knighted at York a natural son called Richard of Gloucester, and supposes it to be the same person of whom Peck has preserved so extraordinary an account||. But never was a supposition worse grounded. The relation given  
by

† Baronage, p. 258.

§ In his History of York.

|| See his *Desiderata Curiosa*.

by the latter himself, was, that he never saw the king till the night before the battle of Bosworth; and that the king had not then acknowledged, but intended to acknowledge him, if victorious. The deep privacy in which this person had lived, demonstrates how severely the persecution had raged against all that were connected with Richard, and how little truth was to be expected from the writers on the other side. Nor could Peck's Richard Plantagenet be the same person with Richard of Gloucester, for the former was never known till he discovered himself to Sir Thomas Moyle; and Hall says that king Richard's natural son was in the hands of Henry the Seventh. Buck says, that Richard made his son Richard of Gloucester, Captain of Calais; but it appears from Rymer's *Fœdera*, that Richard's natural son, who was captain of Calais, was called John. None of these accounts accord with Peck's; nor, for want of knowing his mother, can we guess why king Richard was more secret on the birth of this son (if Peck's Richard Plantagenet was truly so) than on those of his other natural children. Perhaps the truest remark that can be made on this whole story is, that the avidity with which our historians swallowed one gross ill-connected legend, prevented them from desiring or daring to sift a single part of it. If crumbs of truth are mingled with it, at least they are now undistinguishable in such a mass of error and improbability.

It

It is evident from the conduct of Shakespeare, that the house of Tudor retained all their Lancastrian prejudices, even in the reign of queen Elizabeth. In his play of Richard the Third, he seems to deduce the woes of the house of York from the curses which queen Margaret had vented against them; and he could not give that weight to her curses, without supposing a right in her to utter them. This indeed is the authority which I do not pretend to combat. Shakespeare's immortal scenes will exist, when such poor arguments as mine are forgotten. Richard at least will be tried and executed on the stage, when his defence remains on some obscure shelf of a library. But while these pages may excite the curiosity of a day, it may not be unentertaining to observe, that there is another of Shakespeare's plays that may be ranked among the historic, though not one of his numerous critics and commentators have discovered the drift of it; I mean *The Winter Evening's Tale*, which was certainly intended (in compliment to queen Elizabeth) as an indirect apology for her mother Anne Boleyn. The address of the poet appears nowhere to more advantage. The subject was too delicate to be exhibited on the stage without a veil; and it was too recent, and touched the queen too nearly, for the bard to have ventured so home an allusion on any other ground than compliment. The unreasonable jealousy of Leontes, and his violent conduct in consequence, from a true portrait of Henry the Eighth, who generally made  
the

the law the engine of his boisterous passions. Not only the general plan of his story is most applicable, but several passages are so marked, that they touch the real history nearer than the fable. Hermione on her trial says,

----- for honour,  
'Tis a derivative from me to mine,  
And only that I stand for.

This seems to be taken from the very letter of Anne Boleyn to the king before her execution, where she pleads for the infant princess his daughter. Mamillius, the young prince, an unnecessary character, dies in his infancy; but it confirms the allusion, as queen Anne, before Elizabeth, bore a still-born son. But the most striking passage, and which had nothing to do in the tragedy, but as it pictured Elizabeth, is, where Paulina, describing the new-born princess, and her likeness to her father, says, *she has the very trick of his frown*. There is one sentence indeed so applicable, both to Elizabeth and her father, that I should suspect the poet inserted it after her death. Paulina, speaking of the child, tells the king,

-----'tis yours;  
And might we lay the old proverb to  
your charge,  
So like you, 'tis the worse.-----

The winter Evening's Tale was therefore in reality a second part of Henry the Eighth.  
With

With regard to Jane Shore, I have already shown that it was her connection with the marquis of Dorset, not with lord Hastings, which drew on her the resentment of Richard. When an event is thus wrested to serve the purpose of a party, we ought to be very cautious how we trust an historian, who is capable of employing truth only as cement in a fabric of fiction. Sir Thomas More tells us, that Richard pretended Jane “was of counsell with the lord Hastings to destroy him; and in conclusion, when no colour could fasten upon these matters, then he layd seriously to her charge what she could not deny,” namely her adultery; and for this cause, as a godly continent prince, cleane and faultlesse of himself, sent out of heaven into this vicious world for the amendment of mens manners, he caused the bishop of London to put her to open penance.”

This sarcasm on Richard's morals would have had more weight, if the author had before confined himself to deliver nothing but the precise truth. He does not seem to be more exact in what relates to the penance itself. Richard, by his proclamation, taxed mistress Shore with plotting treason in confederacy with the marquis Dorset. Consequently, it was not from defect of proof of her being accomplice with lord Hastings that she was put to open penance. If Richard had any hand in that sentence, it was, because he *had* proof of her plotting with the marquis. But I doubt, and with some reason, whether



whether her penance was inflicted by Richard. We have seen that he acknowledged at least two natural children ; and Sir Thomas More hints that Richard was far from being remarkable for his chastity. Is it therefore probable, that he acted so silly a farce as to make his brother's mistress do penance ? Most of the charges on Richard are so idle, that instead of being an able and artful usurper, as his antagonists allow, he must have been a weaker hypocrite than ever attempted to wrest a sceptre out of the hands of a legal possessor.

It is more likely that the churchmen were the authors of Jane's penance ; and that Richard, interested to manage that body, and provoked by her connection with so capital an enemy as Dorset, might give her up, and permit the clergy (who probably had burned incense to her in her prosperity) to revenge his quarrel. My reason for this opinion is grounded on a letter of Richard extant in the Museum, by which it appears that the fair, unfortunate, and amiable Jane (for her virtues far outweighed her frailty) being a prisoner, by Richard's order, in Ludgate, had captivated the king's solicitor, who contracted to marry her. Here follows the letter ;

Harl. MSS, No. 2378.

By the KING.

“ Right reverend fadre in God, &c. Signifying unto you, that is shewed unto  
“ us

“ us, that our setvaunt and sollicitor, Tho-  
 “ mas Lynon, merveillously blinded and  
 “ abused with the late (wife) of Willm  
 “ Shore, now being in Ludgate by oure  
 “ commandment, hath made contract of  
 “ matrymony with hir (as it is said) and  
 “ entendith, to our full greate merveile, to  
 “ procede to th’effect of the same. We for  
 “ many causes would be sorry that hee soo  
 “ shoulde be disposed. Pray you therefore  
 “ to send for him, and in that ye goodly may,  
 “ exhorte and sture hym to the contrarye.  
 “ And if ye fined him utterly set for to ma-  
 “ rye hur, and noen otherwise will be ad-  
 “ vertised, then (if it may stand with the  
 “ lawe of the churche) We be content (the  
 “ tyme of marriage deferred to our comyng  
 “ next to London) that upon sufficient fuer-  
 “ tie founde of hure good abering, ye doo  
 “ send for hure keeper, and discharge him  
 “ of our said commandment by warrant of  
 “ these, committing hur to the rule and  
 “ guiding of hure fadre; or any othre by  
 “ your discretion in the mene season.  
 “ Yeven, &c.

“ To the right reverend fadre in God,  
 “ &c. the bishop of Lincoln, our  
 “ chauncellour.”

It appears from this letter, that Richard  
 thought it indecent for his sollicitor to marry  
 a woman who had suffered public punish-  
 ment for adultery, and who was confined by  
 his command---but where is the tyrant to be  
 found

found in this paper? Or, what prince ever spoke of such a scandal, and what is stronger, of such contempt of his authority, with so much lenity and temper? He enjoins his chancellor to dissuade the solicitor from the match----but should he persist----a tyrant would have ordered the solicitor to prison too----but Richard---Richard, if his servants will not be dissuaded, allows the match; and in the mean time commits Jane--to whose custody?---Her own Father's. I cannot help thinking that some holy person had been her persecutor, and not so patient and gentle a king. And I believe so, because of the salvo for the church: "Let them be married." says Richard, "if it may stand with the lawe of the church."

From the proposed marriage, one should at first conclude that Shore, the former husband of Jane was dead; but by the king's query, whether the marriage would be lawful? and by her being called in the letter *the late wife of William Shore*, not *of the late William Shore*, I should suppose that her husband was living, and that the penance itself was the consequence of a suit preferred by him to the ecclesiastic court for divorce. If the injured husband ventured, on the death of Edward the Fourth, to petition to be separated from his wife, it was natural enough for the church to proceed farther, and enjoin her to perform penance, especially when they fell in with the king's resentment to her.

I have thus gone through the several accusations against Richard; and have shewn that they

they rest on the slightest ground, if they rest on any at all. I have proved that they ought to be reduced to the sole authorities of Sir Thomas More and Henry the Seventh; the latter interested to blacken every action of Richard; and driven to father on him even his own crimes. I have proved that More's account cannot be true. I have shewn that the writers, contemporary with Richard, either do not accuse him, or give their accusations as mere vague and uncertain reports: and what is as strong, the writers next in date, and who wrote the earliest after the events are said to have happened, assert little or nothing from their own information, but adopt the very words of Sir Thomas More, who was absolutely mistaken.

It seems then to appear,

That we have no authors, who lived near the time, but Lancastrian authors, who wrote to flatter Henry the Seventh, or who spread the tales which he invented.

That the murder of prince Edward, son of Henry the Sixth, was committed by King Edward's servants, and is imputed to Richard by no contemporary.

That Henry the Sixth was found dead in the Tower; that it was not known how he came by his death; and that it was against Richard's interest to murder him.

That the duke of Clarence was defended by Richard; that the parliament petitioned for his execution; that no author of the time is

so absurd as to charge Richard with being the executioner; and that king Edward took the deed wholly on himself.

That Richard's stay at York on his brother's death had no appearance of a design to make himself king.

That the ambition of the queen, who attempted to usurp the government, contrary to the then established custom of the realm; gave the first provocation to Richard and the princes of the blood to assert their rights; and that Richard was solicited by the duke of Buckingham to vindicate those rights.

That the preparation of an armed force under earl Rivers, the seizure of a Tower and treasure, and the equipment of a fleet, by the marquis of Dorset gave occasion to the princes to imprison the relations of the queen: and that, though they were put to death without trial, it was consonant to the manners of that barbarous and turbulent age, and not till after the queen's party had taken up arms.

That the execution of lord Hastings, who had first engaged with Richard against the queen, and whom Sir Thomas More confesses Richard was *lothe to lose*, can be accounted for by nothing but absolute necessity, and the law of self-defence.

That Richard's assumption of the protectorate was in every respect agreeable to the laws and usage; was bestowed on him by the universal consent of the council and peers, and was a strong indication that he had then no thought of questioning the right of his nephew.

That

That the tale of Richard aspersing the chastity of his own mother is incredible; it appearing that he lived with her in perfect harmony, and lodged in her palace at that very time.

That it is as little credible that Richard gained the crown by a sermon of Dr. Shaw, and a speech of the duke of Buckingham, if the people only laughed at those orators.

That there had been a precontract or marriage between Edward the Fourth and lady Eleanor Talbot; and that Richard's claim to the crown was founded on the illegitimacy of Edward's children.

That a convention of the nobility, clergy, and people invited him to accept the crown on that title.

That the ensuing parliament ratified the act of the convention, and confirmed the bastardy of Edward's children.

That nothing can be more improbable than Richard's having taken no measures before he left London, to have his nephews murdered, if he had had any such intention.

That the story of Sir James Tirrel, as related by Sir Thomas More, is a notorious falshood; Sir James Tirrel being at that time master of the horse, in which capacity he had walked at Richard's coronation.

That Tirrel's jealousy of Sir Richard Ratcliffe is another palpable falshood; Tirrel being already preferred, and Ratcliffe absent.

That all that relates to Sir Robert Brakenbury is no less false: Brakenbury either being too good a man to die for a tyrant or murderer, or too bad a man to have refused being his accomplice.

That Sir Thomas More and lord Bacon both confefs, many doubted, whether the two princes were murdered in Richard's days or not; and it certainly never was proved, that they were murdered by Richard's order.

That Sir Thomas More relied on nameless authority; that it appears by dates and facts, his authorities were bad and false; that if Sir James Tirrel and Dighton had really committed the murder and confessed it, and if Perkin Warbeck had made a voluntary, clear, and probable confession of his imposture, there could have remained no doubt of the murder.

That Sir James Tirrel not being attainted on the death of Richard, but having, on the contrary, been employed in great services by Henry the Seventh, it is not probable that he was one of the murderers. The lord Bacon, owning, Tirrel's confession did not please the king so well as Dighton's; that Tirrel's imprisonment and execution some years afterwards for a new treason, of which we have no evidence, destroy all probability of his guilt in the supposed murder of the children.

That the impunity of Dighton, can only be accounted for on the supposition of his being a false witness to serve Henry's cause against Perkin Warbeck.

That the silence of the two archbishops, and Henry's not daring to specify the murder of the princes in the act of attainder against Richard, wears all the appearance of their not having been murdered.

That Richard's kindness to the earl of Warbeck, proceeding so far as to proclaim him his successor, betrays no symptom of that nature, which would not stick at assassinating a competitor.

his

That it is indubitable, Richard's first idea was to keep the crown only till Edward the Fifth should attain the age of twenty-four.

That with this view he did *not* create his own son prince of Wales till after he had proyed the bastardy of his brother's children.

That there is no proof that those children were murdered.

That Richard made his nephew Edward the Fifth walk at his coronation.

That there is strong presumption from the parliament-roll and from the chronicle of Croyland, that both princes were living some time after Sir Thomas More fixes the date of their deaths.

That when his own son was dead, Richard was so far from intending to get rid of his wife, that he proclaimed his nephews, first the earl of Warwick, and then the earl of Lincoln, his heirs apparent.

That there is not the least probability of his having poisoned his wife, who died of a languishing distemper: that no proof was ever pretended to be given of it; that a bare supposition of such a crime, without proof, is not to be credited.

That he seems to have had no intention of marrying his niece, but to have amused her with the hopes of that match, to prevent her marrying Richmond.

That it is probable the queen-dowager knew her second son was living, and connived at the appearance of Lambert Simnel, to feel the temper of the nation.

That Henry the Seventh thought she and the earl of Lincoln were privy to the existence of Richard duke of York, and that Henry lived in terror of his appearance.



That the different conduct of Henry with regard to Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, implies how different an opinion he had of them; that, in the first case, he used the most rational methods to prove him an impostor; whereas his whole behaviour in Perkin's case was mysterious, and betray'd his belief that Warbeck was the true duke of York.

That it was impossible for the dutchess of Burgundy at the distance of twenty-seven years to instruct a Flemish lad so perfectly in all that had passed in the court of England, but that he would not have been detected in a few hours.

That she could not inform him, nor could he know, what had passed in the Tower, unless he was the true duke of York.

That if he was not the true duke of York, Henry had nothing to do but to confront him with Tirrel and Dighton, and the imposture must have been discovered.

That Perkin, never being confronted with the queen-dowager, and the princesses her daughters, proves that Henry did not dare to trust to their acknowledging him.

That if he was not the true duke of York, he might have been detected by not knowing the queens and princesses, if shown to him without his being told who they were.

That it is not pretended that Perkin ever failed in language, accent, or circumstances and that his likeness to Edward the Fourth is allowed.

That there are gross and manifest blunders in his pretended confession.

That

That Henry was so afraid of not ascertaining a good account of the purity of his English accent, that he makes him learn English twice over.

That Lord Bacon did not dare to adhere to this ridiculous account; but forges another, though in reality, not much more credible.

That a number of Henry's best friends, as the Lord chamberlain, who placed the crown on his head, knights of the garter, and men of the fairest characters, being persuaded that Perkin was the true duke of York, and dying for that belief, without recanting, make it very rash to deny that he was so.

That the proclamation in Rymer's *Fœdera* against Jane Shore, for plotting with the marquis of Dorset, not with Lord Hastings, destroys all the credit of Sir Thomas More, as to what relates to the latter peer.

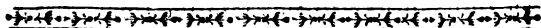
In short, that Henry's character, as we have received it from his own apologists, is so much worse and more hateful than Richard's, that we may well believe Henry invented and propagated by far the greater part of the slanders against Richard: that Henry, not Richard, put to death the true duke of York, as he did the earl of Warwick: and that we are not certain whether Edward the fifth was murdered; nor, if he was, by whose order he was murdered.

After all that has been said, it is scarce necessary to add a word on the supposed discovery that was made of the skeletons of the two young princes, in the reign of Charles the second. Two skeletons found in that

dark abyſs of ſo many ſecret tranſactions, with no marks to aſcertain the time, the age of their interment, can certainly verify nothing. We muſt believe both princes died there, before we can believe that their bones were found there : and upon what that belief can be founded, or how we ſhall ceaſe to doubt whether Perkin Warbeck was not one of thoſe children, I am at a loſs to gueſs.



CHAP.



CH A P. VII.

H E N R Y VIII.

\* **A**FTER having presented the reader with a frightful train of treasons, stratagems, murders, and usurpations, we are now beginning to emerge. We are to behold a nation of tumult reduced to civil subordination; an insolent and factious aristocracy humbled, wise laws enacted, commerce restored, and the peaceful arts made amiable to a people, for whom war alone heretofore had charms. Hitherto we have only beheld the actions of a barbarous nation, obeying with reluctance, and governed by caprice; but henceforward we may discover more refined politics, and better concerted schemes; used to subdue the natural ferocity of the people, and to introduce permanent felicity.

Henry's first care was to marry the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the Fourth; and thus he blended the interests of the houses of York and Lancaster, so that ever after they were incapable of distinction. But he always treated her with the utmost coldness and indifference, as he had a fixt aversion to the whole family. Indeed when she bore him a son, the people hoped, he would

G 5

have

\* A. D. 1485.

have some affection for her. But when they perceived, he neither loved her nor any one, that his disposition was base and fordid, and that his temper was sour, fullen, and reserved, they thought they had made a bad exchange for Richard.

A great part of the miseries of his predecessors proceeded from their poverty. Henry saw that money alone could turn the scale of power in his favour; and therefore hoarded up all the confiscations of his enemies with the utmost frugality. He gave away very few rewards to his courtiers; and none except the needy shared his benefactions. He released all prisoners for debt in his dominions, whose debts did not amount to forty shillings, and paid their creditors from the royal coffers. Thus his œconomy rendered him not only useful to the poor, but enabled him to be just to his own creditors. Those sums which he borrowed from any of his subjects, he repaid at the appointed day with the utmost punctuality.

With regard to the king's servants, he was himself the only prime minister; and as for the rest, he did not chuse his under-agents from among the nobility, as had been usual; but pitched upon John Morton, and Richard Fox, two clergymen, persons of industry, vigilance, and capacity, to whom he confided his secret councils. They had shared with him in all his former dangers and distresses; and he now took care that they should participate in his good fortune; the one being soon after created bishop of Ely, the other bishop of Exeter.

Imme-

† Immediately after his marriage with Elizabeth, he issued a general pardon to all such as chose to accept it; but those lords who had been long accustomed to turbulence, refused it, and flew to arms. Lord Lovel, together with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, placed themselves at the head of this insurrection; but Henry sent the duke of Bedford to oppose them, with orders to try what might be done by offering a pardon, before he made any attempts to reduce them. The duke obeyed his instructions; and a general promise of pardon was made to the rebels. On this, Lovel was so terrified with the fears of desertion among his troops, that he suddenly withdrew himself; and made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the dutchels of Burgundy. The Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but it appearing that this church had not the privilege of giving protection, they were taken thence; the eldest Stafford was executed at Tyburn; the younger obtained his pardon. The rebel army now without a leader submitted to the mercy of the king, and were permitted to disperse without farther punishment.

But one rebellion seemed extinguished only to give rise to another. The king, in the beginning of his reign, had given orders that Edward earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, should be taken from Sheriff-Hutton, where he had been placed by Richard, and brought to the Tower. Meantime there lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest,

G 6

who

† A. D. 1486.

who trained up one Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, to counterfeit the person of the earl of Warwick; and he was previously instructed by his tutor to talk upon many facts and occurrences, as happening to him in the court of Edward. But as the imposture was not calculated to bear a close inspection, it was thought proper to shew him first at a distance; and Ireland was judged the fittest theatre for him to support his assumed character. The plot unfolded to their wishes; Simnel was received with the utmost joy, and proclaimed king of Ireland; he was conducted by the magistrates and the populace of Dublin with great pomp to the castle, where he was treated conformably to his supposed birth and distinction.

Henry seemed to feel uneasiness at this bare-faced imposture. He pretended his mother-in-law was at the bottom of it; and on this pretext confined her to a monastery, and seized on her whole estate and effects. The people marmured at the severity of her treatment; but the king persisted in his resolution; and she remained in confinement till her death, which did not happen till several years after. The next measure was to shew Warwick to the people. In consequence of this, he was taken from the Tower, and led through the principal streets of London, after which he was conducted in solemn procession to St. Paul's, where great numbers were assembled to see him. Still, however, they proceeded in Dublin to honour their pretended monarch; and he was crowned with great solemnity, in  
presence

presence of the earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and the other officers of state. † Simnel, being now joined by lord Lovel, and one or two lords more of the discontented party, resolved to pass over into England; and accordingly landed in Lancashire, from whence he marched to York, expecting the country would rise and join him as he marched along. But in this he was deceived; the people kept in awe by the king, remained in tranquility. The earl of Lincoln therefore, to whom the command of the rebel army was given, finding no hopes but in speedy victory, was determined to bring the contest to a short issue. The opposite armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle, which was more bloody, and more obstinately disputed, than could have been expected from the inequality of their forces. But victory at length declared in favour of the king. Lord Lincoln perished in the field of battle; lord Lovel was never more heard of, and it was supposed he shared the same fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken prisoner; and four thousand of the common men fell in battle. Simon was only committed to close confinement. Simnel was too contemptible to excite the king's fears; he was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer, in which employment he died.

About this time the nobles of Brittany, being disgusted with their minister, Peter Landais, rose against him, and put him to death.

Willing

‡ A. D. 1487.



\* Willing to defend one crime by another, they called in the aid of the French monarch, to protect them from the resentment of their own sovereign. The French monarch quickly obeyed the call; but instead of only bringing the nobles assistance, over-ran and took possession of the greatest part of the country. The aid of Henry was implored by the distressed Bretons; who appeared more willing to assist them by negotiations than by arms; but though he determined to maintain a pacific conduct, he knew the disposition of his subjects, and their desires to engage in any scheme that promised the humiliation of France. He resolved, therefore, to take advantage of this propensity; and to draw money from the people, on this pretence. He accordingly summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, and easily persuaded them to grant him a considerable supply. But money was, at that time, more easily granted than levied in England. A new insurrection began in Yorkshire, the people resisting the commissioners who were appointed to levy the tax. The earl of Northumberland attempted to enforce the king's command; but the populace, flew to arms, attacked his house, and put him to death. The mutineers did not stop there; but, by the advice of one John Achamber, a seditious fellow of mean birth, they chose Sir John Egerton for their leader, and prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance. The king, immediately levied a force, which he put under the earl of Surry; who encountering the rebels

\* A. D. 1488.

rebels, dissipated the tumult, and took their leader, Achamber, prisoner. Achamber was shortly after executed; but Sir John Egerton fled to the court of the dutchess of Burgundy, the usual retreat of all who were obnoxious to government in England.

As Henry had gone thus far in preparations for a war with France, he supposed that it would be too flagrant an imposition upon the credulity of the nation, not to put a part of his threats in execution. France was by this time possessed of all Brittany: and a marriage had been concluded between the French monarch, and the dutchess of Brittany. This accession of power, in a rival state, was formidable not only to Henry, but to Europe. He, therefore, prepared to make a descent upon France; and accordingly landed at Calais, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, which he put under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford. But notwithstanding this appearance of an hostile disposition, there had been secret advances made towards a peace three months before, and commissioners had been appointed to treat on the terms. The demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Brittany an equivalent for any sum, readily agreed to the proposals made him. He engaged to pay Henry near two hundred thousand pounds sterling, as a reimbursement for the expences of his expedition; and he stipulated to pay a yearly pension to him, and his heirs, of twenty-five thousand crowns more.

Henry

† Henry, having thus made an advantageous peace, had reason to flatter himself with the prospect of long tranquility; but he was mistaken; he had still enemies who found means to embroil him in fresh difficulties. † A report was spread, that the young duke of York, said to have been murdered in the Tower, was still living; and a young man assumed his name and character. His graceful air, his courtly address, his easy manners, and elegant conversation, were capable of imposing upon all but such as were conscious of the imposture.

§ The kingdom of Ireland, which still retained its attachments to the house of York, was pitched upon as the proper place for his first appearance. He landed at Corke; and under the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him numerous partizans. He wrote letters to the earls of Desmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party: he dispersed every where the strange intelligence of his escape; and men, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general subject of their discourse, and the object of their favour. From Ireland his fame soon spread into France; and Charles sent him an invitation to his court, where he received him with all the marks of consideration that were due to his supposed dignity. The youth, no way dazzled

† A. D. 1492. § A. D. 1493.

† This whole matter is usually misrepresented. There is little doubt, but he was the real duke of York.

dazzled by his elevation, supported the prepossession which was spread in his favour; so that England itself soon began to give credit to his pretensions; while Sir George Neville, Sir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more, went to Paris to pay him homage, and offer their services. Upon the peace being shortly after concluded between France and England, he was obliged to make his residence at the court of his old patroness the dutchess of Burgundy. † She seemed to examine all his assertions with the most scrupulous diffidence; put many particular questions to him, and at last, after long and severe scrutiny, burst out into joy and admiration at his delivery, acknowledging him as her nephew, as the true image of Edward, and legitimate successor to the English throne. She immediately assigned him a suitable equipage, appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers: and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of the White Rose of England.

|| The English gave credit to all this; while the young man's prudence, conversation, and deportment, served to confirm what their disaffection and credulity had begun. All such as were disgusted with the king, prepared to join him; but particularly those that were formerly Henry's favourites, and had contributed to place him on the throne; either thinking their services not sufficiently repaid, or rather being convinced, that he was the real duke, became heads of the conspiracy.

Among

|| A. D. 1494.

† She certainly did so examine them.

Among those who secretly abetted his cause were lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaits, and Sir Robert Clifford. But the person of the greatest weight, was Sir William Stanley the lord chamberlain, and brother to the famous lord Stanley, who had, in effect, placed Henry on the throne. He entered into a regular conspiracy against the king; § and a correspondence was settled between the malecontents in England and those in Flanders.

While the plot was thus carrying on, Henry was not inattentive to the designs of his enemies. He spared neither labour nor expence. He dispersed his spies thro' all Flanders, and brought over, by large bribes, some of those whom he knew to be in the opposite interest. Among these, Sir Robert Clifford was the most remarkable, both for his consequence, and the confidence with which he was trusted. From this person Henry learnt the names of all those who had secretly combined to assist Perkin Warbeck: so he was afterwards constrained to call himself. \* And almost at the same instant, he arrested Fitzwater, Mountfort, and Thwaits, together with William Daubeny, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason. Mountfort, Ratcliff, and Daubeny, were immediately executed;

\* A. D. 1495.

§ Undoubtedly he acted from a principle of conscience.

executed; the rest received pardon. But the principal delinquent yet remained to be punished. To effect this, Clifford was directed to come over privately to England, and to accuse Stanley in person, which he did to the seeming astonishment of all present. Henry affected to receive the intelligence as incredible; but Clifford persisting in his accusation, Stanley was committed to custody, and soon after examined before the council. Finding his guilt clearly proved, he did not attempt to conceal it, probably trusting to his former services for pardon. In this he was mistaken; after a delay of six weeks, during which time the king affected to deliberate, he was brought to trial, when he was condemned, and shortly after beheaded. An admirable providence! So he received a just reward for betraying his former master! And (to make the hand of God more manifest) from the very man to whom he and his brother betrayed him.

† Perkin himself now attempted landing in Kent; but the gentlemen of the county gathered in a body to meet him. Their aim was to allure him on shore, and then seize his person; but the wary youth, observing that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be supposed in new levied forces, refused to commit himself into their hands: wherefore they set upon his attendants, who had come ashore, of whom they took an hundred and fifty prisoners. These were tried and condemned, and all of them executed by order of the king: an instance of savage cruelty seldom to be paralleled! The

§ A. D. 1495.

The young adventurer finding his hopes frustrated here, went next to try his fortune in Scotland. James the fourth, received him with great cordiality; believed his story, and carried his confidence so far, as to give him in marriage lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, and a near kinswoman of his own; a young lady eminent for virtue as well as beauty. † But not content with this, he resolved to attempt setting him on the throne of England. It was naturally expected that upon Perkin's first appearance in that kingdom, all the friends of the house of York would rise in his favour. † Upon this ground the king of Scotland entered England with a numerous army, and proclaimed the young adventurer wherever he went. But contrary to expectation, none were found to second his pretensions. Being disappointed in this, he once more returned to Edinburgh, where he continued to reside, till, upon the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, he was obliged to leave Scotland.

|| In the mean time, Henry found little uneasiness at Perkin's irruption, as it served him as a pretext to demand further supplies from parliament. The vote was easily obtained; but he found it not so easy to levy the money. The inhabitants of Cornwall were the first to refuse. Their discontents were further inflamed by one Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, who had long been the spokesman of the multitude

‡ A. D. 1496. † A. D. 1497..

† It is utterly incredible, that the king would have done this, had he not been fully assured, that he was no impostor.

multitude. To him was joined one Thomas Flammock, a lawyer; and under the conduct of these two, the insurgents passed through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerset, where they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman, of an ancient family. Thus headed, they marched with great speed towards London, without committing any devastations by the way. At length, they pitched their camp near Eltham, eight miles from London. Henry had troops ready: but as the insurgents behaved in an inoffensive manner, he protracted his attack for some time, till at length it was begun by lord Daubeny, who, after some resistance, broke, and put them to flight. Lord Audley, Flammock, and Joseph, their leaders, were taken and executed; the rest were suffered to disperse.

In the mean time, Perkin being dismissed Scotland, once more took refuge in Ireland. Here he held a consultation with his friends; and by their advice resolved to try the affections of the Cornish men. They were risen again, and had sent for Perkin to put himself at their head. † He no sooner made his appearance at Bodmin in Cornwall, than three thousand men flocked to his standard. He now took on him, for the first time, the title of Richard the Fourth, king of England; and not to suffer the spirits of his adherents to languish, he led them to the gates of Exeter: but the inhabitants were obstinate in refusing to admit him, and he was unprovided with artillery to force an entrance. In the mean time, the lords Daubeny and Broke, the earl

† A. D. 1498.



of Devonshire, and the duke of Buckingham, all appeared at the head of their respective forces, and seemed eager for an opportunity of displaying their loyalty.

Perkin being informed of these great preparations broke up the siege of Exeter, retired to Taunton; and soon after took sanctuary in the monastery of Beaulieu, in the New Forest. His adherents were left to the king's mercy, and only a few of the ring-leaders, were treated with capital severity. The lady Catharine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the conqueror's hands, and was treated by him with all the lenity due to her sex and quality. She was placed in a reputable station near the person of the queen, and assigned a pension, which she enjoyed till her death. Henry then employed some persons to treat with Perkin, and to persuade him, under promise of a pardon, to deliver himself up. He embraced the king's offers; and Henry being desirous of seeing him, he was brought to court, and conducted through the streets of London in a kind of mock triumph, amidst the derision and insults of the populace, which he bore without the least emotion: he was then compelled to sign a confession of his former life, which was printed and dispersed throughout the nation; but it was so lame, defective and contradictory, that instead of explaining the pretended imposture, it left it more doubtful than before. However, though his life was granted him, he was still detained in custody, and keepers were appointed to watch over his conduct. But in a while he escaped thence  
and

‡ Undoubtedly drawn up by Henry.

and flying to the sanctuary of Shyne\*, put himself in the hands of the prior of that monastery. He was again prevailed to trust himself to the king's mercy; who ordered him to be set in the stocks at Westminster and Cheapside, and obliged to read aloud, in both places, the confession which had been formerly published in his name. From this place of scorn, he was re-conveyed to the Tower, where not long after he found means to open a correspondence with the unfortunate Warwick, who had been confined there for many years before, and kept in a state of utter ignorance. In all probability Perkin was permitted to enter into this correspondence with him by the connivance of the king, who hoped that he would engage the simple Warwick in some project that would furnish a pretext for taking away their lives, which accordingly happened. It was said † Perkin tampered with the servants, to let them make their escape to some secure part of the kingdom.

This was the prelude to the fate of Perkin, and the earl of Warwick; the former of whom was tried at Westminster; and on the evidence of the servants of the Tower, hanged at Tyburn with John Walter, mayor of Corke, who had constantly adhered to his cause in all the vicissitudes of his fortune. Blewet and Aftwood, two of the servants, underwent the same fate. In a few days after Perkin's execution, the wretched earl of Warwick was tried by his peers; and being convicted

\* A. D. 1499.

† "It was said"—Let them that can, believe it!

convicted of high-treason\*, in consequence of pleading guilty to the arraignment, was beheaded on Tower-hill, and in him ended the last male branch of the house of Plantagenet. The deplorable end of this innocent nobleman, and the fate of Perkin, who notwithstanding all that appeared against him, was, by the unprejudiced part of the nation, deemed the real son of king Edward, filled the whole kingdom with such aversion to Henry, that to throw the odium from himself, he was obliged to lay it to the account of his ally, Ferdinand of Arragon, who he said scrupled his alliance, while any prince of the house of York remained alive.

In the latter end of the year, the king's palace at Sheen was burnt down, which he rebuilt and named it Richmond. Henry the Eighth afterward gave it to Cardinal Wolsey, in exchange for Hampton Court.

Meantime he had two points principally in view ; one to depress the nobility and clergy, and the other to raise the populace. From the ambition and turbulence of the former, and from the wretchedness and credulity of the latter, all the troubles in the former reigns had taken their original. In the feudal times, every nobleman was possessed of a certain number of subjects, over whom he had an absolute power ; and therefore, upon every slight disgust, he could influence them to join him in his revolt. Henry, therefore, wisely considered, that the giving these petty tyrants a  
power

\* For what ? For endeavouring (if he really did so) to escape from an unjust confinement !

power of selling their estates, which before his time were unalienable, would greatly weaken their interest. With this view he procured an act, by which the nobility were granted a power of disposing of their estates; a law infinitely pleasing to the commons, and not disagreeable even to the nobles, since they had thus an immediate resource for supplying their prodigality, and answering the demands of their creditors. The blow reached them in their posterity alone; but they were not affected by such distant distresses.

His next scheme was to prevent their giving liveries to many hundreds of their dependents, who were thus retained like a standing army, to be ready at the command of their leader. By an act passed in this reign, none but menial servants were permitted to wear a livery under severe penalties; and this law was enforced with the most punctual observance. The king one day paying a visit to the earl of Oxford, was entertained by him with all possible splendour. When he was ready to depart, he saw ranged upon both sides a great number of men dressed up in very rich liveries. The king asked lord Oxford whether he entertained such a large number of domestics; to which the earl, not perceiving the drift of the question replied, that they were only men whom he kept in pay to do him honour upon such occasions. At this the king started back, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer; but I must not have the laws broken before my face; my attorney-general must talk with you."

Vol. II.

H

Ox.

Oxford is said to have paid no less than fifteen thousand marks as a composition for his offence.

We have already seen, in a thousand instances, what a perverted use was made of monasteries, and other places appropriated to religious worship, by the number of criminals who found sanctuary there. Those places were now become the abode of murderers, robbers, and conspirators. Henry used all his interest with the pope to get these sanctuaries abolished; but was not able to succeed. All that he could procure was, that if thieves, murderers, or robbers, registered as sanctuary men, should sally out, and commit fresh offences, and retreat again, in such cases they might be taken out of the sanctuary.

Henry was not remiss in abridging the pope's power, while, at the same time, he professed the utmost submission to his commands. The pope at one time was so far imposed upon by his seeming attachment to the church, that he even invited him to renew the crusades for recovering the Holy Land. Henry's answer deserves to be remembered. He assured his holiness that no prince in Christendom would be more forward to undertake so glorious an expedition; but as his dominions lay very distant from Constantinople, it would be better to apply to the kings of France and Spain; and in the mean time he would go to their aid himself, as soon as all the differences between the Christian princes should be brought to an end.

While

While he thus employed his power in lowering the influence of the nobles and clergy, he was using every art to extend the privileges of the people. In former reigns they were sure to suffer on whatever side they fought, when they were unsuccessful. This rendered each party desperate in a civil war, as no hopes of pardon remained. He therefore procured an act, by which it was established, that no person should be impeached or attainted for assisting the king for the time being, or, in other words, him who was in possession of the throne. This excellent statute served to repress the desire of civil war, as several would naturally take arms in defence of that side, on which they were certain of losing nothing by a defeat; and numbers would thus serve to intimidate rebellion. The common people, no longer maintained in vicious idleness by their superiors, were now obliged to become industrious for their support. And the nobility, instead of vying with each other in the number of their retainers, acquired a more civilized species of emulation. The king's greatest efforts were directed to promote trade and commerce, because this naturally introduced a spirit of liberty among the people, and disengaged them from all dependence, except upon the laws and the king. Before this great æra, all our towns owed their original to some strong castle in the neighbourhood, where some powerful lord generally resided. These were at once fortresses for protection, and prisons for all sorts of criminals. In this

castle there was usually a garrison armed and provided, depending entirely on the nobleman's support. To these seats of protection, artificers, victuallers, and shop-keepers, naturally resorted, and settled on some adjacent spot to furnish the lord and his attendants with all necessaries. The farmers also, and the husbandmen in the neighbourhood, built their houses there, to be protected against the numerous gangs of robbers that had themselves in the woods by day, and infested the open country by night. Henry endeavoured to bring the towns from such a neighbourhood, by inviting the inhabitants to a more commercial situation. He attempted to teach them frugality, and a just payment of debts, by his own example; and never once omitted the rights of the merchant, in all his treaties with foreign princes.

But it must not be concealed, that as he grew old, his avarice continually increased; and the method he took to augment his treasures cannot be justified. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his intentions. They were both lawyers; the first of mean birth, brutal manners, and an unrelenting temper; the second, better born, and better bred, but equally severe and inflexible. It was their usual practice to commit by indictment, such persons to prison as they intended to oppress; from whence they seldom got free, but by paying heavy fines, which were called mitigations. By degrees, as they were grown more hardened in oppression, the very forms of law were

were omitted; they determined in a summary way upon the properties of the subject, and confiscated their effects to the royal treasury. But the chief instruments of oppression employed by these ministers were the penal statutes, which, without consideration of rank, quality or services, were rigidly put in execution against all men.

In this manner, was the latter part of this active monarch's reign employed in schemes to strengthen the power of the crown, by amassing money, and extending that of the people; \* He had the satisfaction about that time of completing a marriage between Arthur, the prince of Wales, and the Infanta Catharine of Spain, which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years. But this marriage proved in the event, unprosperous. The young prince sickened and died in a few months after, † very much regretted by the whole nation; and the princess was obliged shortly after ‡ to marry his second son Henry, who was created Prince of Wales in the room of his brother. The prince himself made all the opposition which a youth of twelve years of age was capable of; but as the king persisted in his resolution, the marriage was, by the pope's dispensation, shortly after solemnized.

Henry having seen England in a great measure civilized by his endeavours, his people paying their taxes without constraint, the nobles confessing a just subordination, the laws alone inflicting punishment, the towns beginning to live independent of the powerful

H 3

commerce

\* A. D. 1501. † A. D. 1502. ‡ A. D. 1503.



commerce every day encreasing, the spirit of faction extinguished, and foreigners either fearing England or seeking its alliance, he began to perceive the approaches of his end. He died of the gout in his stomach, having lived fifty-two years and reigned twenty-three.

\* About this time all Europe, as well as England, seemed to rouse from the long lethargy, during which it continued for above twelve hundred years. France, Spain, Portugal and Sweden enjoyed excellent monarchs; who encouraged and protected the rising arts. The Portuguese sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Vasquez de Gama; and the Spaniards, under the conduct of Columbus, had made the discovery of the new world of America. It was by accident only, that Henry had not a considerable share in these great naval discoveries; for Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew into England in order to explain his projects to the king, and to crave his protection for the execution of them. Henry invited Columbus to England; but his brother in returning being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage, and Columbus in the mean time, succeeding with Isabella, happily effected his enterprize. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment; he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian dwelling at Bristol, and sent him westward in search of new countries. This  
adventurer

\* A. D 1509.

adventurer discover'd the main land of America to the North; then sailed Southward along the coast, and discovered Newfoundland and other countries; but returned without making any settlement. The king, soon after, expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship called the GREAT HARRY. This was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. Before this period, when the king wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient but to hire ships from the merchants.

King Henry had only two views,---To keep the crown, and to accumulate riches. All his thoughts centered here: and in pursuit of either of these, he regarded neither conscience nor honour: nor had he any concern about religion, justice, or mercy: any more than about truth. His insatiable avarice, his dark and reserved temper, his haughtiness and cruelty, with his arbitrary method of government, made him feared; but not beloved or esteemed. In a word, he was a very bad man, and far from a good governor, scarce so good as William the Conqueror.

The first of these was the death of Henry VIII. who now in the nineteenth year of his age, \* undertook the government of the kingdom. His father left him a peaceful throne, a well stored treasury, and an undisputed succession. He was in friendship with all the powers of Europe, and his subjects were every day growing more powerful and more wealthy; commerce and arts had for some time been introduced into the kingdom, and the English gave them a favourable reception. The young king himself was handsome in person, expert in polite exercises, and loved by his subjects. The old king, who was himself a scholar, had him instructed in all the learning of the times; so that he was an adept in school-divinity before the age of eighteen.

## C H A P. IX.

### H E N R Y VIII.

**N**O prince ever came to the throne with a conjuncture of circumstances more in his favour than Henry VIII. who now in the nineteenth year of his age, \* undertook the government of the kingdom. His father left him a peaceful throne, a well stored treasury, and an undisputed succession. He was in friendship with all the powers of Europe, and his subjects were every day growing more powerful and more wealthy; commerce and arts had for some time been introduced into the kingdom, and the English gave them a favourable reception. The young king himself was handsome in person, expert in polite exercises, and loved by his subjects. The old king, who was himself a scholar, had him instructed in all the learning of the times; so that he was an adept in school-divinity before the age of eighteen.

But favourable as these circumstances were, Henry soon shewed that they went but a short way

\* A. D. 1509.

way in forming a good character : they were merely the gifts of nature, or accomplishments implanted by the assiduity of his father ; but he wanted the more solid advantages, a good heart, and a sound understanding. The learning he had, served only to inflame his pride, but not control his vicious affections ; the love of his subjects broke out in flattery, and this was another meteor to lead him astray. His vast wealth, instead of relieving the public, or increasing his power, only contributed to supply his debaucheries. - But it had been happy for his people if his faults had rested here ; he was a tyrant ; and however fortunate some of his measures might prove in the event, no good man but must revolt at his motives, and the means he took for their accomplishment.

Before he was crowned, Empson and Dudley, were cited before the council, in order to answer for their conduct ; but Empson alledged that far from deserving censure, his actions merited reward and approbation. Yet they were sent to the Tower, and soon after brought to their trial. As the strictly executing the laws, could not be alledged against them as a crime, they were accused of having entered into a conspiracy against the present king. \* Nothing could be more improbable than such a charge ; nevertheless the jury gave a verdict against them, and they were both executed, some time after, by a warrant from the king.

Julius the second was at that time pope, and had filled all Europe with his intrigues and  
H 5
ambition ;

\* A. D. 1510.

ambition; but his chief resentment was against Lewis, king of France, who was in possession of some provinces of Italy, from which he hoped, to remove him. † For this purpose he entered into a treaty with Ferdinand, king of Spain, and Henry of England; to each of whom he offered such advantages as were most likely to enflame their ambition, in case they fell upon Lewis on their respective quarters; while he undertook himself to find him employment in Italy. Henry, who had no other motives but the glory of the expedition, readily undertook to defend his cause; and his parliament being summoned, as readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favoured by the people. It was in vain that one of his old prudent counsellors objected, that conquests on the continent would only drain the kingdom, and that England, from its situation, was not fitted to enjoy extensive empire: the young king, burning with military ardour, resolved to undertake the war. ‡ The marquis of Dorset was first sent over, with a large body of forces, to Fontarabia, to assist the operations of Ferdinand; but that crafty monarch had no intentions of seconding their attempts; wherefore they were obliged to return without effect.

A considerable fleet was equipped, some time after, || to annoy the enemy by sea, and the command entrusted to Sir Edward Howard; who, after scouring the Channel, presented himself before Brest, where the French navy lay. As the French were unequal to the energy, they determined to wait for a reinforcement

† A. D. 1511. ‡ 1512. || 1513.

inforcement, which they expected under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, from the Mediterranean. But in this the gallant Howard resolved to disappoint them; and, upon the appearance of Prejeant with six galleys, he boldly rowed up with two galleys, followed by barges filled with officers of distinction. Upon coming up to Prejeant's ship, he immediately fastened upon it, and leaped on board, followed by one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. The cable, mean while, which fastened both ships together, was cut by the enemy, and the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; but as he still continued to fight, he was pushed over board, and perished in the sea. Upon his misfortune the fleet retired from before Brest, and the French for a while kept possession of the sea.

This slight repulse, only served to enflame the king's ardour: he soon sent eight thousand men to Calais, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury; and another body of six thousand, under the conduct of Lord Herbert. He followed himself with the main body and arrived at Calais, attended by numbers of the English nobility. But he soon had an attendant, who did him still more honour. This was no less a personage than Maximilian, emperor of Germany, who had stipulated to assist him with eight thousand men; but being unable to perform his engagements, joined the English army with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline

to Henry's new levied soldiers. He even enlisted himself in the English service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, an hundred crowns a day, as one of Henry's subjects and captains.

Henry being now at the head of a formidable army, fifty thousand strong, it was supposed that France must fall a victim to him. But that kingdom was not threatened by him alone: the Swifs, on another quarter, with twenty-five thousand men, were preparing to invade it; while Ferdinand of Arragon, whom no treaties could bind, was only waiting for a convenient opportunity of attack. Never was the French monarchy in so distressed a situation; but the errors of its assailants procured its safety. The Swifs entered into a treaty with Tremouille, the French general, who gave them their own terms, satisfied that his master would rescind them all. Ferdinand continued a quiet spectator, waiting for some effectual blow to be struck by his allies; and Henry spent his time in the siege of towns, which could neither secure his conquests, nor advance his reputation.

The first of these were Terouanne, a little town on the frontiers of Picardy, which kept him employed for more than a month, although the garrison scarce amounted to a thousand men. The besieged, after some time, falling short of provisions, a desperate attempt was made to supply them. A French captain, led up a body of eighteen hundred men, each of whom carried a bag of gunpowder

powder, and two quarters of bacon behind him. With this small force he made a fierce irruption into the English camp; and, surmounting all resistance, advanced to the ditch of the town, where each horseman threw down his burthen. Then returning upon the gallop, they were again so fortunate as to break through the English, without any great loss. But the party of horse that was sent to cover the retreat, was not so successful. Though this body was commanded by the boldest and bravest captains of the French army, yet, on the sight of the English, they were seized with such an unaccountable panic, that they immediately fled, and had many of their best officers taken prisoners. This action was called by the English the battle of the Spurs, as the French, made more use of their spurs than their swords.

After this victory, which might have been followed with important consequences, had the victors marched forward to Paris, Henry sat down to make sure of the little town, which had made such an obstinate resistance; and a place, which neither recompensed the blood, nor the delay that were expended in the siege.

From one error Henry went on to another. He was persuaded to lay siege to Tournay. This siege, though it took up but little time, served to retard the great object, the conquest of France; and Henry hearing that the Swiss were returned home, and being elated with his trifling successes, resolved to transport his army back to England. A truce was concluded



cluded between the two kingdoms; and Henry continued to dissipate, in peaceful follies, those immense sums which had been amassed by his predecessor.

The success which, during his foreign expedition attended his arms in the North of England, was more important. A war having been declared between the English and Scots, who ever took the opportunity to fall on, when their neighbours were embroiled with France, king James summoned the whole force of his kingdom; and having passed the Tweed with fifty thousand men, ravaged Northumberland. But as the country was barren, he soon began to want provisions; so that many of his men returned to their native country. In the mean time the earl of Surry, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, approached the Scots, who were encamped on a rising ground, near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between both armies, and prevented an engagement; wherefore the earl sent an herald to the Scotch camp, challenging the enemy to descend into the plain, and try their valour on equal ground. This offer not being accepted, he made a feint, as if he intended marching away towards Berwick, which putting the Scotch in motion to annoy his rear, he took advantage of a great smoke, caused by the firing their huts, and passed the little river, which had hitherto prevented the engagement. Both armies now perceiving that a combat was inevitable, they prepared for the onset with great composure. The English divided their army into two lines;  
lord

lord Howard led the main body of the first line; Sir Edmund Howard the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Constable the left; the earl of Surry himself commanded the main body of the second line, assisted by lord Dacres, and Sir Edward Stanley, to the right and the left. The Scots, on the other hand, presented three divisions; the middle commanded by the king, the right by the earl of Huntley, and the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle; a fourth division, under the earl of Bothwell, made a body of reserve. Lord Huntley began the onset, charging the division of lord Howard with such fury, that it was immediately routed. But this division was so seasonably supported by lord Dacres, that the men rallied, and the battle became general. Both sides fought a long time with incredible impetuosity, until the Highlanders, being galled by the English artillery, broke in sword in hand upon the main body, commanded by the earl of Surry; and at the head of these, James fought with the most forward of the nobility. They attacked with such velocity, that the hinder line could not advance in time to sustain them, so that a body of English intercepted their retreat. James being thus surrounded, refused to quit the field while it was in his power; but, alighting from his horse, formed his little body into an orb, and in this posture fought with such desperate courage, as restored the battle. The English were again obliged to have recourse to their artillery and arrows, which made a terrible havock; but night separating

separating the combatants, it was not till the day following that lord Howard perceived he had gained a glorious victory. The English had lost no persons of note, but the whole flower of the Scotch nobility were fallen. Ten thousand of the common men were cut off, and a body, supposed to be that of the king, was sent to London, where it remained unburied, as a sentence of excommunication still remained against James, for having leagued with France against the Holy See. But upon Henry's application, absolution was given him and the body was interred.

These successes only served to intoxicate Henry the more; and while his pleasures engrossed his time, the preparations for repeated expeditions exhausted his treasures. As it was natural to suppose the old ministers, appointed to direct him by his father, would not willingly concur in these idle projects, Henry had, for some time discontinued asking their advice, † and chiefly confided in the counsels of Thomas, afterwards cardinal Wolsey, who complied with all his master's inclinations, and flattered him in every scheme to which he was inclined. Wolsey was the son of a private gentleman, and not of a butcher as is commonly reported, of Ipswich. He was sent to Oxford so early, that he was a bachelor at fourteen, and at that time was called the boy bachelor. He rose by degrees, upon quitting college, from one preferment to another, till he was made rector of Lymington by the marquis of Dorset, whose children he had

† A. D. 1514.

had instructed. He had not long resided at this living, when one of the justices of the peace put him in the stocks for being drunk. This disgrace, however, did not retard his promotion ; for he was recommended as chaplain to Henry the seventh ; and being employed by that monarch in a secret negotiation respecting his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, he obtained the praise both of diligence and dexterity. That prince having given him a commission to Maximilian, at Brussels, was surprized in less than three days after to see Wolsey present himself before him ; and began to reprove his delay. Wolsey surprized him with assurances that he was just returned from Brussels, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. His dispatch on that occasion procured him the deanery of Lincoln, and in this situation it was that he was introduced by Fox, bishop of Winchester, to the young king's notice, in hopes that he would have talents to supplant the earl of Surry. Presently after, he was made a privy-counsellor ; and had frequent opportunities of ingratiating himself with the young king, as he appeared at once complying and enterprizing. Wolsey used every art to suit himself to the royal temper ; he sung, laughed, and danced with every libertine of the court ; neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman were any restraint upon him. To Henry, qualities of this nature were highly pleasing ; and Wolsey was soon acknowledged his chief favourite. ¶ His character being now placed in a more conspicuous light, manifested  
itself

itself the more. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expence; of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded in enterprize; ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory; insinuating, engaging, persuasive, and at other times lofty and commanding: haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependents; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends: more generous than grateful; formed to take the ascendant in every intercourse, but vain enough not to cover his superiority.

\* He had been advanced to the bishopric of Lincoln; but this he resigned, upon being promoted to the archbishopric of York. Upon the capture of Tournay, he had been promoted to the see of that place; but besides, he got possession at very low leases of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by parting with a considerable share of their profits. Besides many other church preferments, he was allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and his appetite seemed to encrease, by the means that were taken to satisfy it. The pope, observing his great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging him and created him a cardinal. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen. Some, even of the nobility, put their children into his family as a place of education; and whoever was distinguished

\* A. D. 1515.

tinguished by any art or science, paid court to the cardinal, and was liberally rewarded. He was the first clergyman in England who wore silk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his saddles and the trappings of his horses.

Beside these distinctions the pope soon after conferred upon him that of legate, designing to make him instrumental in draining the kingdom of money, upon pretence of employing it in a war against the Turks, but in reality to fill his own coffers. In this he so well served the court of Rome, that some time after the post of legate was conferred upon him for life; and he now united in his person the promotions of legate, cardinal, archbishop, and prime minister.

Soon after, Warham, chancellor, and archbishop of Canterbury, chose to retire from public employment. Wolfey received the chancellorship, and exercised the duties of that employment with great abilities and impartiality. The duke of Norfolk finding the king's treasures exhausted, and his taste for expence still continuing, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. Fox, bishop of Winchester, who had first been instrumental in Wolfey's rise, withdrew himself in disgust; the duke of Suffolk also went home with a resolution to remain private, whilst Wolfey availed himself of their discontents, and filled up their places by his his creatures. These were vast stretches of power; yet he was still insatiable. † He procured a bull from the pope, empowering him

† A. D. 1516.

him to make knights and counts, to legitimate bastards, to give degrees in arts, law, physic, and divinity; and to grant all sorts of dispensations.

\* Francis the first, of France, had taken many methods to work upon his vanity, and at last succeeded. Henry was persuaded by the cardinal to deliver up, Tournay to the French: and he also agreed to an interview with that monarch. This expensive congress was held between Guisnes and Ardres, near Calais; within the English pale, in compliment to Henry for crossing the sea. The two monarchs, after saluting each other in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent erected for the purpose, where Henry proceeded to read the articles of their intended alliance. As he began to read the first words of it, "I Henry, king," he stopt a moment; and then subjoined only "of England," without adding France, the usual style of English monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed his approbation by a smile. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the nobility of both courts on this occasion. Many of them involved themselves in large debts: and the penury of a life was scarce sufficient to reimburse the extravagance of a few days. Yet at first there appeared something low and illiberal in their mutual distrusts; the two kings never met without having the number of their guards counted on both sides; every step was carefully adjusted: they passed each other in the middle-point between both places, when they went to visit their queens; and at the same instant

\* A. D. 1518.

instant that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. But Francis put an end to this. Taking one day with him two gentlemen and a page, he rode directly into Guisnes, crying out to the English guards, that they were their prisoners, and desiring to be carried to their master. Henry was not a little astonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother, said he, you have here given me the most agreeable surprize: you have shewn me the full confidence I may place in you; I surrender myself your prisoner from this moment." He then took from his neck a collar of pearls of great value, and putting it on Francis, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed; and giving him a bracelet of double the value of the former, insisted on his wearing it in turn. Henry went the next day to Adres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now sufficiently established between these monarchs, they employed the rest of the time in feasts and tournaments.

|| But these empty splendours were not sufficient to appease the jealousy of the nobles at home. Among these the duke of Buckingham, the son of him who lost his life in the reign of Richard the third, was the foremost to complain. He had often been heard to treat the cardinal's pride and profusion with just contempt. Some informers took care that Wolfey should be apprized of all, who  
im-

|| A. D. 1520.



impeached him for having consulted a fortune-teller concerning his succession to the crown. This was but a weak pretext to take away the life of a nobleman, whose father had died in defence of the late king; but he was brought to a trial, and the duke of Norfolk, whose son had married his daughter, was created lord steward. He was condemned to die, as a traitor, by a jury, consisting of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons. \* When the sentence was pronouncing against him, and the high steward came to mention the word traitor, the unhappy prisoner could not contain his indignation. "My lords, cried he to the judges, I am no traitor; and for what you have now done against me, take my sincere forgiveness; as for my life, I think it not worth petitioning for; may God forgive you, and pity me." He was soon after executed on Tower-Hill.

By this time, all the immense treasures of the late king were quite exhausted on empty pageants, guilty pleasures or vain expeditions. But the king relied upon Wolsey for replenishing his coffers; and no person could be fitter for the purpose. His first care was to get a large sum of money from the people, under the title of a benevolence, which added to its being extorted the mortification of being considered as a free-gift. Henry little minded the manner of its being raised, provided he had the enjoyment of it.

A treaty with France, which threatened to make a breach with the emperor, induced Henry

\* A. D. 1521.

Henry to wish for new supplies, or at least he made this the pretext of his demands. But as the parliament had testified their reluctance to indulge his wishes, he followed the advice of Wolsey, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued out commissions to all the counties of England for levying four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, and three shillings and fourpence from the laity; nor did he attempt to cover the violence of the measure, by giving it the name either of benevolence or loan. This unwarrantable stretch of royal power was quickly opposed by the people; they were unwilling to submit to impositions unknown till now, and a general insurrection threatened to ensue. Henry had the prudence to stop short in that dangerous path into which he had entered; and declared by circular letters to all the counties, that what was demanded was only by way of benevolence. The pride of Wolsey was now great; but his riches were still greater: and this year he undertook to found two new colleges, one in Oxford, and another at Ipswich, for which he received every day fresh grants from the pope and the king. To execute this favourite scheme, he obtained a liberty of suppressing several monasteries, and converting their revenues to the benefit of his new foundation. Whatever might have been the pope's inducement to grant him these privileges, nothing could be more fatal to the Pontiff's interests; for Henry was thus taught shortly afterwards to imitate, what he had seen a subject perform with impunity.

Hitherto

\* A. D. 1461.

Hitherto the administration of all affairs was carried on by Wolsey; for the king was contented to lose, in the embraces of his mistresses, all the complaints of his subjects. But now a period was approaching to this minister's exorbitant power. One of the most important revolutions that ever employed the attention of man, was now ripe for execution. This was no less a change than the Reformation; to have an idea of the rise of which, it will be proper to take a cursory view of the state of the church at that time, and to observe by what seemingly contradictory means Providence produces the most happy events.

The church of Rome had now, for more than a thousand years, been corrupting the ancient simplicity of the Gospel. The popes had been frequently seen at the head of their own armies, fighting for their dominions, and forgetting in detestable maxims of state, the pretended sanctity of their characters. The cardinals, prelates, and dignitaries of the church, were served like voluptuous princes; and some of them were found to possess eight or nine bishopricks at once\*. Wherever the church governed, it exerted that power with cruelty; so that to their luxuries was usually added the crime of tyranny too. As for the inferior clergy, both popish and protestant writers exclaim against their abandoned morals. They publicly kept mistresses, and bequeathed to their illegitimate children whatever they were able to save from their pleasures, or extort from the poor. There is still

\* St. Charles Barromeo died possessed of Sixty-two Benefices.

still to be seen a will made by a bishop of Cambray, in which he sets aside a certain sum for the bastards he has had already, and those which, by the blessing of God, he may yet happen to have. The vices of the clergy were not greater than their ignorance; few of them knew the meaning of their Latin mass. But what most increased the hatred of the people against them was the selling pardons for sin, at stated prices. A deacon, or subdeacon, who committed murder, was absolved and allowed to possess three benefices upon paying twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot might commit murder for about ten pounds of our money. Every crime had its stated value; and absolutions were given for sins not only already committed, but such as should be committed hereafter. The wisest of the people looked with detestation on these impositions; and the ignorant themselves, began to open their eyes.

These vices and impositions were now almost come to a head; and the increase of arts and learning among the laity, propagated by means of printing, which had been lately invented, began to make them resist that power, which was originally founded in deceit. † Leo the tenth was at that time eagerly employed in building the church of St. Peter at Rome. In order to procure money for it, he gave commissions out for selling indulgencies. These were to free the purchaser from the pains of purgatory; and they would serve even for one's friends. There were everywhere shops opened, where they were to be

Vol. II. I fold;

† A. D. 1519.

fold; but in general they were to be had at taverns, brothels, and gaming houses. Martin Luther, professor in the university of Wirtemberg, was an Augustine monk, and one of those who deeply resented this. He began to shew his indignation by preaching against their efficacy; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he inveighed against the authority of the pope himself. Being driven hard by his adversaries, still as he enlarged his reading, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome. The people, who had long groaned under the papal tyranny, heard his discourses with pleasure, and defended him against the authority of his enemies. Frederic, elector of Saxony, surnamed the Wise, openly protected him; the republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model. It was in vain that the pope issued out his bulls against Luther; it was in vain that the Dominican friars procured his books to be burned; he defied the Dominicans, and burned the pope's bull in the streets of Wirtemberg. In the mean time, the dispute was carried on by writing on either side. Luther, though opposed by the pope, the conclave, and all the clergy, supported his cause singly and with success. In this dispute, it was the fate of Henry to be a champion on both sides. Willing to convince the world of his abilities, he obtained the pope's permission to read the works of Luther, which had been forbidden, under pain of excommunication. In consequence of this, the king defended the seven  
 sacra-

sacraments, though it is thought Wolsey had the chief hand in directing him. The book being finished was sent to Rome for the pope's approbation, which it is natural to suppose would not be with-held. The pontiff, ravished with its eloquence and depth, compared it to the labours of St. Jerome or St. Augustine; and rewarded the author with the title of Defender of the Faith, little imagining that Henry was soon to be one of the most terrible enemies that ever the church of Rome had to contend with.

Besides these causes, which contributed to render the Romish church odious and contemptible, there were still others, proceeding from political measures. Clement the seventh had succeeded Leo, and the hereditary animosity between the emperor and the pope breaking out into a war, Clement was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo; and with thirteen cardinals, his adherents, kept in custody for his ransom. As the demands of the emperor were exorbitant, Henry undertook to negotiate for the pope; but his holiness, in the meantime, corrupting his guards, procured his escape from confinement; and leaving the treaty unfinished, sent Henry a letter of thanks for his mediation. The violence of the emperor, taught Henry that popes might be injured with impunity; and the behaviour of the pope manifested but little of that sanctity or infallibility to which the pontiffs pretended.

It was in this situation of the church and the pope, that a new scene was going to be

opened. § Henry had now been eighteen years married to Catharine of Arragon, who, as we have related, had been brought over from Spain to marry his elder brother, that died a few months after co-habitation. But notwithstanding the submissive deference paid to the indulgence of the church, Henry's marriage with this princess did not pass without hesitation. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the late king, though he had solemnized the espousals, when his son was but twelve years of age, gave many intimations that he intended to annul them at a proper opportunity. These intentions might have given Henry some scruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage; yet as he had three children by the princess, and as her character and conduct were blameless, he for a while kept his suggestions private. But she was six years older than him; and the decay of her beauty, made him desirous of another consort. Besides he had a touch of superstition, and often imputed the death of his two sons, to the displeasure of God, at his incestuous marriage with his brother's widow. But he was now carried forward by a motive more powerful than the suggestions of his conscience. Among the maids of honour then attending the queen, there was one Anna Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, a gentleman of distinction, and related to most of the nobility. He had been employed by the king in several embassies, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Norfolk. The beauty

§ A. D. 1527.

beauty of Anne surpassed whatever had hitherto appeared at court; and her education, which had been at Paris, tended to set off her personal charms. Her features were regular, mild and attractive, her stature elegant, though below the middle size, while her wit and vivacity exceeded even her other allurements. Henry, who had never learned the art of restraining any passion, saw and loved her; but after several efforts, he found that without marriage he could have no chance of succeeding. This obstacle, therefore, he hardily undertook to remove; and in order to procure a divorce, he alledged that his conscience rebuked him for having so long lived with the wife of his brother. In this pretended perplexity, he applied to Clement the seventh, who owed him many obligations, desiring him to dissolve the bull of the former pope, which had given him permission to marry Catherine; and to declare that it was not in the power, even of the holy see, to dispense with a law so strictly enjoined in scripture. The unfortunate pope was now in the utmost perplexity; queen Catherine was aunt to the emperor, who had lately made him a prisoner, and whose resentment he dreaded: beside, he could not in prudence declare the bull of the former pope illicit, for this would be giving a blow to the papal infallibility. On the other hand, Henry was his protector and friend; the dominions of England were the chief resource from whence his finances were supplied, and the king of France, some time before, had got a bill of divorce in



similar circumstances. \* In this exigence, he thought the wisest method would be to spin out the affair; so he sent over a commission to Wolsey, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and the former dispensation; granting them also a provisional dispensation for the king's marriage with any other person. When this message was laid before the council in England, they considered that an advice given by the pope in this secret manner, might be disavowed in public; and that a clandestine marriage would invalidate the legitimacy of any issue the king should have by such a match. In consequence of this, fresh messengers were dispatched to Rome, and evasive answers returned, the pope still continuing to promise, recant, dispute, and temporize; hoping that the king's passion would never hold out during the tedious course of an ecclesiastical controversy. In this he was mistaken. Henry had been long taught to dispute as well as he, and quickly found many texts of scripture to favour his passions. To his arguments he added threats, assuring the pope, that the English were already but too well disposed to withdraw from the holy see; and that if he continued uncomplying, the whole country would readily follow the example of a monarch, who, stung by ingratitude should deny all obedience to a pontiff, by whom he had always been treated with duplicity.

The

\* A. D. 1528.

\* The pope, perceiving the eagerness of the king, at one time had thoughts of complying with his solicitations, and sent cardinal Campegio, his legate, to London, who with Wolsey opened a court for trying the legitimacy of the king's present marriage, and cited the king and the queen to appear before them. They both presented themselves; and the king answered to his name when called; but the queen, instead of answering to her's, rose from her seat, and throwing herself at the king's feet, in the most pathetic manner, entreated him to have pity upon her helpless situation. A stranger, unprotected, unfriended, she could only rely on him as her guardian and defender, on him alone who knew her submission and her innocence, and not upon any court, in which her enemies would wrest the laws against her; she, therefore, refused the present trial, where she could expect neither justice nor impartiality. Yet notwithstanding the queen's objections, her trial went forward; and Henry shortly hoped to be gratified. The principal point which came before the legates, was the proof of prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catherine, which some of his own expressions to that purpose tended to confirm. Other topics were preparing, and the business seemed now to be drawing near a period, when, to the surprize of all, Campegio, without any warning, prorogued the court; and transferred the cause to the court of Rome.

During the course of these perplexing negotiations, Henry had at first expected to

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find

\* A. D. 1529.

find in his favourite Wolsey, a warm defender and a steady adherent; but he found himself mistaken. Wolsey seemed to be in the same dilemma with the pope. On the one hand, he was to please the king, from whom he had received a thousand marks of favour; and on the other hand, he feared to disoblige the pope, whose servant he more immediately was. He therefore resolved to continue neuter; and though of all men the most haughty, he gave way on this occasion to his colleague Campegio in all things, pretending a deference to his skill in canon law. Wolsey's scheme was highly displeasing to the king, but for a while he stifled his resentment. He for some time looked out for a man of equal abilities; and it was not long before Providence threw in his way one Thomas Cranmer, of greater talents and of more integrity. Cranmer was a doctor of divinity, and a professor at Cambridge, but had lost his office upon marrying contrary to the institutes of the canon law. He had travelled in his youth into Germany; and it was there he became acquainted with Luther's works, and embraced his doctrines. This man happening to fall one evening into company with Gardiner secretary of state, and Fox the king's almoner, the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation. He gave it as his opinion, that the readiest way to quiet the king's conscience, or to extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe upon the affair; an advice which being brought to the king, pleased

pleased him so much, that Cranmer was desired to follow the court.

The king finding himself provided with a person who could supply Wolsey's place, appeared less reserved in his resentments against that prelate. The attorney-general was ordered to prepare a bill of indictment against him; and he was soon after commanded to resign the great seal. Crimes are easily found against a favourite in disgrace, and the courtiers did not fail to increase the catalogue. He was ordered to depart from York-place; and all his furniture and plate were converted to the king's use. The inventory of his goods being taken, they were found to exceed even the most extravagant surmises. Of fine Holland alone there were found a thousand pieces; the walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold and silver; he had a cupboard of plate of massy gold; all the rest of his riches and furniture were in proportion. The parliament soon after confirmed the sentence of the Star-chamber, and he was ordered to retire to Esher, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton; there to await the king's further pleasure. Still, however, he was in possession of the archbishopric of York and bishopric of Winchester; and the king gave him distant gleams of hope, by sending him a ring accompanied with a gracious message. Wolsey, who was proud to his equals and mean to those above him, happening to meet the king's messenger on horse-back, immediately alighted, and throwing himself on his knees in the mire,

I 5

received

received, in that abject manner those marks of his majesty's condescension. † But after he had remained some time at Esher, he was ordered to remove to his see of York; where he took up his residence at Cawood, and rendered himself very popular in the neighbourhood by his affability. He was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. He was arrested by the earl of Northumberland, at the king's command, for high treason, and preparations were made for conducting him to London, in order to his trial. He at first refused to comply with the requisition, as being a cardinal; but finding the earl bent on performing his commission, he set out, by easy journies, for London, to appear as a criminal, where he had acted as a king. In his way he stayed a fortnight at the earl of Shrewsbury's, at Sheffield Castle; where he was seized with a dysentary. Being brought forward from thence, he with much difficulty reached Leicester Abbey; where the monks coming out to meet him, he said, "Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you;" and immediately ordered his bed to be prepared. As his disorder increased, he spoke to Sir William Kingston to this effect; "I pray you have me heartily recommended unto his majesty; he is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; but rather than he will want any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom. I do assure you, I have kneeled before him, for three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could

† A. D. 1530.

could not prevail. Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is my just reward, for not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince." He died soon after, in all the pangs of remorse, and left a life which he had all along rendered turbid by ambition. He left two natural children behind him, one of whom, being a priest, was loaded with church preferments.

Henry now, by Cranmer's advice, had the legality of his present marriage canvassed in all the most noted universities of Europe. It was very extraordinary to see the king on one side soliciting the universities to be favourable to his passion; and, on the other the emperor pressing them with equal ardor to be favourable to his aunt. Henry liberally rewarded those doctors who declared on his side; and the emperor granted benefices to such as voted in conformity to his wishes. In this contest, the liberalities, and consequently the votes of Henry prevailed. All the colleges of Italy and France unanimously declared his present marriage against all law, divine and human; and therefore alledged, that it was not in the power of the pope himself to grant a dispensation. The only places where this decision was most warmly opposed, were at Oxford and Cambridge; but they also concurred in the same opinion at last.

Henry being thus fortified by the suffrages of the universities, was now resolved to oppose even the pope himself, and began in  
I 6 parliament

parliament by reviving an old law against the clergy, by which it was decreed, that all those who had submitted to the legantine authority had incurred severe penalties. || The clergy to conciliate the king's favour, were compelled to pay a fine of an hundred and eighteen thousand pounds. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that the king was supreme head of the church of England. By these concessions a great part of the profits, and still more of the power, of the church of Rome was cut off. An act soon after was passed against levying the first fruits, or a year's rent, of all the bishopricks that fell vacant. The tie that held Henry to the church being thus broken, he resolved to keep no further measures with the pontiff. † He therefore privately married Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioness of Pembroke, the duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and Dr. Cranmer being present at the ceremony. Soon after, finding the queen pregnant, he publicly owned his marriage, and passed with his beautiful bride through London, with a magnificence greater than had been ever known before. The streets were strewed; the walls of the houses were hung with tapistries, the conduits ran with wine, and an universal joy was diffused among the people. \* Catharine, who had all along supported her claims with resolution, and yet with modesty, was cited to a trial; but refusing to appear, she was pronounced contumacious, and judgment given against the validity of her marriage

|| A. D. 1531. † A. D. 1532. \* A. D. 1533.

riage with the king. Finding the inutility of further resistance, she retired to Ampthill, near Dunstable, where she continued the rest of her life in privacy and peace.

In the mean time, when this intelligence was conveyed to Rome, the conclave was in a rage; and the pope, incited by their ardour, and frightened also by the menaces of the emperor, published a sentence, declaring queen Catharine alone to be Henry's lawful wife, and requiring him to take her again, with a denunciation of censures in case of refusal. On the other hand, Henry finding that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him, resolved no longer to renew these submissions which no power could extort. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation: care had been taken for some years to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority beyond the limits of his own diocese. The king, therefore, no longer delayed his meditated scheme of separating entirely from the church of Rome. The parliament was at his devotion; the majority of the clergy was for him, as they had already declared against the pope, in favour of the divorce; and the people, above all, wished to see the church humbled, which had so long grown opulent by their labours and distresses. Thus all things co-operating with his designs, he at once ordered himself to be declared by his clergy the supreme head of the church; the parliament confirmed the title, abolished all authority of the pope in England, \* voted all tributes, formerly paid to  
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\* A. D. 1534.



the holy see, illegal, and intrusted the king with the collation to all ecclesiastical benefices. The nation came into the king's measures with joy, and took an oath, called the oath of supremacy; all the credit of the pope, that had subsisted for ages, was now at once overthrown, and none seemed to repine at the revolution, except those who were immediately interested.

But though Henry had thus separated from the church, yet he had not addicted himself to the system of any other reformer. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable, as well as formidable, to him; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had removed one part of his early prejudices, he made it a point not to relinquish the rest. Separate as he stood from the Roman pontiff, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrines, and on guarding them by fire and sword. His ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as himself, and seemed to waver, during the whole reign, between the ancient and new religion. The young queen favoured the cause of the reformers; Thomas Cromwell, now taken into the favour and confidence of the king, did the same. And being a man of prudence and ability, he was very successful in promoting the reformation, though in a concealed manner. Cranmer, now archbishop of Canterbury, had all along adopted the protestant tenets, and had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the old mode of worship; and by



by the greatness of his rank, as well as by his talents for peace and war, had great weight in the king's council. Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and the dexterity of his conduct, rendered him extremely useful to it. The king, mean while, who held the balance between them, was enabled, by the courtship paid him by both protestants and catholics, to assume an immeasurable authority.

‡ As the mode of religion was not as yet known, and as the minds of those who were of opposite sentiments were extremely exasperated, it naturally followed that several must fall a sacrifice in the contests between ancient establishments, and modern reformation. The reformers were the first unhappy examples of the vindictive fury of those who were for the continuance of ancient superstitions. One James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, being accused of favouring the doctrines of Luther, had been brought before Sir Thomas More during his chancellorship; and, after being put to the torture, was condemned as a relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield. One Thomas Bilney, a priest, had embraced the new doctrine; but being terrified into an abjuration, he was so stung with remorse, that he went into Norfolk, publicly recanting his former conduct. He was soon seized, tried in the bishop's court, condemned as a relapsed heretic, and burnt accordingly. On the other hand, Henry was not remiss in punishing such as disowned the propriety of his

‡ A. D. 1535.

his late defection from Rome; and the monks, as they suffered most by the reformation, so they were most obnoxious, from their free manner of speaking, to the royal resentment.

To assist him in bringing these to punishment, the parliament had made it capital to deny his supremacy over the church; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of crime. But of those who fell as a sacrifice to this unjust law, none are so much to be regretted as John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and the celebrated Sir Thomas More. Fisher was a prelate eminent for his learning and morals; but being attached to his ancient opinions, was thrown into prison, and deprived of his ecclesiastical revenues; so that he had scarce even rags to cover him in his severe confinement. He was soon after indicted for denying the king's supremacy, condemned, and beheaded.

Sir Thomas More is intitled to still greater pity. This extraordinary man, who was one of the revivers of ancient literature, and incontestably the foremost writer of his age, had, for some time, refused to act in subserviency to the capricious passions of the king. He had been created chancellor; but gave up that high office, rather than concur in the breach with the church of Rome. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had in no wise encroached on the gentleness of his temper; and even in the midst of poverty and disgrace he could preserve that natural cheerfulness, which was inspired by conscious innocence. Being put into confinement,

finement, no intreaties could prevail with him to acknowledge the justice of the king's claims. One Rich, then solicitor-general, was sent to confer with him; and in his presence he was inveigled to say, that any question with regard to the law, which established that prerogative, was like a two-edged sword. If a person answered one way it would confound his soul; if another, it would destroy his body. These words were sufficient for the base informer to hang an accusation upon: and as trials at that time were but mere formalities, the jury gave sentence against him. His cheerfulness attended him to the last. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me up; and when I go down again, let me shift for myself." The executioner asking him forgiveness, he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bid the executioner stay till he had put aside his beard, for said he, that has never committed treason.

The concurrence which the people seemed to lend to these fierce severities, added to the great authority which Henry possessed, induced him to proceed still farther in his scheme of innovation. As the monks had all along shewn him the greatest resistance, he resolved at once to deprive them of power to injure him. He accordingly empowered Cromwell, to send commissioners into the several counties of England to inspect the monasteries; and to report, with rigorous exactness, the conduct  
of

of such as were resident there. This employment was readily undertaken by many, who discovered monstrous disorders in many of the religious houses. Whole convents of women abandoned to all manner of lewdness, friars accomplices in their crimes, pious frauds every where practised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people, and cruel and inveterate factions maintained between the members of many of these institutions. These accusations were urged with great clamour against these communities: and a general horror was excited in the nation against them.

The king now, therefore, thought he might with safety, and even some degree of popularity, abolish these institutions: but willing to proceed gently at first, he gave directions to parliament to go no farther at\* present than to suppress the lesser monasteries, who possessed revenues below the value of two hundred pounds a year. By this act, three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed; and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king, besides their goods and plate, computed at an hundred thousand pounds more. But this was only the beginning; about two years after, he resolved upon the entire destruction of all monasteries. A new visitation was therefore appointed, and fresh crimes were produced; so that his severities were conducted with such seeming justice, that in less than two years, he became possessed of all the monastic revenues. These, on the whole, amounted to six hundred and forty-five, of which

\* A. D. 1536.

which twenty-eight had abbots, who enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries, and free chapels, and an hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds, which was about a twentieth part of the national income. The loss which was sustained by the clergy upon this occasion, was not so mortifying as the insults and reproaches to which they were exposed for their former frauds and avarice. The numberless reliques which they had amassed, to delude and draw money from the people, were now exposed before the populace with the most poignant contempt: an angel with one wing, that brought over the head of the spear that pierced the side of Christ; coals that had roasted St. Lawrence, the parings of St. Edmond's toes, certain relics to prevent rain, others to stop the generation of weeds among corn. There was a crucifix at Boxley in Kent, distinguished by the appellation of the Rood of Grace, which had been long in reputation for bending, raising, rolling the eyes, and shaking the head. It was brought to London, and broke to pieces at Paul's Cross; and the wheels and springs by which it was actuated, shewn to the people. But the spoils of St. Thomas à Becket's shrine at Canterbury exceed what even imagination might conceive. The shrine was broken down; and the gold that adorned it filled two large chests that eight strong men could hardly carry out  
of

of the church. The king even cited the saint himself to appear, and to be tried and condemned as a traitor. He ordered his name to be struck out of the Calendar, his bones to be burned, and the office for his festival to be struck out of the Breviary. Such were the measures with which the king proceeded against these seats of indolence and imposture; but as great murmurs were excited, he took care that all those who could be dangerous in case of opposition, should be sharers in the spoil. He either made a gift of the revenues of the convents to his principal courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He also erected six new bishopricks, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborow, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, of which the last five still continue. He also settled salaries on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or their merits; and each monk was allowed a yearly pension of eight marks for his subsistence.

But though the king had entirely separated himself from Rome, yet he was unwilling to follow any guide in his new system. He would not therefore wholly abolish those practices, by which priestcraft had been carried to such a pitch of absurdity. The invocation of saints was only restrained. He gave orders, to have the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue; but it was not put into the hands of the laity. It was a capital crime to believe in the pope's supremacy; and yet equally heinous to be of the reformed religion, as established

lished in Germany. His opinions were at length delivered in a law, which, from its horrid consequences, was afterwards termed the Bloody Statute, by which it was ordained, that whoever, by word or writing, denied transubstantiation, whoever maintained that the communion in both kinds was necessary, whoever asserted that it was lawful for priests to marry, whoever alledged that vows of chastity might be broken, whoever maintained that private masses were unprofitable, or that auricular confession was unnecessary, should be found guilty of heresy, and burned or hanged as the court should determine. As the people were at that time chiefly composed either of those who followed the opinions of Luther, or such as still adhered to the pope, this statute, with Henry's former decrees, in some measure excluded both, and opened a field for persecution, which soon after produced dreadful harvests.

These severities were preceded by one, arising neither from religious nor political causes, but merely from tyrannical caprice. Anne Boleyn, his queen, had been always a favourer of the reformation, and consequently had many enemies on that account, who only waited some fit occasion to destroy her credit with the king; and that occasion presented itself but too soon. The king's passion was by this time quite palled by satiety; as the only desire he ever had for her arose from that brutal appetite, which enjoyment soon destroys, he was now, fallen in love, if we may so prostitute



tute the expression, with another, and languished for Jane Seymour, maid of honour to the queen.

As soon as the queen's enemies perceived this, they took the first opportunity of gratifying his inclination to get rid of her. The countess of Rochford, who was married to the queen's brother, a woman of infamous character, began with the most cruel insinuations against the reputation of her sister-in-law. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in an incestuous correspondence with his sister. Anne smiled at first, but when she found it was a very serious affair, she received the sacrament in her closet, sensible of what little mercy she had to expect from so furious a tyrant.

In the mean time, her enemies were not remiss in inflaming the accusation against her. The duke of Norfolk from his attachment to the old religion, procured several witnesses accusing her of incontinency. Four persons were pointed out as her paramours; Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston, and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, and Mark Smeton, a musician. The next day the queen was sent to the Tower, earnestly protesting her innocence.

Every person at court now abandoned her in her distress, except Cranmer, who, though forbid to come into the king's presence, wrote a letter to him in behalf of the queen; but his intercession had no effect. On the twelfth day of May, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried in Westminster-Hall, when

when Smeton was prevailed upon, by the promise of a pardon, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen; but he never was confronted by her he accused; and his execution with the rest, shortly after, served to acquit her of the charge. Norris, who had been much in the king's favour, had an offer of his life, if he would confess his crime, and accuse his mistress: but he rejected the proposal with contempt, and died professing her innocence, and his own.

In the mean time the queen, endeavoured to soften the king. But nothing could appease him. Her letter to him upon this occasion, written from the Tower, is too remarkable to be omitted here; as its manner serves at once to mark the situation of her mind, and shews to what a pitch of refinement she had carried the language even then. It is as follows.

“ Sir,

“ Your grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one, whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him, then I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

“ But let not your grace imagine that your poor wife will be ever brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought

thought, thereof preceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn: With which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was sufficient to draw that fancy to some other object. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you have found me worthy of such honour, good your grace let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king; but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea let me receive an open trial; for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped; or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so

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lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me, as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto your grace, not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.

“ But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

“ My last and only request shall be, that myself only may bear the burden of your grace's displeasure: and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anna Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity, to have your grace in his good keep-

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ing, and to direct you in all your actions.

From my doleful prison in the Tower,  
this sixth of May,

Your most loyal

and ever faithful wife,

Anna Boleyn."

It was not to be expected that eloquence could prevail on a tyrant, whose passions were to be influenced by none of the nobler motives; the queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers; but upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was urged against them is unknown; the chief evidence amounted to no more, than that Rochford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. The unhappy queen, though unassisted by counsel, defended herself with great judgment, and presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear declaring her entirely innocent. She answered distinctly to all the charges brought against her: but the king's authority was not to be controuled; she was declared guilty; and her sentence ran, that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this terrible sentence was pronounced against her, she could not help offering up a prayer to heaven, vindicating her innocence; and in a most pathetic speech to her judges, averred the injustice of her condemnation.

Upon her returning to prison, she once more sent protestations of her innocence to the king. "You have raised me," said she, from

from privacy to make me a lady ; from a lady you made me a countess ; from a countess, a queen ; and from a queen, I shall shortly become a saint in heaven." On the morning of her execution, she sent for Kingstone, the keeper of the Tower, to whom, upon entering the prison she said, " Mr. Kingstone, I hear I am not to die till noon, and I am sorry for it ; for I thought to be dead before this time, and free from a life of pain." The keeper attempting to comfort her, by assuring her the pain would be very little, she replied, " I have heard the executioner is very expert : and (clasping her neck with her hands, laughing,) I have but a little neck." When brought to the scaffold, she would not enflame the minds of the spectators, but contented herself with saying, " that she was come to die as she was sentenced by the law. She would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged ; she prayed heartily for the king, and desired that if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, he would judge the best." She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was brought over as much more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower. Ann Boleyn was guilty of no other crime than that of having survived the king's affections. Many crowned heads were already put to death in England ; but she was the first that was beheaded on a scaffold.

The people, in general, beheld her fate with pity; but still more, when they discovered the cause of the king's impatience to destroy her; for the very next day after her execution, he married the lady Jane Seymour, his cruel heart being no way softened by the wretched fate of one that had been so lately the object of his warmest affections.

It is easy to imagine, that such capricious cruelties were not felt by the people without indignation; but their murmurs were fruitless and their complaints disregarded. Henry now made himself umpire between those of the ancient superstition, and the modern reformation; and these being at enmity with each other, he took the advantage of all. Beside, he had all the powerful men of the nation on his side, by the grants he had made them of the lands of which he had despoiled the monasteries. It was easy for him, therefore to quell the various insurrections which his arbitrary conduct produced; as they were neither headed by any powerful man, nor conducted with any foresight, but merely the tumultuary efforts of anguish. However, many suffered on the account. Besides, one Aske, a gentleman, who led the first insurrection, lord Darcy, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer, sir Thomas Percy, sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, and William Lumley were condemned and executed. Henry put no bounds to his cruelties; and the birth of a prince, afterwards Edward the sixth, with the death of the queen, who survived this joyful occasion but two days, made but a small pause in his fierce severity.

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In the midst of these commotions, the fires of Smithfield were seen to blaze with unusual fierceness. Those who adhered to the pope, or those who followed the doctrines of Luther, were equally the objects of royal vengeance. From the multiplied alterations which were made in the national systems of belief, mostly drawn up by Henry himself, few knew what to think, or what to profess. They were ready enough, indeed, to follow his doctrines, how inconsistent or contradictory soever; but as he was continually changing them himself, they could hardly pursue so fast as he advanced before them. Thomas Cromwell, now a royal favourite, together with Cramer, favoured the reformation. On the other hand, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, together with the duke of Norfolk, were for leading the king back to his original superstition. Henry submitted to neither; his pride had long been so enflamed by flattery, that he thought himself intitled to regulate by his own single opinion, the faith of the whole nation.

In this universal terror, during which the severities of one man were sufficient to keep millions in awe, a poor schoolmaster in London, stood up for the rights of humanity, and ventured to think for himself. This man's name was John Lambert, who hearing doctor Taylor preach upon the real presence in the sacrament, presented him with his reasons against it. The paper was carried to Cramer and Latimer, who were then of the

A. D. 1537. Oct. 12. § A. D. 1538



opinion of Luther on that head, and endeavoured to bring him over to it. But Lambert remained steady; and instead of recanting, appealed to the king himself. This pleased Henry's vanity, and willing at once to exert his supremacy and display his learning, he accepted the appeal; and public notice was given of his intended disputation. For this purpose, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-Hall for the accommodation of the audience; and Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty. The prelates were placed on his right hand, the temporal peers on his left. The judges, and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops; the courtiers of the greatest distinction, behind the peers. Poor Lambert was produced in the midst of this splendid assembly, with not one creature to defend or support him. The bishop of Chester opened the conference by declaring that the king, notwithstanding any slight alterations he had made in the rites of the church, was yet determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith; and to punish, with the utmost severity, all departure from it. After this preamble, sufficient to terrify the boldest disputant, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of transubstantiation. When Lambert began his oration with a compliment to his majesty, Henry rejected his praise with disdain. He afterwards entered upon the discussion of that abstruse question; and endeavoured to press Lambert with argu-

arguments drawn from the scriptures and the schoolmen. At every word the audience were ready to second him with their applause and admiration. Lambert, no way discouraged, was not slow to reply; but here Cranmer stepped in and seconded the king's proofs by some new topics. Gardiner entered the lists in support of Cranmer; Tomstal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tomstal. Six bishops more appeared successively in the field against the poor solitary disputer, who for five hours, attempted to vindicate his doctrines, till at last fatigued and brow-beaten he was reduced to silence. The king then returning to the charge, demanded if he was convinced; and whether he chose to gain life by recantation or to die for his obstinacy? Lambert no way intimidated, replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency; to which Henry replied, "that he would never protect an heretic; and, therefore, if that was his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames." Lambert, no way terrified, heard Cromwell read the sentence, by which he was condemned to be burnt alive, with the utmost composure; and as if his persecutors were resolved to try his fortitude, the executioners were ordered to make his punishment as painful as they could. He was, therefore burned at a slow fire, his legs and thighs being first consumed; yet he continued to cry out, "None but Christ! None but Christ!" till he was wholly consumed.

• This poor man's death seemed to be only a signal for that of many more. Flattery had given the king such an opinion of his own

ability, that he now resolved to punish rigorously all those who should presume to differ from him in point of opinion, without making any distinction between Catholic and Lutheran. Soon after, no less than five hundred persons were imprisoned for contradicting the opinions delivered in the bloody statute; and received protection only from the lenity of Cromwell. Dr. Barnes also, who had been instrumental in Lambert's execution, felt, in his turn, by the just judgment of God, the severity of the persecuting spirit; and by a bill in parliament, without any trial, was condemned to the flames. With Barnes were executed one Gerrard, and Jerome, for the same opinions. Three Catholics, also, whose names were Abel, Featherstone, and Powel, were dragged upon the same hurdles to execution; and declared, that the most grievous part of their punishment was, the being coupled with such heretical miscreants.

\* During these horrid transactions, Henry was resolved to take another queen, and, after some negotiation upon the continent, he contracted a marriage with Anne of Cleves, his aim being by her means to fortify his alliances with the princes of Germany. Nor was he led into this match without a most scrupulous examination on his side, of the lady's personal accomplishments. He was assured by his envoy that she was of a very large person, which was the more pleasing to him, as he was at that time himself become very corpulent, and consequently required a  
similar

\* A. D. 1539.

similar figure in a wife. He was still further allured by her picture, in which Holbein, who drew it, was, it seems, more a friend to his art than to truth. The king, upon her landing, went privately to meet her at Rochester, where he was very much damped in his amorous ardour. He found her big indeed, and tall, as he could wish; but utterly devoid of grace and beauty; she could also speak but one language, her native German; so that her conversation could never recompence the defects of her person. He swore she was a great Flanders mare; and added that he could never settle his affections upon her. However, sensible that he would greatly disoblige her brother the duke, and consequently all the German princes in his alliance, he resolved to marry her; and he told Cromwell, who was chiefly instrumental in this affair, that since he had gone so far, he would put his neck into the yoke, whatever it cost him. The marriage was accordingly celebrated; but the king's disgust was only increased by it; he told Cromwell the next morning, that he hated her more than ever. Cromwell saw the danger he had incurred by having been instrumental in forming this union; but he endeavoured by his assiduity, to keep the king from coming to extremities with him.

But he should have known that a tyrant once offended is implacable. Henry's aversion to the queen increased every day; and he at length resolved to get rid of her, and his prime minister together. The fall of

this favourite was long and ardently wished for. The nobility hated a man, who from such mean beginnings, was placed before the first persons in the kingdom; for beside being made vicar-general, which gave him almost absolute authority over the clergy, he was lord privy-seal, lord chamberlain, and master of the wards. He had also obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had hitherto been conferred only on the most illustrious families; and to carry his exaltation still higher, he had been made earl of Essex. The protestants disliked him for his concurrence in their persecution; and the papists as the inveterate enemy of their religion. It only remained, therefore, with the king to hasten or retard his punishment. And he had a strong cause of dislike to him for his late unpropitious alliance; and a new motive was soon added for his displeasure. † He had fixed his affection on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and the only method of gratifying this new passion was, discarding the present queen. The duke of Norfolk had long been Cromwell's mortal enemy, and eagerly embraced this opportunity to destroy him. He therefore made use of all his niece's arts to ruin the favourite; and when his project was ripe for execution, he obtained a commission from the king to arrest Cromwell for high treason. His disgrace was no sooner known, than all his friends forsook him, except Cranmer, who wrote such a letter to Henry in his behalf, as no other man in the kingdom would have presumed

† A. D. 1540.

sumed to offer. However, he was accused in parliament of heresy and treason; and without being ever heard in his own defence, condemned to suffer the pains of death, as the king should think proper to direct. Cromwell's fortitude seemed to forsake him in this dreadful exigency. He wrote to the king for pardon; and subscribed his epistle, "from the king's most miserable prisoner and poor slave at the Tower, Thomas Cromwell. Mercy, mercy, mercy."

Cromwell's letter touched the hard heart of the monarch; he ordered it to be read to him three times; and then, as if willing to gain a victory over all his softer feelings, he signed the warrant for beheading him upon Tower-Hill. A few days after his death, a number of people were executed together upon very different accusations. Some for having denied the king's supremacy, and others for having maintained the doctrines of Luther.

About a month after the death of Cromwell, the king declared his marriage with Catharine Howard, whom he had some time before privately espoused. This was regarded as a very favourable incident by the catholic party; and the subsequent events for a while turned out to their wish. The king's councils being now entirely directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants; and the law of the six articles was executed with rigour; so that a foreigner, who was then residing in England, had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were

hanged. . . The king, with an ostentatious impartiality, infused terror into every breast.

But the measure of his severities was not yet filled up. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage. He was so captivated with the queen's accomplishments, that he gave public thanks for his felicity, and desired his confessor to join with him in the same thanksgiving. This joy, however, was of very short duration. While the king was at York, upon an intended conference with the king of Scotland, a man of the name of Lastelles had waited upon Cranmer at London; and from the information of this man's sister, who had been servant to the dutchess dowager of Norfolk, he gave a very surprizing account of the queen. He averred that she led a very lewd life before her marriage, carrying on a scandalous correspondence with two men, called Derham and Mannock; and that she continued to indulge herself in the same criminal pleasures since she had been raised to her present greatness. Cranmer was equally surprized and embarrassed at this intelligence, which he communicated to the chancellor, and some other members of the privy council; who advised him to make the king acquainted with the whole affair on his return to London. The archbishop knew the hazard he ran by intermeddling in such delicate points; but he also knew the dangers he incurred by suppressing his information. He therefore resolved to communicate what he had heard to writing, in the form of a memorial; and this he shortly after delivered into the king's own hand, desiring

desiring his majesty to read it in private. Henry at first disbelieved the report; he ordered the keeper of the privy-seal to examine Lascelles; who persisted in his former narrative; and even produced his sister to confirm his account. Upon this, Derham and Mannock were arrested, and they quickly confessed their own guilt, and the queen's incontinency. They went still farther, by impeaching the old lady Rochford, who had formerly been so instrumental in procuring the death of Anna Boléyn. They alledged that this lady had introduced one Culpepper into the queen's bed-chamber, who stayed with her from eleven at night till four in the morning. When the queen was first examined, she denied the charge; but afterwards finding that her accomplices were her accusers, she confessed her incontinence before marriage, but denied her having dishonoured the king's bed since their union. But three maids of honour, who were admitted to her secrets, still further alledged her guilt; and some of them confessed having past the night in the same bed with her and her lovers. The king was so affected at this discovery, that he burst into a flood of tears. Derham, Mannock, and Culpepper, were convicted and executed; but he was resolved to throw the odium of the queen's death upon the parliament, who had always shewn themselves the ready ministers of all his severities.

|| These servile creatures, upon being informed of the queen's crime and confession, found her quickly guilty, and petitioned the king that she might be punished with death; that

|| A. D. 1542.



that the same penalty might be inflicted on the lady Rochford, the accomplice of her debaucheries; and that her grand-mother, the dutchess dowager of Norfolk, together with her father, mother, and nine others, men and women, as having been privy to the queen's irregularities, should participate in her punishment. With this petition the king was graciously pleased to agree; they were condemned to death by an act of attainder, which, at the same time, made it capital for all persons to conceal their knowledge of the debaucheries of any future queen. It was also enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason, in case she did not previously reveal her guilt. The people made merry with this absurd and brutal statute; and it was said, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow. After all these laws were passed, the queen was beheaded on Tower Hill, together with the lady Rochford, who found no great degree of compassion, as she had herself before tampered in blood. The public exclaimed so loudly against the severity of the act, which brought in so many accomplices of her guilt, that the king did not think proper to execute sentence upon them, though some of them were long detained in confinement.

Henry having thus, by various acts of tyranny, shewn that he was abandoned to all ideas of justice, morals, or humanity, at last took it into his head to compose a book of religion, which was to be the code by which  
his

his subjects should for the future regulate all their belief and actions. Having procured an act of parliament for this purpose, in which all spiritual supremacy was declared to be vested in him, he published a small volume soon after, called the Institution of a Christian Man, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible standard of orthodoxy. All the abstruse points of justification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers; while the sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, are increased to their original number of seven. But the king was not long satisfied with this code of belief; for he soon after procured a new book to be composed, called The Erudition of a Christian Man, which he published upon his own authority; and though this new creed differed a good deal from the former, yet he was no less positive in requiring assent to it.

But his authority in religion was not more uncontrolled than in temporal concerns. An alderman, one Read, who had refused to assist him with a benevolence, was pressed as a private soldier, and sent to serve in an army which was levied against an incursion of the Scotch. In this manner, all who opposed his will were either pressed or imprisoned; happy if they escaped with such slight punishments. His parliament made a law, by which the king's proclamations were to have the same force as statutes; and to facilitate the execution of this act, by which all shadow of liberty was

was removed, they appointed that any nine of the privy council should form a legal court for punishing disobedience to all proclamations. Thus the king was empowered to issue a proclamation to destroy the lives, or take away the properties, of any of his subjects.

In about a year after the death of the last queen, || Henry once more changed his condition, by marrying his sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr, who was, in fact, a widow. She was the wife of the late lord Latimer; and was considered as a woman of discretion and virtue. She was already passed the meridian of life, and managed this capricious tyrant's temper with prudence. His amiable days had long been over; he was almost choked with fat, and had contracted a morose air, very far from inspiring affection. Nevertheless, she so gained his confidence, that she was appointed regent of the kingdom during his absence in France, whither he passed over at the head of thirty thousand men, to prosecute a war which had been declared between him and the French king. He there behaved, as in all his former undertakings, with ineffectual ostentation. Instead of marching into the heart of the country, he sat down before Boulogne, which was obliged to capitulate; and his ally, the emperor, making a separate peace, Henry was obliged to return with his army into England, where he found his subjects ready to praise him for an enterprize in which, at an infinite charge, he had made an acquisition that was of no manner of benefit.

But

|| A. D. 1543.

\* But of all his subjects none seemed more abandoned and basely servile than the parliament. Upon his return from his expensive French expedition, after professions of profound acknowledgement, they granted him a subsidy equal to his demands, and added to it a gift, which will make their memory odious to the most distant posterity. By one vote they bestowed upon him all the revenues of the two universities, as well as of some other places of education and public worship. But rapacious as this monarch was, he refrained from spoiling these venerable seminaries; however, they owed their safety to his lenity, and not to the protection of this base and degenerate parliament. Nor was he less just upon another occasion, with regard to the suggestions of his council, who had long conceived an hatred against Cranmer. This just and moderate man had all along owed his safety to his integrity; and scorning intrigue himself, was the less liable to be circumvented by the intrigues of others. The catholic party had long represented to the king, that Cranmer was the secret cause of the divisions which tore the nation, as his example and support were the chief props of heresy. Henry, desirous of knowing how far they would carry their intrigues, feigned a compliance with their wishes, and ordered the council to make enquiry into the primate's conduct and crimes. All the world concluded that his disgrace was certain, and his death inevitable. His old friends who, from mercenary motives, had been attached to him, now began to treat him

\* A. D. 1544.

him with mortifying neglect; he was obliged to stand several hours among the servants at the door of the council-chamber before they deigned to admit him; and he made his appearance among them only to be informed that they had determined to send him to the Tower. But Cranmer was not to be intimidated by their menaces; he appealed to the king; and when that was denied him, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him to make use of upon that emergency. The council was confounded; and still more so, when the king severely reprov'd them, and Cranmer was taken into more than former favour. Henry obliged them all to embrace as a sign of their reconciliation; and Cranmer from his gentle nature, rendered this reconciliation more sincere on his part than is usual in such forced compliances.

§ Still, however, the king's severity to the rest of his subjects continued as fierce as ever. For some time he had been incommoded by an ulcer in his leg; the pain of which, added to his corpulence, and other infirmities, encreased his natural irascibility to such a degree, that scarce any, even of his domestics, approached him without terror. It was not to be expected, therefore, that any who differed from him in opinion, should, at this time particularly, hope for pardon. Among the many whose sufferings excite our pity and indignation, the fate of Anne Askew deserves to be particularly remembered. This lady was a woman of merit as well as beauty, was married to a gentleman in Lincolnshire, and connected

nected with many of the principal ladies at court. It is said that she kept up a secret correspondence with the queen herself, who secretly favoured the reformation; and this correspondence only served to hasten her ruin, the chancellor being known to be her enemy. However this be, she happened to differ from the established code of belief, particularly in the article of the real presence; and, notwithstanding the weakness of her sex and age, she was thrown into prison. In this situation, with courage far beyond what might be expected, she employed her time in composing prayers and discourses, and vindicating the truth of her opinions. The chancellor was sent to examine her with regard to her abettors at court; but she would accuse none. In consequence of this contumacy, as it was called, the poor young lady was put to the torture; but she still continued resolute, and her silence testified her contempt of their cruelties. The chancellor, therefore, became outrageous, and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower, who executed this punishment, to stretch the rack still harder; which he refusing to do, the chancellor grasped the cord himself, and drew it so violently, that her body was almost torn asunder. But her constancy was greater than the barbarity of her persecutors; so that at length she was condemned to be burned alive. She received this sentence with a transport of joy, and as a release from pain to the greatest felicity. As all her joints had been dislocated by the rack, so that she could not stand, she was carried to the place of execution in a chair. Together with her, were brought Nicholas Belenian,

Belenian a priest, John Lassals of the king's household, and John Adams a taylor, who had all been condemned for the same crime. They were tied to the stake; and in that dreadful situation informed, that upon recanting, they should be granted their lives. But they refused a life that was to be gained by such prostitution; and they saw, with tranquillity, the executioner kindle the flames which consumed them.

From this indiscriminate severity the queen was not herself entirely secure. She had for some time attended the king in his indisposition, and endeavoured to soothe him by her arts and assiduity. His favourite topic of conversation was theology, and Catharine would now and then enter into a debate with him, upon many tenets, that were in agitation between the Catholics and Lutherans. Henry, highly provoked that she should presume to differ from him, made complaints of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to enflame the quarrel. Articles of impeachment were drawn up against her, which were brought to the king by the chancellor to be signed; but in returning home, he chanced to drop the paper. It was very lucky for the queen, that the person who found it was in her interests; it was immediately carried to her, and the contents soon made her sensible of the danger to which she was exposed. In this exigence, she was resolved to work upon the king; and paying him her customary visit, he led her, as usual to the subject of theology, which at first she seemed

to decline, but in which she afterwards engaged, as if merely to gratify his inclinations. In the course of her conversation, however, she gave him to know, that her whole aim in talking, was to receive his instructions; that it was not for her to set her opinions in opposition, to those that served to direct the nation; but she alledged, she could not help trying every art that could induce the king to exert that eloquence which served, for a time, to mitigate his bodily pain. Henry was charmed at this discovery; "and is it so, sweet heart, cried he, then we are perfect friends again." Just after this, the chancellor made his appearance, with forty pursuivants at his heels, to take the queen into custody. But the king advanced to meet him; and expostulated with him in the severest terms. The queen could overhear the terms, knave, fool, beast, which he very liberally bestowed upon that magistrate. When he was gone, she interposed in his defence; but the king could not help saying, "Poqr-soul, you know not how little entitled this man is to your good offices." From thenceforth the queen was careful not to offend Henry's humour by contradiction; she was contented to suffer the divines to dispute, and the executioner to destroy. The fires accordingly were kindled against the heretics of both sides as usual, during which dreadful exhibitions, the king would frequently assemble the houses of parliament, and harangue them with florid orations, in which he would aver, that never prince had a greater affection for his people; nor ever people had



a greater affection for their king. In every pause of these extraordinary orations, some would begin to applaud; and this was followed by loud acclamations, from all the rest of the audience.

But though his health was declining apace, yet his implacable cruelties were not the less frequent. His resentments were diffused indiscriminately to all; at one time a protestant, and at another a catholic, were the objects of his severity. The duke of Norfolk and his son, the earl of Surry, were the last that felt the injustice of his groundless suspicions. The duke was a nobleman who had served the king with talents and fidelity; his son was a young man of the most promising hopes, who excelled in every accomplishment that became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier. He excelled in all the military exercises, which were then in request; he encouraged the fine arts by his practice and example; and it is remarkable, that he was the first, who brought our language, in his poetical pieces, to any degree of refinement. These qualifications, however, were no safeguard to him against Henry's suspicions; he had dropt some expressions of resentment against the king's ministers, upon being displaced from the government of Boulogne; and the whole family was become obnoxious from the late incontinency of Catharine Howard. From these motives, private orders were given to arrest the father and son; and accordingly they were arrested both on the same day, and committed to the Tower. Surry was tried first, and as to proofs, there were

were many informers base enough to betray the intimacies of private confidence. The dutchess dowager of Richmond, Surry's own sister, enlisted herself among the number of his accusers; and Sir Richard Southwell also, his most intimate friend, charged him with infidelity to the king. It would seem that at this dreary period, there was neither faith nor honour to be found in all the nation; Surry denied the charge, and challenged his accuser to single combat. This favour was refused him; and it was alledged, that he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his escutcheon. To this he could make no reply; and indeed any answer would have been needless, for neither parliaments nor juries, during this reign, were guided by any other proofs, but the will of the crown. This young nobleman was, therefore, condemned for high treason, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence; and the sentence was soon after executed upon him on Tower-Hill. \* In the mean time the duke endeavoured to mollify the king by letters and submissions; but the monster's hard heart was rarely subject to tender impressions. The parliament, meeting on the fourteenth of January, a bill of attainder was found against the duke of Norfolk; as it was thought he could not so easily have been convicted on a fair hearing by his peers. The only crime that his accusers could alledge against him was, that he had once said, that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to be torn between the con-

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\* A. D. 1547.

tending parties of different persuasions. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; but retired to his seat at Croydon. However, the death-warrant was made out, and immediately sent to the lieutenant of the Tower. The duke prepared for death; the following morning was to be his last; but an event of greater consequence to the kingdom intervened, and prevented his execution.

The king had been for some time approaching fast towards his end; and for several days all those about his person plainly saw that his speedy death was inevitable. The disorder in his leg was extremely painful; and this, added to his monstrous corpulency, which rendered him unable to stir, made him more furious than a chained lion. He had been ever stern and severe; he was now outrageous. In this state he had continued for near four years before his death, the terror of all, and the tormentor of himself. In this manner, therefore, he was suffered to struggle, without any of his domestics having the courage to warn him of his approaching end, as more than once during this reign, persons had been put to death for foretelling the death of the king. At last Sir Anthony Denny had the courage to disclose to him this dreadful secret; and, contrary to his usual custom, he received the tidings with an expression of resignation. His anguish and remorse were at this time greater than can be expressed; he desired that  
Cranmer

Cranmer might be sent for; but before that prelate could arrive, he was speechless. He expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years, and nine months, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Some kings have been tyrants from contradiction and revolt; some from being misled by favourites, and some from a spirit of party. But Henry was cruel from a depraved disposition; cruel in government, cruel in religion, and cruel in his family. A person of fewer virtues, and more horrid vices scarce ever sat on the English throne. Yet our divines have taken some pains to vindicate the character of this brutal prince, as if his conduct, and our reformation had any connexion with each other. There is nothing so absurd as to defend the one by the other; for the most noble designs may be brought about by the most vicious instruments.

With regard to foreign states, Henry made some expeditions into France, which were attended with vast expence to the nation, and brought them no kind of advantage. However, he all along maintained an intercourse of friendship with Francis. Against the Scotch he was rather more successful; his generals having worsted them on several occasions. But that which gave England the greatest ascendancy over that nation, was the spirit of concord which soon after seemed to prevail between the two kingdoms; and that seemed to pave the way for their being in time united under the same sovereign. The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands.

The merchants of the Low-Countries bought the English commodities and distributed them into the other parts of Europe. These commodities, however, were generally little more than the natural productions of the country, without any manufactures; for it must be observed at this time that foreign artificers much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality; and it is said, that at one time not less than fifteen thousand artificers of the Flemish nation alone were settled in London.



## C H A P. X.

## E D W A R D VI.

\* **H**ENRY the eighth was succeeded by his only son Edward, now nine years and three months old. The late king in his will, fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his fifteenth year; and in the mean time appointed sixteen executors of his will, to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the king and kingdom. But the vanity of his aims was soon discovered; for the first act of the executors was to chuse the earl of Hertford, who was  
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\* A. D. 1547.

afterwards made duke of Somersct, protector of the realm; and in him was lodged all the regal power, together with a privilege of naming whom he would for his privy council.

This was a favourable season for those of the reformed religion; and the eyes of the late king were no sooner closed, than all of that persuasion congratulated themselves on the event. They no longer suppressed their sentiments, but maintained their doctrines openly. The protector had long been regarded as the secret partizan of the reformers; and, being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to express his intention of correcting all the abuses of the ancient religion. His power was not a little strengthened by his success against an incursion of the Scotch: and the popularity which he gained upon this occasion, seconded his views in the propagation of the new doctrines. But the character of Somersct did not stand in need of the popularity acquired in this manner, as he was humble, civil, affable, and courteous to the meanest suitor, and all his actions were directed by motives of piety and honour.

In his schemes for advancing the reformation, he had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation, and prudence, was averse to violent changes, and determined to bring over the people gently. The person who opposed it with the greatest authority, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, though he had not obtained a place at the council-board, yet from his age, experience and capacity, was regarded by most

men with veneration. Upon a general visitation of the church, which had been commanded by the primate and protector, Gardiner defended the use of images; he even wrote an apology for holy water; and particularly alledged, that it was unlawful to make any change in religion during the king's minority. This opposition drew on him the indignation of the council; and he and bishop Bonner were sent to the Fleet prison, but released not long after.

These internal regulations were in some measure retarded by the war with Scotland, which still continued. But a defeat, which that nation suffered at Musselborough, in which above twelve thousand perished in the field of battle, induced them to sue for peace; and the protector returned to settle the business of the reformation. While he acquired great popularity by this expedition, he did not fail to attract the envy of several noblemen, by procuring a patent from the young king his nephew, to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges which had usually been granted the uncles of kings in England. However, he still drove on his favourite schemes of reformation. The cup was restored to the laity in the sacrament of the Lord's supper; private masses were abolished, and the king was empowered to create bishops by letters patent. It was enacted also, that all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's, should, for the first offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment.

ment during pleasure; for the second offence, incur the pain of premunire, and for the third be attainted of treason. || Orders were soon after issued by the council that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, nor palms on Palm Sunday. These were ancient superstitious practices, which led to immoralities that it was thought proper to restrain. An order also was issued for the removal of all images from the churches.

But these innovations were not brought about without some struggles at home, while the protector was employed against the Scotch, who united with, and seconded by France, still pushed on their inroads with unremitting animosity. Besides, there was still an enemy worse than any of the former; this was his own brother, lord Thomas Seymour, the admiral, a man of uncommon talents, but proud turbulent and untractable. This nobleman could not endure the distinction which the king had always made between him and his elder brother. By his flattery and address, he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence, she married him immediately upon the decease of the late king. This match was particularly displeasing to the elder brother's wife, who now saw that while her husband had the precedency in one place, she was obliged to yield it in another. His next step was to make a party among the nobility, who fomented his ambition. He then bribed the king's domestics, and young Edward fre-

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quently

|| A. D. 1548.



quently went to his house, on pretence of visiting the queen. There he ingratiated himself with his sovereign, by supplying him with money to distribute among his servants and favourites, without the knowledge of his governor. In the protector's absence with the army in Scotland, he redoubled all his arts and insinuations; and thus obtained a new patent for admiral, with an additional appointment. Sir William Paget perceiving the progress he daily made in the king's affection, wrote to the protector on the subject, who finished the campaign in Scotland with all possible dispatch, that he might return to counter-work his machinations. But before he could arrive in England, the admiral had engaged in his party several of the principal nobility, and prevailed on the king himself to write a letter to the parliament with his own hand, desiring that the admiral might be appointed his governor. The council being apprized of his schemes, sent deputies to assure him, that if he did not desist they would deprive him of his office, and prosecute him on the last act of parliament, by which he was subject to the penalty of high treason, for attempting to disturb the peace of the government. It was not without some severe struggles within himself, and some menaces divulged among his creatures, that he thought proper to submit, and desired to be reconciled to his brother. Yet he still nourished the same designs, which his brother suspecting, employed spies to inform him of all his transactions.

But nothing could shake the admiral's unalterable views of ambition. \* His spouse, the queen-

\* A. D. 1549.

queen-dowager, had died in child-bed; and this accident, far from repressing his schemes, only seemed to promote them. He made his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth, tho' her father had excluded her the succession, in case she married without the consent of council. The admiral, however, hoped to get over that objection; and gave reason to believe that he aimed at regal authority. He brought over many of the principal nobility to his party; he neglected not popular persons of inferior rank; and he computed that he could on occasion command the service of ten thousand men. He had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests Sir John Sharrington, master of the mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting,

Somerſet being well aſcertained of all this, endeavoured by every expedient to draw him from his deſigns. He reaſoned, he threatened; he cheaped new favours upon him; but all to no purpoſe. At laſt he reſolved to make uſe of the laſt remedy, and to attain his own brother of high treaſon. In conſequence of this reſolution, he ſigned a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Yet ſtill the protector ſuſpended the blow; he offered once more to be ſincerely reconciled, if he was contented to ſpend the remainder of his days in retirement. But finding himſelf unable to work on his inflexible temper, he ordered a charge to be drawn up againſt him, conſiſting of thirty three articles; and the whole to be brought into parliament. The charge being brought

first into the house of lords, several peers, rising up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words and actions. In the house of commons too, the bill passed in a very full house, near four hundred voting for it, and not above nine or ten against it. The sentence was soon after executed, by beheading him on Tower-Hill. This seems to have been such a stretch of power in the Protector as cannot be defended.

This obstacle being removed, the protector went on to reform religion, which was now become the chief concern of the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to frame a liturgy for the service of the church; and this work was executed with great moderation and accuracy. A law was also enacted, permitting priests to marry; the ceremony of auricular confession, though not abolished, was left at the discretion of the people, who were not displeas'd at being freed from the spiritual tyranny of their instructors; the doctrine of the real presence was the last tenet of popery that was wholly abandoned, as both the clergy and laity were loth to renounce so miraculous a benefit, as it was asserted to be. However, at last, not only this, but all the principal opinions and practices of the Catholic religion, contrary to scripture, were abolished; and the reformation, such as we have it, was almost completed in England. With all these innovations the people and clergy in general acquiesced; and Gardiner and Bonner, were the only persons whose opposition was thought of any weight; they were, therefore, sent to the Tower,

Tower, and threatened with the king's further displeasure in case of disobedience.

But it had been well for the credit of the reformers, had they stopt at imprisonment only. They also became persecutors in turn; and although the very spirit of their doctrine arose from a freedom of thinking, yet they could not bear that any should controvert what they had been at so much pains to establish. A commission was granted to the primate and some others, to search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the new liturgy. Among the number of those who were supposed to incur guilt upon this occasion, was one Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. She had maintained an abstruse sentiment, that Christ, as man, was a sinful man; but as the Word, he was free from sin, and could be subject to none of the frailties of the flesh with which he was clothed. For maintaining this doctrine, this poor ignorant woman was condemned to be burnt as an heretic. The young king, who it seems had more sense than his ministers, refused to sign the death warrant; but being at last pressed by Cranmer, and vanquished by his importunities, he reluctantly complied; declaring, that if he did wrong, the sin should be on the head of those who had persuaded him to it. Some time after, one Van Paris, a Dutchman, being accused of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment.

Although the changes in religion were for the benefit of the nation, yet they were attended with many inconveniences. When the monasteries were suppressed, a prodigious number of monks were obliged to earn their subsistence

by their labour; so that all kinds of business were overstocked. The lands of the monasteries, also, had been farmed out formerly to the common people, so as to employ a great number of hands; and the rents being moderate, they were able to maintain their families on the profits of agriculture. But now these lands being possessed by the nobility, the rents were raised; and the farmers perceiving that wool was a better commodity than corn, turned all their fields into pasture. In consequence of this, the price of meal arose, to the unspeakable hardship of the lower class of people. Beside, as few hands were required to manage a pasture farm, a great number of poor people were utterly deprived of subsistence, while the nation was filled with murmurs against the nobility, who were considered as the sources of the general calamity. To add to these complaints, the rich proprietors of lands proceeded to inclose their estates; while the tenants, regarded as an useless burthen, were expelled their habitations. Even cottages, deprived of the commons on which they fed their cattle, were reduced to misery; and a great decay of people as well as a diminution of provisions, was observed in every part of the kingdom. To add to this general calamity, all the good coin of the kingdom was hoarded up or exported; while a base metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; and this the poor were obliged to receive in payment, but could not disburse at an equal advantage. Thus an universal stagnation of commerce took place; and

and nothing but complaints were heard in every quarter.

The protector, espoused the cause of the sufferers. He appointed commissioners to examine whether the possessors of the church-lands had fulfilled the conditions on which those lands had been sold by the crown; and ordered all late inclosures to be laid open to an appointed day. As the object of this commission was very disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they called it arbitrary and illegal; while the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for redress, rose in great numbers, and sought a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once, in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed. The rebels in Wiltshire, were dispersed by Sir William Herbert; those of Oxford and Gloucester, by lord Gray of Wilton; the commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentle methods; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk were the most obstinate. In the first of these counties, the insurgents amounted to ten thousand men, headed by one Humphry Arundel, an experienced soldier, and demanded an abolition of the statutes lately made in favour of the reformation. The ministry rejected their demands with contempt, at the same time offering a pardon to all that would lay down their arms. But the insurgents were now too far advanced to recede; they laid siege to Exeter, carrying before them crosses, banners, holy-water, candlesticks, and other

implements of their ancient superstition; but the town was gallantly defended by the inhabitants. In the mean time, lord Ruffel was sent against them; and being reinforced by lord Gray and others, he attacked, and drove them from all their entrenchments. Arundel, their leader, and several others, were sent to London, where they were condemned and executed.

The sedition at Norfolk appeared still more alarming. The insurgents there amounted to twenty thousand men; and as their forces were numerous, their demands were exorbitant. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing new counsellors about the king, and the establishment of their ancient rights. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the priority among them; he erected his tribunal near Norwich, under an old oak, which was termed the Oak of Reformation. He afterwards undertook the siege of Norwich, which having reduced, he imprisoned the mayor, and some of the principal citizens. The marquis of Northampton was first sent against them but met with a repulse; the earl of Warwick followed, at the head of six thousand men, and put them entirely to the rout. Two thousand of them fell in the fight and pursuit; Ket was hanged at Norwich Castle, nine of his followers on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation; and the insurrection, which was the last in favour of popery, was thus entirely suppressed.

But though the suppression of these insurrections seemed favourable to the protector, yet

yet the authority which the earl of Warwick gained in quelling that of Norfolk, terminated in Somerset's ruin. Of all the ministers at that time in the council, Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the most artful, ambitious, and unprincipled. Resolved at any rate to possess the principal place, he cared not what means he used in acquiring it. However, he covered the most exorbitant views under the fairest appearances. Having associated himself with the earl of Southampton, he formed a strong party in the council, who were determined to free themselves from the controul of the protector. He was now grown obnoxious to a very prevailing party in the kingdom. He was hated by the nobles for his power; he was hated by the Catholic party for his regard to the Reformation; he was disliked by many for his severity to his brother, and the great estate he had raised rendered him obnoxious to all. The palace which he was building in the Strand, served also by its magnificence, and still more by the methods that were taken to raise it, to expose him to the censures of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishops houses, were pulled down to furnish ground and materials for the structure.

These imprudencies were exaggerated by Somerset's enemies. They represented him as a sacrilegious tyrant, and an usurper upon the privileges of the council and the rights of the king. In consequence of this, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton and Arundel, with

five



five counsellors more, met at Ely-House ; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry of England, requiring their assistance. They sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to concur in their measures. The next day several others of the council joined them ; and the protector now began to tremble.

He sent the king to Windsor, and armed the inhabitants of Hampton and Windsor for his security. But perceiving that he was in a manner, deserted by all, he resolved to apply to his enemies for pardon. This gave fresh confidence to the party of Warwick ; they assured the king, that their only aim was to rescue him from the hands of a man who had assumed all power to himself. The king gave their address a favourable reception ; and the protector was sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and partizans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury. Mean while the council ordered six lords to act as governors to the king, two at a time officiating alternately. It was then, for the first time, that the earl of Warwick's ambition began to appear in full splendor ; he set himself forward as the principal promoter of the protector's ruin, and assumed the reins of government.

It was now supposed that Somerset's fate was fixed. The chief article of which he was accused, was his usurpation of the government. \* For which a bill of attainder  
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\* A. D. 1550.

was preferred against him in the house of lords. He had confessed the charge before the members of the council: and this confession, which he signed with his own hand, was read at the bar of the house; in consequence of which he was deprived of all his offices and goods, together with a great part of his estate, which was forfeited to the crown. But this fine was soon after remitted by the king; he once more contrary to the expectation of all, recovered his liberty, and not long after, he was even re-admitted into the council.

The catholics were extremely elevated at the protector's fall; and entertained hopes of a revolution in their favour. But they were mistaken in their opinion of Warwick; ambition was his only principle; and to that he resolved to sacrifice all others. He soon permitted Gardiner to undergo the penalties prescribed against disobedience. Many of the prelates, and he among the rest, though they made some compliances, were still addicted to their ancient communion. A resolution was therefore taken to deprive them of their fees; and it was thought proper to begin with him. † The council sent him several articles to subscribe, among which was one, acknowledging the justice of his confinement. He was likewise to own, that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing holidays was a part of the prerogative; and that the Common Prayer Book was a godly and commendable form. Gardiner was willing to put his hand to

† A. D. 1552.

to all the articles, except that by which he accused himself, which he refused to do, justly perceiving that their aim was either to ruin or dishonour him. So he was deprived of his bishopric, committed to close custody; his books and papers were seized; all company was denied him; and he was not even permitted the use of pen and ink. This severity, in some measure, countenanced those which this prelate retaliated when he came into power.

But the rapacious courtiers, never to be satisfied, and giving their violence an air of zeal, deprived, in the same manner, Day, bishop of Chichester, Heathe of Worcester, and Voisy of Exeter. The bishops of Landaff, Salisbury, and Coventry came off, by sacrificing the most considerable share of their revenues. And not only the revenues of the church, but the libraries also, underwent a dreadful scrutiny. The libraries of Westminster and Oxford were ordered to be purged of the Romish missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes; in which search great devastation was made even in useful literature. Many volumes clasped in silver, were destroyed for the sake of their rich bindings; many of geometry and astronomy were supposed to be magical, and met no mercy. The university, unable to stop the fury of these barbarians, silently looked on, and trembled for its own security.

Warwick was willing to indulge the nobility with these humiliations of the church; and perceiving that the king was extremely attached to the reformation, he supposed he could not make his court better than by a seeming

ing zeal in the cause. But he was still stedfastly bent on enlarging his own power; and as the last earl of Northumberland died without issue or heirs, Warwick procured for himself a grant of his ample possessions, and obtained the title also of the duke of Northumberland. The duke of Somerset was now the only person he wished to have entirely removed; for fallen as he was, he still preserved a share of popularity. And he was not always upon his guard against the arts of Northumberland; but could not now and then help invectives, which were quickly carried to his enemy. He soon found the fatal effects of his resentment. He was, by Northumberland's command, arrested with many more, and was, with his wife the dutchess, thrown into prison. He was soon after brought to a trial before the marquis of Winchester, who sat as high-steward, with twenty-seven peers more, including Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, who were at once his judges and accusers. He was accused with an intention to secure the person of the king, to re-assume the administration of affairs, and assassinate the duke of Northumberland. Of the first part of the charge, he was acquitted; but he was found guilty of conspiring the death of a privy-counsellor, which crime had been made felony in the reign of Henry the seventh; and for this he was condemned to be hanged. The populace seeing him re-conveyed to the Tower without the ax, which was no longer carried before him, imagined that he had been entirely acquitted; and in repeated shouts and acclamations manifested their

their joy; but this was suddenly damped, when they were better informed of his doom. Care in the mean time had been taken to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends. \* At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he appeared, without the least emotion, in the midst of a vast concourse of the populace, by whom he was beloved. He spoke to them with great composure, protesting that he had always promoted the service of his king, and the interests of true religion, to the best of his power. The people attested their belief of what he said, by crying out, "It is most true." An universal tumult was beginning to take place; but Somerset desiring them to be still, and not to interrupt his last meditations, but to join with him in prayer, laid down his head, and submitted to the stroke of the executioner. Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Miles Partridge, were hanged; and Sir Michael Stanhope, with Sir Thomas Arundel, were beheaded as his accomplices.

Nothing could have been more unpopular than the destroying Somerset, who, though many actions of his life were exceptionable, yet still consulted the good of the people. The house of commons was particularly attached to him; and of this Northumberland was very sensible. He therefore resolved to dissolve that parliament, and call another that would be more obsequious to his will. The members returned, fully answered Northumberland's

\* A. D. 1552. || A. D. 1553.

berland's expectations. He had long aimed at the first authority; and the infirm state of the king's health opened the prospect to it. He represented to that young prince that his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, who were appointed by Henry's will to succeed in failure of direct heirs to the crown, had been both declared illegitimate by parliament; that the queen of Scots, his aunt, stood excluded by the king's will, that as the three princesses were thus legally excluded, the succession naturally devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, whose next heir was the lady Jane Gray, a lady every way accomplished for government, as well by the charms of her person, as the virtues and acquirements of her mind. The king, who had long submitted to all the views of this designing minister, agreed to have the succession submitted to council, where Northumberland hoped to procure an easy concurrence.

In the mean time, as the king's health declined, the minister laboured to strengthen his own interests. His first aim was to secure the interests of the marquis of Dorset, father to Lady Jane Gray, by procuring for him the title of duke of Suffolk, which was lately become extinct. Having thus obliged this nobleman, he then proposed a match between his fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley, and the lady Jane. Still bent on spreading his interests as widely as possible, he married his own daughter to lord Hastings; and had these marriages solemnized with all possible pomp. Mean while, Edward continued to languish; and  
several

several symptoms of a consumption appeared. It was hoped, however, that his youth and temperance might get the better of his disorders; and from their love the people were unwilling to think him in danger. It had been remarked indeed by some, that his health was visibly seen to decline, from the time that the Dudleys were brought about his person. The character of Northumberland might have justly given some colour to suspicion; and his removing all, except his own emissaries, from about the king, still farther increased the distrusts of the people. Northumberland, however, was assiduous in his attendance upon the king, and professed the most anxious concern for his safety; but still drove forward his darling scheme of transferring the succession to his own daughter-in-law. The judges who were appointed to draw up the king's letters patent for that purpose warmly objected to the measure. They said, that the form was invalid, and would not only subject the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason. Northumberland could not brook their demurs; he threatened them with the dread of his authority; he called one of them a traitor, and said, that he would fight in his shirt with any man on so just a cause, as that of the lady Jane's succession. A method was therefore found out of screening the judges from danger, by granting them the king's pardon for what they should draw up; and at length, after much deliberation, and some refusals, the patent for changing the succession was completed. Mary and Elizabeth was set aside; and the crown was settled on the heirs  
of

of the dutchess of Suffolk; for the dutchess herself was content to forego her claim.

Northumberland having thus far succeeded, thought physicians were no longer serviceable to the king; they were dismissed by his advice; and Edward was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who very confidently undertook his cure. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased; he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid, and many symptoms appeared of approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, greatly regretted by all; as his early virtues gave a prospect of the continuance of an happy reign. † His understanding too, was amazing. He was said to understand the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages. He was versed in logic, music, natural philosophy, and theology. Cardan, the extraordinary scholar, happening to pay a visit to the English court, was so astonished at his early progress, that he extols him as prodigy of nature. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a mortal, his gravity such as became a King: He was of a beautiful aspect: his eyes seemed to have a starry lustre and liveliness in them. He knew all the harbours in his kingdom, with the depth of water, and entrance into them. He took notice of almost every thing which he heard, in greek characters, which he afterwards copied fair into his journal. Such a prodigy of understanding and virtue, was taken unfulfilled to the GOD whom he loved.

CHAP.

‡ July 6. A. D. 1553.





## C H A P. XI.

## M A R Y.

**H**ENRY the Eighth, in his will, settled the succession merely according to his caprice. Edward his son was the first nominated to succeed him; then Mary, his eldest daughter, by Catharine of Spain; but with a special mark of condescension, by which he would intimate her illegitimacy. The next that followed was Elizabeth, his daughter by Anne Boleyn, with the same marks, intimating her illegitimacy also. After his own children, his sister's children were mentioned; his younger sister the dutchess of Suffolk's issue were preferred before those of their elder sister the queen of Scotland, which preference was thought by all to be neither founded in justice, nor supported by reason. This will was set aside by the intrigues of Northumberland, by whose advice a will was made, as we have seen, in favour of lady Jane Gray, the dutchess of Suffolk's daughter, in prejudice of all other claimants.

Mary

Mary was strongly bigotted to the popish superstitions, having been bred up among church-men. As she had lived in continual restraint, she was reserved and gloomy. Her zeal had rendered her furious; and she was blindly attached to her religious opinions, and to the popish clergy. On the other hand, Jane Gray was strongly attached to the reformers; and though yet but sixteen, her judgment had attained to such a degree of maturity, as few have been found to possess. All historians agree that the solidity of her understanding, improved by continual application, rendered her the wonder of her age. Ascham, tutor to Elizabeth, informs us, that coming once to wait upon lady Jane at her father's house in Leicestershire, he found her reading Plato's works in Greek, while all the rest of the family were hunting in the Park. Upon his testifying his surprize, she assured him that Plato was an higher amusement to her than the most studied refinements of sensual pleasure; and she, in fact, seemed born for wisdom and virtue, not for ambition.

Such were the present rivals for power; but lady Jane had the start of her antagonist. Northumberland now resolving to secure the succession, carefully concealed the death of Edward, in hope of securing the person of Mary, who, by an order of council, had been required to attend her brother during his illness; but being informed of his death, she immediately prepared to assert her pretensions to the crown. This crafty minister therefore, finding that farther dissimulation was needless,  
went

went to Sion-house, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility, to salute lady Jane Gray, who resided there. Jane was ignorant of all these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprize that she received intelligence of them. She shed a flood of tears, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that she yielded to the entreaties of Northumberland, and her father. At length, however, they prevailed, and next day conveyed her to the Tower, where it was then usual for the kings of England to pass some days after their accession. There the members of the council attended her; and were in some measure made prisoners by Northumberland. Orders were given also for proclaiming her throughout the kingdom; but these were but very remissly obeyed. When she was proclaimed in the city, the people heard it without any signs of pleasure, and some even expressed their scorn.

In the mean time Mary, who had retired to Kenning-Hall in Norfolk, sent letters to all the great towns and nobility in the kingdom, commanding them to proclaim her without delay. She then retired to Framlingham-Castle in Suffolk, that she might be near the sea, in case of failure. But she soon found her affairs wear a promising aspect. The men of Suffolk came to pay her their homage; and being assured by her, that she would defend the laws and the religion of her predecessor, they enlisted themselves in her cause with alacrity. The people of Norfolk soon after came in; the earls of Bath, and Suffex, the  
eldest

eldest sons of lord Wharton, and lord Mordaunt joined her; and lord Hastings, with four thousand men, which were raised to oppose her, revolted to her side. Even a fleet that had been sent to lie off the coast of Suffolk to prevent her escaping, engaged in her service; and now, Northumberland saw the deplorable end of all his schemes.

This minister, with the consent of the council, had assembled some troops at Newmarket, had set on foot new levies in London, and appointed the duke of Suffolk general of the army, that he might himself continue with the council. But he was turned from this by considering how unfit Suffolk was to head the army; so that he was obliged himself to take upon him the command. It was now, therefore, that the council being free from his influence, began to declare against him. Arundel led the opposition, by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland. The mayor and aldermen, who were sent for, readily came into the same measures; the people expressed their approbation by shouts and applauses; and even Suffolk himself, finding all resistance fruitless, threw open the gates of the Tower, and joined in the general cry. Mary in a little time found herself at the head of forty thousand men; while the few who attended Northumberland, continued irresolute; and he even feared to lead them to the encounter.

Lady Jane, finding, all was lost, resigned her royalty which she had held but ten days, with marks of real satisfaction, and retired

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with her mother to their own habitation. Northumberland, who found his affairs desperate, attempted to quit the kingdom; but he was prevented by the band of pensioner guards, who informed him that he must stay to justify their conduct, in being led out against their lawful sovereign. His only resource now, was to recommend himself to Mary, by protestations of zeal in her service. He repaired the market-place in Cambridge, and proclaimed her queen of England, throwing up his cap in token of joy. But he reaped no advantage from this; he was the next day arrested by the earl of Arundel, at whose feet he fell upon his knees, begging protection. His three sons, his brother, and some more of his followers were arrested with him, and committed to the Tower of London. Soon after, the lady Jane Gray, the duke of Suffolk her father, and lord Guilford Dudley her husband, were made prisoners by order of the queen, whose authority was now confirmed by all.

Northumberland was the first who suffered, and was the person who deserved punishment the most. At his execution, he owned himself a papist; and exhorted the people to return to the catholic faith. Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, two infamous tools of his power, suffered with him. Sentence was pronounced against lady Jane, and lord Guilford, but the youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded powerfully in their favour.

Mary

Mary now entered London, and saw herself joyfully proclaimed, and peaceably settled on the throne. This was the crisis of British happiness; a queen whose right was the most equitable, the house of commons re-instated in its ancient authority, the pride of the clergy humbled, peace abroad, and unanimity at home. This was the flattering prospect of Mary's accession, but this pleasing phantom soon vanished. Mary was morose, and a bigot; she was resolved to give back their former power to the clergy; and thus once more to involve the kingdom in all the horrors it had just emerged from. The queen had promised the men of Suffolk, who first declared in her favour, that she would suffer religion to remain as she found it. This promise, however, she never intended to perform; she had determined on bringing the people to her own sentiments; and her extreme ignorance rendered her incapable of doubting her own belief, or of granting indulgence to the doubts of others. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, Day, Heath, and Vesey, were re-instated in their sees. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by her prerogative, all preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular licence; which she granted only to those of her own persuasion.

The first steps that caused an alarm among the protestants, was the severe treatment of Cranmer, whose moderation, integrity, and virtues had made him dear even to most of the catholics. A report being spread, that

this prelate, in order to make his court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, he drew up a declaration, in which he cleared himself of the aspersion. On the publication of this paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and tried for concurring with the rest of the council, to set aside the rightful sovereign. Sentence of high treason was, therefore, pronounced against him; but he was reserved for a more dreadful punishment. Shortly after, Peter Martyr, a German reformer, who had in the late reign been invited over to England, seeing how things were likely to go, desired leave to return to his native country. But the zeal of the catholics, though he had escaped, was wreaked upon the body of his wife, which had been interred some years before at Oxford. It was dug up by public order, and buried in a dunghill. The bones also of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge. The greater part of the foreign protestants, took early precautions to leave the kingdom; and many of the arts and manufactures, which they successfully advanced fled with them. Nor were their fears without foundation; a parliament, which the queen called soon after, concurred in all her measures; they at one blow repealed all the statutes with regard to religion, which had passed during the reign of her predecessor: so that the national religion was again placed on the same footing, on which it stood at the death of Henry the eighth.

Meantime

Meantime the queen's ministers were willing to strengthen her power by a catholic alliance. The person they thought of, was Philip, prince of Spain, and son of the celebrated Charles the fifth. † The articles of marriage were drawn as favourably as possible to the interests and honour of England; and this in some measure stilled the clamours that had already been begun against it. It was agreed, that though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that her issue should inherit, together with England, Burgundy, and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by a former marriage, should die, the queen's issue should then enjoy all the dominions possessed by the king. Such was the treaty of marriage, from which politicians foresaw great changes in the system of Europe; but which in the end came to nothing, by the queen's having no issue.

The people, however, loudly murmured against it, and a flame of discontent was kindled over the whole nation. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Roman catholic, at the head of four thousand insurgents, marched from Kent to Hyde Park, publishing, as he went forward, a declaration against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match. But as he marched forward through the city of London, care was taken to block up the way behind him by ditches and chains thrown across,

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and

† A. D. 1554.



and guards placed at all the avenues to prevent his return. So that he soon found he could neither go forward, nor yet make good his retreat. And he now perceived that the citizens would not join him; so losing all courage he surrendered at discretion.

The duke of Suffolk had joined in a confederacy with Sir Peter Carew, to make an insurrection in the counties of Kent, Warwick, and Leiceſter. His confederate roſe in arms before the day appointed; Suffolk endeavoured to excite his dependants; but was ſo cloſely purſued by the earl of Huntingdon, that he was obliged to diſperſe his followers; and being diſcovered in his retreat was led priſoner to London, where, together with Wyatt, and ſeventy perſons more, he ſuffered by the hand of the executioner.

But what excited the compaſſion of the people moſt, was the execution of lady Jane Gray, and her husband lord Guilford Dudley, who were involved in the puniſhment, tho' not in the guilt, of this inſurrection. Two days after Wyatt was apprehended, lady Jane and her husband were ordered to prepare for death. Lady Jane, who had long before ſeen the threatened blow, was no way ſurprized at the meſſage; and being informed that ſhe had three days to prepare, ſhe ſeemed diſpleaſed at ſo long a delay. On the day of her execution, her husband deſired permiſſion to ſee her; but this ſhe reſuſed, as ſhe knew the parting would be too tender for her fortitude to withſtand. The place at firſt deſigned for their execution was without the Tower; but their

their youth, beauty, and innocence being likely to raise an insurrection among the people, orders were given that they should be executed within the verge of the Tower. Lord Dudley was the first that suffered; and while the lady Jane was conducting to the place of execution, the officers of the Tower met her, bearing along the headless body of her husband streaming with blood, in order to be interred in the Tower-chapel. She looked on the corpse for some time without any emotion; and then with a sigh, desired them to proceed. John Gage, constable of the Tower, as he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She gave him her tablets, where she had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body, one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in English, importing, that she hoped God and posterity would do him and their cause justice. On the Scaffold she made a speech, in which she alledged that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy; that she had less erred through ambition than filial obedience: that she willingly accepted death as the only atonement she could make to the injured state; and was ready by her punishment to shew, that innocence is no plea in excuse for deeds that tend to injure the community. After speaking to this effect, she caused herself to be disrobed by her women, and with a steady serene countenance submitted to the executioner.

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The queen being now freed from apprehensions of an insurrection, assembled a parliament, to give countenance to her severities. The nobles, whose only religion was that of the prince, were easily gained over; and the house of commons had long been passive under all the variations of regal caprice. But there was a new enemy started up against the reformers in the person of the king, who, though he took all possible care to conceal his aversion, yet secretly inflamed all her proceedings. Philip had for some time been come over; and had used every endeavour to increase the power allowed him by parliament, but without effect. The queen, indeed, who loved him with a foolish fondness, endeavoured to please him by every concession she could make or procure; and finding herself incapable of satisfying his ambition, was not remiss in concurring with his zeal; so that heretics began to be persecuted with inquisitorial severity. The old sanguinary laws were now revived, which had been rejected by a former parliament. Orders were given that the bishops and priests who had married should be ejected, that the mass should be restored, and the pope's authority established, and the church put upon the same foundation as before the commencement of the reformation. Only as the gentry and nobles had already divided the churchlands among them, it was thought impossible to make a restoration of these.

At the head of those who drove such measures forward were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal Pole, who was now  
returned

returned from Italy. Pole, who was nearly allied by birth to the royal family, had always conscientiously adhered to the catholic religion, and had incurred Henry's displeasure, not only by refusing his assent to his measures, but by writing against him. It was for this adherence that he was cherished by the pope, and now sent over to England as legate from the holy see. Gardiner was a man of a very different character; his chief aim was to please the reigning prince, and he had shewn already many instances of his prudent conformity. He now perceived that the king and queen were for rigorous measures; and he knew that it would be the best means of paying his court to them, even to out-go them in severity. Pole, who had never varied in his principles, declared in favour of toleration; Gardiner, who had often changed, was for punishing those changes in others with the utmost rigour. However, he was too prudent to appear at the head of a persecution in person; he therefore consigned that office to Bonner, bishop of London, a cruel, brutal, and ignorant man.

\* This bloody scene began by the martyrdom of Hooper bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's. They were examined by commissioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at the head of them. It was expected by their recantation that they would bring those opinions into disrepute which they had so long inculcated; but the persecutors were deceived: they both continued stedfast in their belief, and were accordingly

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\* A. D. 1555.

dingly condemned to be burnt, Rogers in Smithfield, and Hooper at Gloucester. Rogers, beside the care of his own preservation, lay under very powerful temptations to save his life, for he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; but nothing could move his resolution. The jailors waked him from a sound sleep upon the approach of the hour appointed for his execution. He desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that being a priest, he could have no wife. When the faggots were placed around him, he seemed no way daunted; but cried out, "I resign my life with joy in testimony of the doctrine of Jesus." When Hooper was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him with the queen's pardon upon it, in case he should recant; but he ordered it to be removed, and prepared cheerfully to suffer his sentence, which was executed in its full severity. The fire, either from malice or neglect, had not been sufficiently kindled; so that his legs and thighs were first burned, and one of his hands dropped off, while with the other he continued to beat his breast. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy.

Sanders and Taylor, two other clergymen, whose zeal had been distinguished in carrying on the reformation, were the next that suffered. Taylor was put into a pitch-barrel; and before the fire was kindled, a faggot from an unknown hand was thrown at his head, which made it stream with blood. Still, however, he continued undaunted, singing the thirty-first

first psalm in English, which one of the spectators observing, struck him a blow on the side of the head, and commanded him to pray in Latin. Taylor continued a few minutes silent with his eyes stedfastly fixed upward, when one of the guards, either through impatience or compassion, struck him down with his halbert, and put an end to his torments.

The death of these only served to increase the savage appetite of the popish bishops and monks, for fresh slaughter. Bonner, bloated at once with rage and Luxury, let loose his vengeance without restraint; and seemed to take pleasure in the pains of the unhappy sufferers; while the queen, by her letters, exhorted him to pursue the pious work without pity or interruption. Soon after, in obedience to her commands, Ridley, bishop of London; and the venerable Latimer, bishop of Worcester, were condemned together, at Oxford. Ridley had been one of the ablest champions for the reformation; his piety, learning and solidity of judgment, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The night before his execution, he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to see him; and when he beheld them melted into tears, he himself appeared quite unmoved, inwardly supported and comforted in that hour of agony. When he was brought to the stake near Baliol College, he found his old friend Latimer there before him. Of all the prelates of that age, Latimer was the most remarkable for his unaffected piety, and the simplicity of his manners. He had never

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learned

learned to flatter in courts; and his open rebuke was dreaded by all the great. His sermons, which remain to this day, shew that he had much learning, and much wit; and there is an air of sincerity running through them, not to be found eliewhere. When Ridley began to comfort his ancient friend, Latimer, on his part, was as ready to return the kind office. "Be of good cheer, brother, cried he, we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." A furious bigot ascended to preach to them and the people, while the fire was preparing; and Ridley gave a most serious attention to his discourse. No way distracted by the preparations about him, he heard him to the last; and then told him, that he was ready to answer all that he had preached upon, if he were permitted a short indulgence; but this was refused him. At length fire was set to the pile: Latimer was soon out of pain, but Ridley continued to suffer much longer, his legs being consumed before the fire reached his vitals. Gardiner would not dine on the day they suffered, till he read the news of their death. The same evening he was seized with a suppression of urine, which in less than a week brought him to his grave.

One Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the stake, had agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture supportable, he would make them a signal for that purpose in the  
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midst of the flames. When he seemed near expiring, by stretching out his arms, he gave his friends the signal that the pain was not too great to be borne. This example, with many others of the like constancy, encouraged multitudes to suffer.

Women were persecuted with as much severity as men. A woman in Guernsey, condemned for heresy, was delivered of a child in the midst of the flames. Some of the Spectators ran to snatch the infant from danger; but the magistrate, who was a papist, ordered "the young heretic to be flung in again;" and there it was consumed with the mother.

\* Cranmer's death followed soon after, and struck the whole nation with horror. This prelate, whom we have seen acting so conspicuous a part in the reformation during the two preceding reigns, had been long detained a prisoner for obstructing the queen's succession to the crown. It was now resolved to bring him to punishment; and to give it all its malignity, the queen ordered that he should be punished for heresy, rather than for treason. He was accordingly cited by the pope, to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was kept a prisoner at Oxford, yet upon his not appearing he was condemned as contumacious. But his enemies were not satisfied with his tortures, without adding to them the poignancy of self-accusation. Persons were, therefore, employed to tempt him by flattery and insinuation; by giving him hopes of once more being received into favour, to sign a  
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\* A. D. 1556.



recantation, which was so worded, as to imply very little. His love of life prevailed. In an unguarded moment he was induced to sign this paper : and by degrees, to sign five other papers, each a little stronger than the other. The last explicitly acknowledged the papal supremacy and the real presence. And now his enemies, as we are told of the devil, after having rendered him wretched, resolved to destroy him. But it was determined that he should first make a recantation in the church before the people. It is a doubt, whether he then knew any thing of his intended execution. Being placed in a conspicuous part of the church, a sermon was preached by Cole, provost of Eton, in which he magnified Cranmer's conversion as the immediate work of heaven itself. He assured the archbishop, that nothing could have been so pleasing to God, the queen, or the people ; he comforted him, that in case it was thought fit he should suffer, numberless masses should be said for his soul ; and that his own confession of his faith would still more secure his soul from the pains of purgatory. During this whole rhapsody, Cranmer expressed the utmost agony, anxiety, and internal agitation ; he lifted up his eyes to heaven, he shed a torrent of tears, and groaned with unutterable anguish. He then began a prayer, filled with the most pathetic expressions of horror and remorse : and afterwards said, he he was well apprized of his duty to his sovereign ; but that a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to declare that he had signed papers contrary to his conscience : that he took this opportunity  
of

of atoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation; he was willing, he said, to seal with his blood that doctrine, which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven: and that as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it should undergo the first punishment. The assembly, consisting chiefly of papists, who hoped to triumph in the last words of such a convert, were equally confounded and incensed at this declaration. They called aloud to him to leave off; and led him forward amidst the insults and reproaches of his audience, to the stake at which Latimer and Ridley had suffered. He was resolved to triumph over their insults by his constancy and fortitude; and the fire beginning to be kindled round him, he stretched forth his right hand, and held it in the flames till it was consumed, while he frequently cried out, in the midst of his sufferings, "That unworthy hand;" at the same time exhibiting no appearance of pain or disorder. When the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his tortures; his mind being occupied wholly with the hopes of a future reward. Such was the end of Thomas Cranmer, who, with a small alloy of human weakness, possessed all the candor, simplicity, meekness and benevolence of a primitive christian.

\* A proclamation now issued against books of heresy, treason, and sedition declared, that whosoever having such books in his possession did not burn them without reading, should be esteemed rebels, and suffer accordingly.

This

\* A. D. 1557.

This, as might be expected, was attended with bloody effects, whole crowds were executed, till at last the very magistrates refused to lend their assistance. It was computed, that during this persecution, two hundred and seventy-seven persons suffered by fire, besides those punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, fifty-five women, and four children.

The temporal affairs of the kingdom did not seem to be more successful. From Philip's first arrival in England the queen's pregnancy was talked of; and her own extreme desire that it should be true, induced her to favour the report. When Pole, the pope's legate, was first introduced to her, she fancied the child stirred in her womb; and this her flatterers compared to the leaping of John the Baptist in his mother's belly, at the salutation of the Virgin. The catholics were confident that she was pregnant; they were confident that this child should be a son; they were even confident that heaven would render him beautiful, vigorous and witty. But it soon turned out that all their confidence was ill founded: for the queen's supposed pregnancy was only the beginning of a dropy.

A war had just been commenced between Spain and France; and Philip, (who some time before had retired to Flanders) took this occasion to come over to England, declared, that if he were not seconded by England at this crisis, he would never see the country  
more

more. This declaration greatly heightened the queen's zeal for promoting his interests; and though she was warmly opposed by cardinal Pole, and her council, yet, by threatening them, she at last succeeded. War was declared against France, and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom with vigour. An army of ten thousand men was raised, and sent over into Flanders.

A battle gained by the Spaniards at St. Quintin seemed to promise great success to the allied armies; but soon an action, performed by the duke of Guise in the midst of winter, turned the scale in favour of France, and affected, if not the interests, at least the honour of England in the tenderest point. Calais had now for above two hundred years been in possession of the English; it had been the chief market for wool, and other British commodities; it had been strongly fortified at different times, and was then deemed impregnable, But all the fortifications, which were raised before gunpowder was found out, were ill able to resist the attacks of a regular battery from cannon; and they only continued to enjoy an ancient reputation for strength, which they were very ill able to maintain. Coligny, the French general, had remarked to the duke of Guise, that as the town of Calais was surrounded by marshes, which during winter were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam Bridge; the English were, of late, accustomed, to save expence, to dis-

miss

miss a great part of the garrison at the approach of winter, and recall them in spring. † The duke of Guise upon this, made a sudden and unexpected march towards Calais, and assaulted the castle of St. Agatha. The garrison was soon obliged to retreat to their other castle of Newnam Bridge, and shortly after compelled to quit that post, and take shelter in the city. Mean while a small fleet was sent to block up the entrance of the harbour; and thus Calais was invested by land and sea. The governor, lord Wentworth, made a brave defence; but his garrison being very weak, they were unable to resist an assault given by the French, who made a lodgment in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost two hundred men in the attack, he was obliged to capitulate; so that in less than eight days, the duke of Guise recovered a city that had been in possession of the English since the time of Edward the third, and which he had spent eleven months in besieging. This loss filled the whole kingdom with murmurs, and the queen with despair; she was heard to say, that when dead the name of Calais would be found engraven on her heart.

These complicated evils, a murmuring people, an increasing heresy, a disdainful husband, and an unsuccessful war, made dreadful depredations on Mary's constitution. She began to appear consumptive, and this rendered her mind still more morose. The people now began to turn their thoughts on her successor; and

† A. D. 1558.

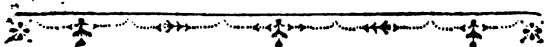
and the princess Elizabeth came into greater consideration than before. During this whole reign, the nation was in continual apprehensions with regard not only to the succession, but the life of this princess. The violent hatred of the queen broke out on every occasion; while Elizabeth, conscious of her danger, pass her time wholly in reading and study, entirely detached from business. Proposals of marriage had been made to her by the Swedish ambassador, in his master's name; but she referred him to the queen, who leaving it to her own choice, she had the magnanimity to reserve herself for better fortune. Nor was she less prudent in concealing her sentiments of religion, and in eluding all questions relative to that dangerous subject. She was obnoxious to Mary for two reasons; as she was next heir to the throne, it was feared she might aspire to it during her sister's life-time; but it was still more reasonably apprehended that she would, if she came to the crown, make an innovation in religion. The bishops who had shed such a deluge of blood, foresaw this; and often told Mary that her destroying meaner heretics was of no advantage, while the great one was suffered to remain. Mary saw the cogency of their arguments, confined her sister with proper guards, and only waited for some fresh insurrection, or some favourable pretext, to destroy her. Her own death prevented the perpetration of her meditated cruelty,

Mary had been long in a declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropsy for

for a pregnancy, she made use of an improper regimen, which had increased the disorder. Every reflection now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's succession, whom she hated, and, above all, her anxiety for the loss of her husband, who never intended to return; all these preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, whose gentleness we have had occasion to mention before, survived her but sixteen hours. She was buried in Henry the seventh's chapel, according to the rites of the church of Rome.

She was not only an excessive bigot, but of a sour, cruel and vindictive temper. Nor did she ever shew any great capacity in government; so that her understanding seems to have been little better than her temper.

C H A P.



## C H A P. XII.

**I** Believe it will not be unacceptable to the serious reader, to subjoin a more particular account of some of those excellent men, who during this unhappy reign, sealed the truth with their blood.

## J O H N H O O P E R

Was a student at Oxford in the most dangerous part of king Henry's reign. Some of his superiors there discovered his inclinations to purer doctrine, whereupon he was forced to withdraw. After several removes, he went to Zurich, and entered into a close friendship with Bullinger. Hearing how things went under king Edward, (tho, as it seems, suspecting the continuance of this sun-shine) he resolved to return. Taking his leave of Bullinger, he told him he would surely write to him; "but (says he) the last news of all " I shall not be able to write, for where I " shall take most pains, there you shall hear " that I am burned to ashes." When he came to London, he preached once and commonly twice every day; and tho' he rebuked vice very sharply, yet he had always a thronged audience.

Some-



Some time after, he was invited to the bishoprick, first of Gloucester, then of Worcester too. He was not against the largest sphere of labour: but they had much ado to invest him with the dignity. Being a lover of plainness, he scrupled (perhaps more than he needed) to use the episcopal robes. However the dispute concerning them, was carried rather too high between him and bishop Ridley. His behaviour in his dioceses was wonderful. No husbandman could be more busy in his tillage, than he was in going about the towns and villages preaching to the people. What time he had spare from that, was spent either in study and prayer; or hearing public causes: in which he shewed himself a skilful and upright judge, and made even the rich submit to discipline. When you came into his palace, you would think you entered into some church or temple; in every corner was the odour of virtue, good example, and reading the holy scriptures. There was no courtly rioting or idleness to be seen, no pomp at all, no vain discourse. In his hall you might find every day a number of poor people, sitting down to a plentiful table, having been first instructed by him in religion. He laid up nothing of his revenue.

Upon queen Mary's accession, Hooper was soon sent for to London. Not approving of flight, he went: and being fixed in his principles, he was committed to the Fleet; and at last sentenced to be burnt (to his particular joy) at Gloucester. He leapt on his horse with unusual alacrity, the morning he was to be

be conducted to the place. The guard, when they baited at Cirencester, purposely carried him to a woman's house, who was a virulent enemy to him and the truth. But when she saw his resolution to die for that truth, her heart relented, and she shewed him all possible friendship. When he came to his lodging at Gloucester, (the guard being in the room with him) he took one very easy but short sleep, and spent the rest of the night in prayer. Next day a knight, whom he had reclaimed from a debauched life, came to see him, thanking God that ever he knew him; but Hooper perceiving him still to waver with the times, shed tears. The like tenderness he shewed (but they were tears of joy) to a poor blind boy, who could not rest till the guards let him in to him. Hooper finding upon examination, that for the sake of Christ he had lately been in prison, looked earnestly at him, and said, "Ah poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward light, for what reason he best knoweth; but he hath given thee another sight much more precious, for he hath endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith."

As he went to the stake, observing a vast concourse of people, he said, "Alas! why be these people come together? peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past; but alas, speech is prohibited me!" Yet beholding them all the way, (while they mourned bitterly for him) he would sometimes lift up his eyes toward heaven, and look very chearfully upon such

as

as he knew. Indeed he was never known, during the whole time of his being amongst them, to look with so chearful a countenance as he did then. At the place he kneeled down and prayed softly, beginning with these words; " Lord, I am Hell, but Thou art Heaven: " I am a sink of sin, but Thou art a gracious " and merciful Redeemer. Have mercy " therefore upon me most miserable offend- " er. Thou art ascended into heaven; re- " ceive me, Hell, to be partaker of thy joys, " where Thou sittest in equal glory with thy " Father."

When they went to fasten him, (which he told them, they needed not) it appeared that his body was much swelled, by the jailor's hard treatment of him: who had also been very rigid in other respects; as in searching for papers; though none could be found, but a little remembrance of good people's names, that had given him alms.

Hooper was a pensive man, whom deep thought had made humble and steady. The only things in his life that could be suspected of pride, were, his difficult submitting to authority in the affair of the vestments, and his cold forbidding behaviour sometimes, proceeded from that which is the truest humility, a quick fear of God upon his mind; and such a strong sight of his own sinfulness; as had the modelling of him both within and without. Our author was going to blame him, as too reserved; but he presently corrects himself by observing, " That as every man hath his peculiar gift " wrought in him by nature, so this disposi- " tion of fatherly gravity in this man was not

“ not excessive, neither did he bear that per-  
“ sonage that was in him, without great con-  
“ sideration.” The bravery of his resoluti-  
ons made no glitter before, but shewed itself  
in the time of trial. He was in short, a man  
of great decency, circumspection, and, at the  
same time, activity : one that must be reveren-  
ced, and yet might be loved.

## R O W L A N D T A Y L O R.

The town of Hadley in Suffolk, was one  
of the first in England that received the word  
of God, at the preaching of Bilney. Many  
of the people were well versed in the scrip-  
ture, and able to give a good account of their  
faith. Tho' it was a trading place, industry  
did not hinder a general good order, and spi-  
rit of piety. Their children and servants  
they trained up in the same paths. Here it  
was that Rowland Taylor, Doctor of Laws,  
and an excellent divine, was appointed pastor.  
He gave himself up to his charge, instructing  
them at all opportunities, and most of all by  
the sincere christian life that he led. For he  
was humble and meek as a child, and void of  
all rancour and resentment. The poorest  
might come to him boldly, as to a parent ;  
and yet the richest must expect to hear from  
him, if they did amiss, in such grave and  
decent reproofs as he did not want courage to  
give. But what he was most remarkable for,  
was his tenderness and bounty to all that were  
in distress, and the sweet harmony and chris-  
tian affection between him and his own family.

One morning (after queen Mary came in) he heard the bells ring, and thinking there was some duty to be done, went to church. A popish priest was got there, saying mass. Dr. Taylor bid him desist: but the priest knew who would support him, and in a few days Taylor was cited to London by bishop Gardiner. His friends would not have had him go; but he replied. "I am old, and I shall never be able to do God so good service, as I may do now: for what christian man would not gladly die against the kingdom of antichrist?" When the bishop thought to terrify him, the martyr put him in mind of a God above, whom he ought to fear, for having deserted Christ and his word. The chief thing objected to him was his being married: but he stoutly defended himself both from scripture and antiquity. He went joyfully to prison, and spent his time there in praying, writing, and admonishing all about him.

When the bishop laid his curse upon him, he said, "Tho' you do curse me, yet God doth bless me. I pray God, if it be his will, forgive you." The night before he was carried to Hadley to be burnt, his wife having a suspicion of it, waited for him in a church-porch near Aldgate, with her daughter and an orphan whom they had brought up. As he went by in the dark, they called to him, and he had leave to stop and say the Lord's prayer with them. A little further on his journey his man met him with his son Thomas; whom he took up before him on the horse,

horse, and prayed over him, putting his own hat on his head. He made the sheriff weep, partly by exhorting him to repent, partly with the thoughts that so worthy a man was determined to die. Once he had some hopes, when Taylor said these words, "I perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive many in Hadley of their expectation." Being desired to explain himself, he said, "He meant the worms in the church-yard, where he thought to have laid his large carcase."

Having occasion to light within two miles of the town, he gave a skip and said, "I have not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my father's house." Before he came there, they put a hood over his face to hide him from the people. But that would not do. There presently met him a poor man with five small children, who kneeling down, cried aloud, "O dear Father Dr. Taylor, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my children."--- "There goes our good shepherd from us, (would others cry) Jesus Christ strengthen thee, the Holy Ghost comfort thee." Passing by the alms-houses, he enquired for such and such blind people, and gave them the remains of his prison-stock. When he came to the stake, he prayed silently, not being permitted to speak. One threw a faggot at him and broke his face; but he took it patiently, and never stirred till he expired.

Taylor was a man of acquired virtue, conscientious, and steady in his duty. Super-

ficial observers might be offended at some things in him; as facetiousness in his conversation. But as there is a degree of reserve which nurses virtue, so there is a farther degree which only nurses pride. Here was a solid piety, that needed no artifice. Here was all the uncommon vigor of a bold and strong soul, bearing the yoke of Christ, and doing his work only.

### JOHN BRADFORD,

Was entered at the temple, and became secretary to Sir John Harrington, treasurer of the king's buildings. But providence intended him for other things; so he went to Cambridge, where Bucer often encouraged him to attempt preaching, and bishop Ridley soon after ordained him. He laboured in the office three years at London and other places, to the great benefit of many: for he sharply reprov'd sin, sweetly preached Christ crucified, earnestly persuaded to a godly life. He did not sleep above four hours in the night; us'd no recreation, but the company of a friend; eat very little, and even in the midst of dinner would muse and shed tears. He was always either thinking or praying; tho' indeed they were both one thing in him; for he commonly studied upon his knees. He was liberal and free-hearted, and very gentle in his behaviour towards all persons great and small.

The occasion of his being apprehended under queen Mary was this. A bishop of their's preached a sermon at Paul's cross to recommend

mend popery. This so enraged the people, that the bishop was in danger of being killed; whereupon he desired Bradford, who stood behind him, to step in his place and speak to them. He no sooner appeared, but they cried out, "God save thy life, Bradford!" and were presently pacified. However, he walked with the bishop to a house, sheltering him all the way from the people. In the afternoon he preached himself at Bow-Church, and rebuked them severely for their tumultuous behaviour. These facts were imputed to him for seditious, and he was cast in prison. He turned the prison into a house of prayer, and many came daily to his lecture. For the jailor granted him what liberty he pleased, even to go out into town without any keeper. He often went the back way to Saunders in a neighbouring prison.

Two nights before his death, he had a dream concerning it, which made him get up early to prayer. He gave over now all care and study, and only coveted to be talking with Him, whom he had always studied to be withal. He discoursed often that day with his chamber-fellow of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the ripeness of sin at that time. In the afternoon he had notice, that preparations were made for his burning, and he must remove to another prison. He took off his cap and gave God thanks, and having disposed of his papers, he spent the evening with his friends in a most heavenly manner. He made a prayer of farewell, with an abundant power of the Spirit; and another on the



wedding-garment, when the shirt that he should burn in was brought him; and concluded with good advice to the servants of the house. All were exceedingly affected: but he turning to the wall, prayed earnestly that his words might not be spoken in vain." When he came into the court, all the prisoners, (thieves and other criminals whom he used to visit) bid him farewell, weeping.

It was whispered, that he should die by four o'clock in the morning, and a vast throng of people came together; but it was nine before he was brought, under a strong guard. He fell on his face, and prayed a few moments, and then arose and kissed the stake. Putting off his clothes, he begged his servant might have them, for he had nothing else to give him. Then he held up his hands and said, "O England, England, Repent thee of thy sins." Turning to a young man that suffered with him he said, "Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night." He added no more but this, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it."

Bradford wrote a great many letters during his confinement; in some of which he reminds the generality of protestants, of their indolent unfruitfulness under the gospel in king Edward's days; while in others he comforts the sincere under their present afflictions.

He was the darling of mankind; and as much qualified as any man, to attract the love of all. In all he said, or did, or wrote,  
there

there was that affectionate flow of sentiments, which of course commands people's hearts: and at the same time that strong demonstration of the noblest principles at bottom, which must satisfy the strictest and most spiritual judges. His heart was always warm to pursue, and upright to abstain, as the divine light shining upon his mind did every moment direct him. Who would have expected, a person so pure in his conversation, so perpetually on the stretch in doing good, should much perceive the corruption of his nature? Yet he did, and very feelingly lamented it. Who would have thought, that a man of a soft and gay complexion (to which only religion had added thoughtfulness) should have laid his resolutions deeper, and in a fuller discernment of things, than persons naturally severe and contemplative? Yet he helped to strengthen some such. His mild firmness in grace, and his loving assistances to others, got him the name of "the Angel Bradford."

### NICOLAS RIDLEY,

Was born in Northumberland, and brought up at Cambridge; where he was made head of Pembroke-Hall. - He was converted from popery by reading Bertram's book on the sacrament; which led him to search the scriptures and primitive writers more diligently. His love of the former he shewed, in learning by heart (in his garden at Pembroke-hall) almost all St. Paul's epistles. "Of which study, says he, altho' in time a great part

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did

did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof I trust I shall carry with me into heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life-time ever after. The Lord grant that a zeal toward that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all the holy scripture, may ever abide so long as the world shall endure."

Ridley was made bishop of London in king Edward's reign, (Bonner being displaced;) and was one of the chief compilers of our excellent liturgy. He used that liturgy twice a day in his own house; and expounded at the same time part of the new testament, beginning at the Acts, and so going through the epistles of St. Paul. Every sunday and holiday he preached in public: while his regular, chaste and unblemished life gave weight to his doctrine. Using all ways to mortify himself, he was much given to prayer and contemplation; and constantly spent on his knees in secret half an hour morning and night. He rarely spoke, or was merry, any farther than it was necessary. He was also very patient and forgiving towards those that injured him; gentle and humane to all, even to the papists. Many of them, he said, did not err of malice; and he used the most candour of any man in exposing their errors. Bishop Bonner's mother sat always at his table, and was honoured by him as his own parent. Yet sometimes in his master's cause, he put on a zeal full of majesty; as once to the princess Mary, when she would not receive God's word at his mouth.

Now

Now she was queen, and popery must ensue : but yet a shew of equity was to be kept up. Therefore Ridley, Cranmer and Latimer, (whom she had before imprisoned in the Tower) were fetched to Oxford, to defend the doctrine they had lately taught, in public disputation. Their opponents, however, were to overbear them right or wrong. The subject was the holy sacrament. Ridley argued excellently, but could come no nearer his adversaries than this: "that in the Eucharist we receive the grace of Christ's body; the food of life and immortality; spiritual flesh, but not that which was crucified; grace and society of the members of Christ's body." This not contenting the other party, sentence was read over him and his friends, that they were no members of the church. Whereto he replied, "Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than we should by the course of nature have come."

Preparing himself, in conversation with Latimer, to defend the present cause against all objections, he at last comes to this, that the higher powers and the present laws of the realm disallowed it. Though he determines clearly, that God ought to be obeyed rather than man; yet (out of a cordial reverence for his governors) he does it with reluctance and pain; and after first putting up this solemn prayer: "O heavenly father, the father of all wisdom, understanding and true strength, I beseech thee, for thy only son our saviour

Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me wretched creature, and send thine holy spirit into my breast, that I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be born off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back."

As he was a man very loving to his kindred in the flesh, he wrote (a little before his death) a long letter of farewell to his relations, and likewise to the several places where he had lived, exhorting them to stand fast in the truth.

Notwithstanding the care he took of his domesticks, one of his chaplains was now inclining to popery; whereupon he wrote thus to him. "Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell. I know that I shall appear before the incorrupt judge, and be accountable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my shoot-anchor of eternal salvation; yet am I persuaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth, and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore, (considering you were one of my household) moveth me to fear, lest the lightness of my family should be laid to my charge, for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction. It moveth me also now to require you, to remember your promises made to me in times past, &c."

He was a great promoter of brotherly-love, and mutual respect between the martyrs. But of none did he speak more honourably, than

lian of Hooper; to whom he sent an express letter of reconciliation, desiring that all former disputes might be forgot and buried.

The night before he suffered, he talked very chearfully of his burning, called it his wedding, and invited his friends to it. He made himself clean, and when the time came, put on the same gown and cap he wore when he was bishop. He and Latimer walked together to the stake, and kneeled down to pray. When they rote, Ridley put off his cloaths, and gave them and other little things among his acquaintance, as tokens to remember him by. None of the martyrs were so long, or suffered so much in burning; for the faggots not being well laid, he was forced, after his legs were consumed, to cry out for fire to his body.

Ridley was one of the most learned men of the age, especially in the fathers. He was a searcher after the truth, who could not be content with confused and embarrassed ideas. He had a vigour of mind, that was wholly employed either in study, or in the cares of duty and behaviour, with very few excrescencies towards any passion. A high sense he had of the pastoral character, and he was very zealous in keeping up order and discipline. He was formed, as much as any man, to be a governor and a pattern.

### HUGH LATIMER,

Was once a zealous papist: he was appointed at Cambridge to carry the cross in their processions, and was licensed for a

preacher. As he was then conscientious in the smallest ceremonies of that religion; so when by Bilney's means he was brought to the knowledge of Christ, he was no less diligent in preaching the gospel. He and Bilney used to walk together in the fields, and the place was long after called Heretic's Hill. Latimer continued three years, partly confirming his brethren in private, partly making public discourses both to the students and the common people. Being no longer suffered in the university, a friend recommended him to the king; by whom he was well liked for his talent in preaching. But soon growing weary of the Court, he accepted of a vicarage in Wiltshire.

He made this use of his interest with the king, to intercede for any that he thought were oppressed. After preaching his first sermon, the king admitting him to familiar conversation, he kneeled down and made his request, that a poor woman, in Cambridge prison might have her pardon. He and Bilney had discovered that she was innocent, but like to suffer by a well-laid malicious accusation. Again, when an order was set forth, to prohibit the reading of Tindal's works and other good books; Latimer wrote a letter to the king, putting him in mind, that whereas those books treated chiefly of justification by faith, he himself being a "mortal man, and having in him the corrupt nature of Adam, had no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for his salvation, than any of his subjects; and whereas he now took part with the stronger side

side, he desires him to remember, that "where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution; and where is quietness and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the truth." At last (to give God the honour of what must be his work, without otherwise excluding princes from doing their part for the maintenance of true religion) he prays for the king, that 'according to the office God had called him to, he might be found a faithful minister of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith; for that he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by his word only, by which he hath evermore defended it, and that in a way far above man's power or reason.' After such freedom with king Henry (which he used more than once) it cannot be thought he would flatter any one else. A poor man came and told him his case, how he had been injured by two neighbouring gentlemen. Latimer wrote to one of them privately, but received an answer full of big words. To which he replied, "I am used to commit such trespass many times in a year, even to lords and ladies: and I do not despair, but verily trust, one way or other, to pluck both you and also your brother, as crabbed as you say he is, out of the devil's claws."

Latimer was often in trouble. A friar or two attacked him at Cambridge, but he soon put them out of countenance. At his parish he was reprov'd, for presuming to say that he preached God's truth: to which he replied, "He that may not with meekness think in  
and



and of himself, as God hath done for him, how shall he give thanks to God for his gifts?" Then he was complained of to the bishops, as if he spoke slightingly of some popish traditions; and to clear himself, they required him to subscribe certain articles. Here he was in a great strait; for on one hand he was not willing, by subscribing nakedly to them, to keep up in any degree the foolish superstition of the people; and on the other, he did not choose to "sustain the sentence of death for such matters as these were, unless it was for necessary points of faith." Meanwhile, there was one behind the hangings, to take down all that he said; but "God (says he) was my good Lord, and gave me what to answer."

Soon after the king made him bishop of Worcester, where he discharged every office of a good pastor. Indeed the times were such that he was forced to bear with some silly customs, as Holy Water, &c. But by the words he annexed to them, he taught the people to look to Christ. He held his bishoprick a few years, till the six popish articles were set up; and then (because he would be no agent in what followed) he resigned it. Coming up afterwards to London, he was clapt in the Tower, where he remained till king Edward's time. That good prince heard him gladly; and a place in the king's garden that was before applied to idle sports, was given him to preach in. He also laboured in several parts of the realm, preaching twice a Sunday, though he was sixty-seven years of age, and had been bruised by the fall of a tree.

He

He would be up winter and summer in his study, by two o'clock in the morning.

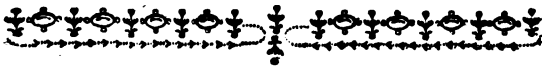
Upon queen Mary's accession, a pursuivant was sent to fetch him. Having notice of it before, he prepared himself for the journey; and when the man came, said to him, "Friend, you are welcome: I doubt not but God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two princes, so he will enable me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally." He was quickly sent back to the Tower. Though it was a frosty winter, he had no fire allowed him. He was so feeble, that he did not write much during his imprisonment: but in prayer he was fervently employed, and oftentimes continued so long kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help. His chief petitions were, "that he himself might be faithful unto death; that God would preserve the princess Elizabeth; and that he would restore his gospel to England once again." These words *once again* he repeated with such confidence, as if he had seen God, and spoke with him face to face. With respect to the controversy, he said thus to Ridley, "You shall prevail more by praying, than by studying: I will not contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given; for it will be but in vain."

The Oxford disputation being over, and sentence past, he thanked God (like old Polycarp) that he had "prolonged his life, to glorify him by that kind of death." He  
walked

walked to the stake in his usual habit, a thread-bare frieze-coat, and a cap buttoned under the chin. He gave no tokens to any. Being at the place, he looked up to heaven with an amiable and chearful countenance; and when the fire was kindled he soon expired.

Latimer was a plain man, that took upon him no philosophic state, and simply joined divine grace to a common life. He was naturally chearful, and had a good deal of humorous-wit: but being lodged in a mild and gentle soul, not passion but piety, where it might be useful; had the use of it. As he was a person of true sense, his observations were solid; and long before he came to the stake, he seemed to be made up of nothing but experience. He had both the venerable look, and in some measure the foresight of a prophet. He died a very old man; who would have been weary of his life, but that his conscience was good, and he knew that vanity of vanities is no more to be fretted at, than delighted in.

CHAP



## C H A P. XIII.

## E L I Z A B E T H.

\* **N**OTHING, could exceed the joy that was diffused among the people upon the accession of Elizabeth, who now came to the throne without any opposition. She was at Hatfield, when informed of her sister's death; and, hastening up to London, was received by the multitude with universal acclamations. Elizabeth had her education in that best school, the school of adversity; and she had made the proper use of her confinement. Being debarred the enjoyment of pleasures abroad, she sought for knowledge at home; she cultivated her understanding, learned the languages and sciences; but of all the arts which she acquired, that of concealing her opinions, and checking her inclinations, were the most beneficial to her.

She was now twenty-five years old. Upon entering the Tower according to custom, she could not refrain from remarking the difference of her present, and her former fortune,  
When

\* A. D. 1558.

when she was sent there as a prisoner. She had been scarce proclaimed queen, when Philip, ordered his ambassador in London, the duke of Feria, to make her proposals of marriage from his master. She returned him a very obliging, though evasive answer; and he still retained such hopes of success, that he sent a messenger to Rome, with orders to solicit the dispensation.

Elizabeth had, from the beginning, resolved upon reforming the church, even while she was held in the constraints of a prison; and now, upon coming to the crown, she immediately set about it. Yet not to alarm the partizans of the catholic religion all at once, she retained thirteen of her sister's council; but in order to balance their authority, added eight more who were affectionate to the protestant religion. Her particular adviser, was Sir William Cecil, secretary of state, whose temper it was, to wish for any religion that would contribute to the welfare of the state. By his advice she immediately recalled all exiles, and gave liberty to all prisoners who were confined on account of religion. She next published a proclamation, by which she forbade all preaching without a special licence. She also ordered part of the service to be read in English, and forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence. § A parliament soon after completed what the prerogative had begun; act after act was passed in favour of the reformation; and in a single session the form of religion was established as we at present enjoy it.

Of

§ A. D. 1559.

Of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergymen, which was the number of those in the kingdom, only fourteen bishops, twelve deans, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty canons, and about eighty of the parochial clergy, chose to quit their preferments rather than give up their religion. Thus England was seen to change its belief in religion four times since the beginning of the reign of Henry the eighth. "Strange, says a foreign writer, that a people so resolute, should be guilty of so much inconstancy; that the same people, who this day assisted at the execution of heretics, should the next, not only think them guiltless, but conform to their systems of thinking."

Elizabeth had now all the catholic powers of Europe her open or secret enemies! France, Scotland, the pope, and even Spain itself, began to think of combining against her. Her subjects of Ireland were concealed enemies; and the catholic party in England, though professing obedience, were yet ready to take the advantage of her slightest misfortunes. These were the dangers she had to fear; nor had she formed a single alliance to assist her, nor possessed any foreign friends that she could rely on. In this situation, she, could hope for no other resource but what proceeded from the affection of her own subjects, her own insight into her affairs, and the wisdom of her administration. From the beginning of her reign, she seemed to aim at two very difficult attainments; to make herself  
loved

loved by her subjects, and feared by her courtiers. She resolved to be frugal of her treasury; and still more sparing in her rewards to favourites. This at once kept the people in good humour; and the great, too poor to shake off their independence. She also shewed, that she knew how to distribute both rewards and punishments with impartiality; that she knew when to soothe, and when to upbraid; that she could dissemble submission, but preserve her prerogatives. In short, she seemed to have studied the people she was born to govern, and knew when to flatter their foibles, to secure their affections.

Her chief favourite was Robert Dudley, son of the late duke of Northumberland, who was possessed neither of abilities nor virtue. But to make amends, the two favourites next in power, were Bacon and Cecil, men of great capacity and infinite application: they regulated the finances, and directed the political measures with foreign courts, that were afterwards followed with so much success.

Mary queen of Scots, was the first person that excited the fears or the resentment of Elizabeth. We have already mentioned, that Henry the seventh married his eldest daughter, Margaret, to James, king of Scotland, who dying, left no issue that came to maturity except Mary, afterwards Queen of Scots. At a very early age, this princess was married to Francis, the dauphin of France, who dying, left her a widow at the age of nineteen. As Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate by Henry the eighth,  
Francis

Francis, in right of his wife, began to assume the title of king of England; nor did the queen of Scots, his consort, seem to decline sharing in this empty appellation. Elizabeth sent an ambassador to France, complaining of the behaviour of that court in this instance. But he returned without satisfaction. Upon the death of Francis, Mary determined to return home to Scotland, and desired a safe passage from Elizabeth through England. But Elizabeth sent back a very haughty answer to Mary's request. From hence a determined personal enmity began to prevail between these rival queens.

As the transactions of this unfortunate queen make a distinguished part in Elizabeth's history, it will be necessary to give them greater room. And the rather, because she has been so generally and so cruelly misrepresented by the English historians, naturally partial to their own country, and to the glorious queen Elizabeth.

Queen Mary had received all the accomplishments of body and mind, which nature and the most finished education; at the most polite court then in Europe, could bestow. In conversation she was lively; and in council more solid than could have been expected from so young a woman. Especially one surrounded with all the blandishments of power, and endued with greater charms of person, than, (if we are to believe the best relations) any contemporary female possessed. Brantome, and other French memoir-writers of that court, who are unexceptionable evidences



evidences, have exhausted all their powers of description upon her personal accomplishments; and their praises are confirmed by her bitter enemies.

But in Throgmorton's letters, we find that, upon Mary's refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, Elizabeth flatly refused, even in a public audience of the French ambassador to grant her a safe conduct into Scotland. Mary complained of this affront to Throgmorton, at his next audience, in pathetic expostulatory terms; and we cannot read his account of their conversation, without admiring the solidity and delicacy of her sentiments. She seems, also to have had a strong resentment of Elizabeth's connections with her rebellious subjects. Indeed she considered all the forced pacifications between her and them; as so many acts of rebellion, and consequently as not binding her either in honour or conscience. Throgmorton complained of this to the queen-mother of France, who justified her daughter-in-law; and it was soon publicly known, that Mary was determined to run all chances, without any safe conduct. When Throgmorton, in his next audience, talked to her on that subject, she dropt the following expressions, which are remarkably prophetic of her future fate: "If my preparations were not so much advanced as they are, peradventure the queen your mistress's unkindness might stay my voyage; but now I am determined to adventure the matter, whatsoever come of it. I trust the wind will be so favourable, as I shall not need to  
come

come on the coast of England; and if I do, then, Monsieur L'ambassadeur, the queen your mistress shall have me in her hands, to do her will of me. And if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may do her pleasure, and make her sacrifice of me: peradventure that might be better for me than to live; in this matter God's will be fulfilled."

The character of Mary and her two chief ministers at this time, is thus described by Randolf, queen Elizabeth's minister, whom we cannot suspect of partiality in her favour; "I receive of her grace at all times, very good words. I am borne in hand by such as are nearest about her, as the lord James (her bastard brother) "and the lord of Ledington, that they are meant as they are spoken: I see them above all others in credit, and find in them no alteration, though there be that complain, that they yield too much unto her appetite; which yet I see not. The lord James dealeth according to his nature, rudely, homely, and bluntly; the lord of Ledington, more delicately and finely, yet nothing swerveth from the other in mind and effect. She is patient to hear and beareth much."

When she was pressed by her uncles to marry the duke de Nemours, or any other prince upon the continent, she declared, in public, that she would have no husband but her sister of England; facetiously adding, that "if one of the two queens had been a man, it would have been easy to have terminated for ever all differences between the two kingdoms."

The

The violent prepossessions which the protestant Scotch historians of this reign entertained against Mary; their being unacquainted with, or enemies to, the higher modes of life; but above all their aversion to the Roman catholic religion, have not suffered them to represent her conduct or situation in a favourable, or indeed, fair light. If we consult Randolph, whose narrative is far from being partial to Mary, they admit of a more pleasing view. From him it is plain, that the general declamations of Buchanan and Knox, against "the licentious living of the queen and her court were founded only upon the diversions of which, from her former state of life, and perhaps by nature she was fond.

These indeed, were incompatible with the sentiments of Knox, but they were far from being disagreeable even to lord James, or the leading men of quality among the reformers; so that the dislike they afterwards shewed to them, probably proceeded from political motives. Her personal behaviour was irreproachable; for though Randolph was in the secret of Knox and all the reformers, yet we find no levity, far less immorality, laid to her charge. On the contrary, he tells Cecil, that she had severely reprimanded some of her principal courtiers, who had behaved riotously in the streets of Edinburgh. We may likewise gather, from more than one of the same minister's dispatches, that the behaviour of the earl of Arden, Knox, and the zealous reformers towards her, was disrespectful, and utterly unbecoming subjects.

With

With regard to Mary's political and religious conduct (for one is connected with the other) she was sometimes driven from the plan of moderation she had laid down, by the intractable undutiful behaviour of the same zealots: and this appears from the representation of facts in which all parties are agreed. Indeed she had a strong aversion to the protestant religion. Yet she had, placed the head of that religion in her dominions, at the head of her councils. She had made him her own delegate, and notwithstanding his acknowledged severity of manners, he was, at this time, an advocate not only for her conduct, but her sincerity. Mean time her behaviour to the Roman-catholic bishops was wise and steady. They sued to be restored to their power and temporalities, and offered to raise a large contribution on that condition. Mary's answer was, that their cause must come under the cognizance of a parliament. She gave them no satisfaction as to any of their complaints; and, at last, she dismissed them somewhat abruptly. This application of the prelates, and its failure, is a proof that Mary (at that time at least) acted without any duplicity towards her protestant subjects.

All her tenderness not to give offence, availed her nothing in the sight of Knox. He continued to represent her most innocent diversions, as unpardonable, diabolical crimes. He declaimed against fiddling and dancing in the most scurrilous terms, and even pointed her out by name. This intemperate behaviour was disapproved of even by lord James,

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O

after-

afterwards earl of Murray; but no otherwise resented by the queen, than by sending for the preacher, and mildly questioning him; why he thus endeavoured to make her odious in the sight of her subjects? His answer was not only unmannerly but outrageous; he told her, "That if she had heard what he had said, if there were any spark of the spirit of God, yea of honesty or wisdom in her, she would not have been offended." He then repeated all the coarse offensive matter of his sermon; and when Mary reminded him, that she and her uncles were of a religion different from his; and that if he saw any thing blameable in her conduct, he ought to admonish her in private; his answer was, "That he was called to a public function, and appointed by God to rebuke the vices and sins of all; but that he was not appointed to come to every man in particular, to show him his offence: that if she would frequent the public sermons, she should understand both what he liked and disliked in her, as in all others."

Whatever fondness Mary might have for the Roman catholic religion, it cannot be discovered, that at this time she had the least intention to re-establish the public profession of it. Nay, she approved of prosecuting the Roman catholic priests, for celebrating the mass, in violation of the law. She expressed, in public, the most lively sentiments of friendship for queen Elizabeth, who sent her compliments of condolance upon the death of her two uncles, the duke of Guise, and the grand Prior.

About

About the middle of May, Le Croc arrived in Scotland, as an agent from her uncle the Cardinal of Lorrain, to know her sentiments about her proposed marriage with the archduke of Austria; and to offer her in the name of the emperor, the Tirolese in dowry; but Mary would not give him any answer, till Maitland should return from his embassy to England.

It appears from Randolph's dispatches to Cecil, that Mary now applied herself with indefatigable care to the internal government of her kingdom. She appointed three days a-week for expediting the causes of her poorer subjects. She increased the salaries of her judges, on account of their additional attendance; and she often presided in courts of equity in person. She signed instructions with her own hand for the more speedy administration of justice, especially in those courts that had been established in place of the courts which formerly belonged to bishops. She continued to treat Elizabeth with the greatest show of affection, though it was at this time cooled. Her protestant subjects had nothing to complain of: only she wished that Knox might be sent out of her dominions for his treasonable practices.

Murray was now declining in her esteem. She had received intimations of his high credit with Cecil, and her other enemies at the English court; and whatever appearance there was of a coldness between him and Knox, she knew that his not exerting himself against that preacher, was the chief cause of all the mortification and affront she had endured.

○ 2

After

After two years had been spent in altercation and reproach, between Mary and some of her subjects, secretly instigated and encouraged by the agents of queen Elizabeth, it was resolved by her council, that she should look out for some alliance, by which she might be protected against the insolence of her spiritual instructors. \* After some deliberation, the lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox, was the person in whom their opinions and wishes centered. He had been born and educated in England, was now in his twentieth year, was cousin-german to the queen; and what perhaps might please her more, he was extremely tall and handsome. Elizabeth was no way averse to this marriage, as it freed her from the dread of a foreign alliance; but when it was actually consummated, she pretended to testify the utmost displeasure; she menaced, complained, protested; seized all the earl of Lenox's English estate, and threw the countess and her second son into the Tower. This duplicity of conduct was common with Elizabeth; and on the present occasion, it served her as a pretext for refusing Mary's title to the succession of England, which that princess had frequently urged, but in vain.

The first weeks of their connexion seemed to promise an happy union for the rest of their lives. However, it was not without some opposition from the reformers that this marriage was completed. Some lords rose up in arms to prevent it; but they were obliged to take refuge in England. Thus far all was favourable

\* A. D. 1564.

Favourable to Mary; and thus far she kept within the bounds of strict virtue. Her enemies were banished, her rival over-ruled, and she herself married to the man she loved.

While Mary was dazzled by the pleasing exterior of her lover, she forgot to look to the accomplishments of his mind. Darnley was a weak and ignorant man; violent, yet variable in his enterprizes; insolent, yet credulous, and easily governed by flatterers; devoid of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, he was incapable of true love and tenderness. Mary in the first effusions of her fondness, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond measure; but having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and his vices, she began to convert her admiration into disgust; and an incident happened not long after which could not but greatly increase it.

Mary had long complained of the inaccuracy and oscitancy of Rawlet, her French secretary; who did not give sufficient attention to his dispatches, and was, besides, too much concerned in court-intrigues. Darnley and his friends recommended their companion David Rizio, an Italian to be employed in his place. But even this has been represented by Buchanan as the effect of a criminal passion, while at the same time he informs us, "that the ugliness and aukwardness of Rizio's figure was such, that no dress could make him look like a gentleman." And



Blackwood, who knew Rizio as well as Buchanan, says, that he was "an elderly man, his aspect ugly, sour, and forbidding."

Mary now invited Murray, and the other heads of the reformed to her court, promising them all satisfaction; but not being able to prevail, she was heard to bewail her own situation. Her address, her assiduity, and gentleness, gained her the esteem and affections of all her subjects, except those who were personally concerned, and who thought their safety depended on opposing her.

When we consider the moderation displayed by Mary, upon this and all other occasions of state and religion, it cannot be denied, that the lords who had opposed her marriage, had formed on that pretext, an unprovoked plan of rebellion, upon the assurances they had of being supported by Elizabeth. They indeed pretended that fresh matter of opposition was presented; but this is so far from being the case, that Mary had, of late, behaved with unusual circumspection; and even pardoned the insurgents at Edinburgh, though they had been declared rebels: nor had any attempts been made to violate the civil or religious liberties of the subject. On the contrary, Mary had given all the security in her power for the preservation of both.

To take from her enemies all pretext of danger to their religion, on the 12th of July, she emitted a proclamation for the assurance of religion, which was conceived in the strongest terms. And she took every opportunity to declare, that though she believed  
her

her own religion to be the best, yet she was open to conviction; and though she could not endure the rude behaviour of Knox, yet she would willingly hear disputations and conferences in the scriptures, and public preaching from the mouth of Mr. Erskine of Dun, because she had an opinion of his moderation and mildness, as well as of his honesty and integrity.

Though Mary's affairs at this time were crowned with such success, yet she was deeply distressed in her mind. She had married a man who gave her hourly proofs how unworthy he was, not only of her hand but her notice. He was perpetually drunk. He haunted the company which he knew to be most disagreeable to the queen, and young and beautiful as she was, he had brought infection to her bed. It was in vain that her excellent prudence endeavoured to conceal his profligacy, for it broke out on all occasions; and he brutally abused her even at public entertainments. To complete all, he now headed a band of assassins, to murder her secretary, Rizio in her presence.

Mary was at this time supping with the countess of Argyle, her brother, Rizio, and several other persons. Lord Darnly led the way into the apartment by a private staircase, and stood for some time leaning at the back of Mary's chair. His fierce looks greatly alarmed the queen, who, nevertheless, kept silence. A little after lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and the other conspirators, rushed in, all armed. The queen demanded the reason

of this bold intrusion. Ruthven made her no answer; but ordered Rizzio to quit the place. Rizzio trembling with apprehension took hold of the queen's robes to put himself under her protection, who, on her part, strove to interpose between the assassins and him. Douglas, in the mean time, had reached the unfortunate Rizzio; and snatching a dagger from the king's side, while the queen filled the room with her cries, plunged it in her presence into Rizzio's bosom, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators and dragged into the anti-chamber, where he was dispatched with fifty-six wounds. The unhappy princess continued her lamentations; but being informed of his fate, at once dried her tears, and said she would weep no more; she would now think of revenge. However she pretended to forgive, and exerted her natural allurements so powerfully, that in a little time her husband submitted to her will. He gave up his accomplices to her resentment, and retired with her to Dunbar, while she, having collected an army, which the conspirators had no power to resist, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England.

Lord Darnley soon after took a journey to Glasgow, and fell sick there. Mary hearing of this, went to visit him, and behaved so tenderly, that he resolved to part with her no more; and soon after attended her to Edinburgh, which it was thought would be more favourable to his declining health. She lived in the palace of Holyrood-house; but as the situation of that place was low, and the course

course of persons about the court necessarily attended with noise, which might disturb him in his present infirm state, she fitted up an apartment for him in a house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary there conversed cordially with him, and she lay some nights in a room under him. It was on the ninth of February that she told him she would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was to be there celebrated in her presence. About two o'clock in the morning, the city was alarmed with a great noise; the house in which Darnley lay was blown up with gunpowder. His dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field, but without any marks of violence. No doubt could be entertained but that Darnley was murdered; and the suspicion fell upon Bothwell as the perpetrator.

The earl of Murray had set out for St. Andrew's the preceding day: but as he declared to one of his attendants, that lord Darnley would lose his life before morning, he must have been accessory to, if not the contriver of the murder. Immediately after, he set out for France. There is all reason to believe, not only that Mary was ignorant of the design but that she was convinced of Bothwell's innocence.

All orders of the state, and the whole body of the people, began to demand justice on the supposed murderer; on which the queen referred the cause to the lords justiciaries, by whom he was tried and acquitted. And not long after sixteen lords were sent to her in the

name of the whole parliament, intreating Mary, 1. To marry, 2. To marry one within the realm, and 3. Recommending lord Bothwell as the most proper person they knew.

Yet this was a fatal alliance to Mary; and those who advised it, designed it should. The protestant teachers, who had great power, had long borne great animosity towards her; the opinion of her guilt was by their means widely diffused, and made the deeper impression. The principal nobility met at Stirling; and an association was soon formed for protecting the young prince. Lord Hume was the first in arms; and leading a body of eight hundred horse, suddenly environed the queen and Bothwell, in the castle of Borthwick. They found means, however, to make their escape; and Mary, at the head of a few forces, meeting the associators within about six miles of Edinburgh, put herself into their hands, and was conducted by them into Edinburgh, amidst the insults and reproaches of the populace. From thence she was sent a prisoner to the castle of Lochleven, situated in a lake of that name, where she suffered all the severities of an unkind keeper, with a feeling heart. Bothwell, fled to Dunbar, and thence to the Orkneys. Being pursued thither, he escaped in an open boat to Denmark, where he died about ten years after.

Queen Elizabeth, seeming to pity Mary, sent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to Scotland, to interpose in her behalf. He agreed with the rebellious lords, that she should resign the crown in favour of her son, who was as yet

yet a minor; that she should appoint the earl of Murray, her natural brother, regent of the kingdom; and as he was then in France, that she should appoint a council till his arrival. In consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, under the title of James the sixth. The queen had now no hopes but from the kindness of the earl of Murray; but even here she was disappointed; the earl, upon his return, called on her, but, instead of comforting her, as she expected, loaded her with reproaches; and was her bitter enemy, (as he had been secretly before,) to the end of her life.

The calamities of the great, seldom fail of creating pity. Mary engaged a young gentleman, whose name was George Douglas, to assist her in escaping from the place where she was confined: and this he effected, by conveying her in disguise in a small boat, rowed by himself, a-shore. It was now that the news of her enlargement being spread abroad, the loyalty of the people seemed to revive. As Bothwell was no longer with her, many of the nobility signed a bond of association for her defence; and in a few days she saw herself at the head of six thousand men.

The earl of Murray, who had been declared regent, was not slow in assembling his forces; and although his army was inferior to that of the queen, he boldly took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow, which was entirely decisive in his favour. Mary, now totally

ruined, fled southwards with great precipitation; \* and came with a few attendants to the borders of England, where she hoped for protection from Elizabeth.

With these hopes she embarked on board a fishing boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Wirkington in Cumberland, about thirty miles distant from Carlisle, whence she immediately dispatched a messenger to London, craving protection, and desiring liberty to visit the queen. Elizabeth immediately sent orders to lady Scrope, sister to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in that neighbourhood, to attend on the queen of Scots; and soon after dispatched lord Scrope himself, and sir Francis Knolles, to pay her all possible respect. Notwithstanding these marks of distinction, the queen refused to admit Mary into her presence, until she had cleared her character from the aspersions that it was stained with †. It might, perhaps have been Elizabeth's duty to protect, and not to examine, her royal fugitive.

Mary was now, though reluctantly, obliged to admit her ancient rival as an umpire in her cause; and the accusation was readily undertaken by Murray. The extraordinary conference, which deliberated on the conduct of a foreign queen, was managed at York; three commissioners being appointed by Elizabeth, nine by the queen of Scots, and five by the regent, in which he himself was included. These conferences were carried on for some time at the place first appointed; but

\* A. D. 1568.

† By Elizabeth's own procurement.

but after a while, Elizabeth, ordered the commissioners to continue their conferences at Hampton-court, where they were spun out by affected delays. At length when her advocates were required to answer, they refused, alledging, that as Mary was a sovereign princess, she could not be subject to any foreign tribunal. She herself desired, that either she should be assisted to recover her authority, or liberty given her for retiring into France. But Elizabeth was secretly resolved to detain her still, and she was accordingly sent to Tutbury castle, in the county of Stafford, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury.

One pretence for now detaining her was, the factions of her own subjects in Scotland. The regent of Scotland, who had been long her inveterate enemy, happening to be assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton. Upon his death the kingdom relapsed into its former anarchy. Mary's party once more assembled together, and became masters of Edinburgh. They even ventured towards the borders of England, where they committed some disorders, which called upon the vigilance of Elizabeth to suppress. She quickly sent an army commanded by the earl of Suffex, who entering Scotland, chastised all the partizans of the captive queen, under a pretence that they had offended his mistress by harbouring English rebels.

But the designs and arts of Elizabeth did not rest here; while she kept up the most friendly



friendly correspondence with Mary, with the most warm protestations of sincerity, she was far from assisting her cause. It was her care to keep the factions in Scotland still alive, to weaken the power of that nation; for this purpose she weakened the party of the queen, that was now likely to prevail, and procuring the earl of Lenox to be appointed regent, in the room of Murray who was slain.

‡ Nothing could be more insincere than the tenor of Elizabeth's commissions to try Mary: for she was resolved upon Mary's condemnation, or at least upon protracting the proceedings in such a manner as that her confinement should be perpetual.

When the cause shall be farther tried, it will be proved, that some of those who now accuse the queen, subscribed bonds for the murder of lord Darnley. The bishop of Ross produced Mary's instructions not to answer her adversaries if they touched her honour; and demanded audience of Elizabeth, that they might inform her of their sovereign's command, and to require that she might be permitted to come in person, and vindicate her innocence before the queen, her council, and nobles. The bishop, at the same time, presented a memorial in writing, to the same purpose; and leave was granted to him and his colleagues to appear before Elizabeth on the third of December, where they repeated their demand of Mary being admitted to be heard in person. Elizabeth still continued to wear her mask of dissimulation. She seemed excessively tender of Mary's honour, and promised

‡ A. D. 1568.

promised to reprimand and punish her adversaries severely, if they did not make good their charge against her; hinting, at the same time, that no medium was to be observed between Mary's entire acquittal, or condemnation, but she again refused, upon the most unjust, and indeed affected, pretexts, to admit the unhappy princess to make her own defence in person. Elizabeth declared she thought it reasonable that she should be heard in her own cause; "but to determine (said she) before whom, when, and where, before I understand how her adversaries will verify their allegation, I am not as yet resolved; but after conferring with them, I shall give you an answer as to every point in reasonable form." Mary's commissioners very justly objected to this manner of proceeding, as incompatible with the rules of equity in any common cause. A charge, said they, is lodged, the supposed delinquent desires to be heard in her own defence, but she is precluded from that privilege, until her accusers have adduced their proofs, and consequently till her cause is prejudged. All they said was in vain, though they urged that Mary's rebellious subjects had been admitted to Elizabeth's presence, while she herself was denied that privilege. At last she protested, that whatsoever was done before English commissioners thereafter, should be of no prejudice to their sovereign. But Elizabeth carried her dissimulation still farther, till, at last, it became inconsistent with her former professions; for she said that she could not give  
Mary

Mary a personal audience "unless she found that her accusers had more likely proofs than any yet adduced." This was a very extraordinary declaration. Elizabeth, ever since the first day of Mary's arrival in England, had refused to see her, because she was suspected of certain crimes; and yet in the answer before us, she as good as promises that she would admit Mary to her presence, if those crimes were proved against her.

Thus far appearances would bear hard upon the memory of Mary, had the smallest proof of the identity, or even the similarity, of the hands, been brought to convict her. Elizabeth and her commissioners had all along treated her cause as the most important that had ever been heard in England. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards the decision; and the interest as well as the honour of Elizabeth was concerned in a full exposition of the evidences. I will venture to say, "that if the genuineness of the papers in question could have admitted of a proof, the greatest bigot in Mary's cause, either at home or abroad, must have detested her, and given up her defence." The proceeding of the English commissioners was the more unaccountable, as Mary again and again had armed her commissioners with powers to declare that those papers were forged, and that she could prove them to be so; as also, that some of her own subjects, who were assistants to her adversaries, knew how to counterfeit her hand.

I shall just observe here, that Mary's enemies have mistaken the meaning of her declination of judgment, by omitting one half of her case, and mis-stating the other. Mary was now not only a defendant, but a plaintiff. She had discovered lights from Argyle and Huntley, that enabled her to bring a direct charge against her enemies for committing the very murder of which they accused her. She demanded to be personally heard in support of that charge; but what does Elizabeth say? "No, you must first disprove the papers that have been brought against you." "That (replied Mary) I am ready to do as soon as they are produced, so that my friends and I can examine them." This indulgence, which could not have been refused to a common felon, was denied to a sovereign princess. She begged even for duplicates of those papers, and they too were denied. I hope, in this short state, her case is so far from being exaggerated, that it falls short of the hardships she suffered; and the feelings of humanity are the best advocates for her memory.

The duke of Norfolk, one of queen Elizabeth's commissioners, enjoyed the highest title of nobility in England; and the qualities of his mind corresponded to his high station. \*Beneficent, affable, and generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; and yet from his moderation, had never alarmed the jealousy of the sovereign. He was at this time a widower, and being of a suitable age to espouse the queen of Scots, her own attractions, as well as his interests, made him desirous

\* A. D. 1568.

desirous of the match. But the obtaining Elizabeth's consent, previous to their nuptials, was considered as a circumstance essential to his aims. Yet while this nobleman made almost all the nobility of England confident to his passion, he never had the courage, to open his intentions to the queen. At length he resolved to return to court and tell her the whole; but on the way, he was stopt by a messenger from the queen, and soon after committed to the Tower. Certain it is that the match was originally contrived and proposed by lord Murray.

The duke was too much beloved by his partizans in the North, to be confined without an effort made for his release. The earls of Westmorland and Northumberland had prepared measures for a rebellion; had communicated their design to Mary and her ministers; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries, and had obtained his promise of men and ammunition. But the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers was not to be eluded; orders were immediately sent for their appearance at court; and the insurgent lords perceiving their schemes discovered, were obliged to begin their revolt before matters were prepared. They accordingly published a manifesto, in which they alledged, that no injury was intended against the queen, to whom they vowed unshaken allegiance; but that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove evil counsellors from about the queen's person; and to restore the duke

duke of Norfolk to his liberty. Their number amounted to four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected to be joined by all the catholics in England. But they were miserably deceived. The duke himself, for whose sake they had revolted, used every method that his circumstances would permit, to assist the queen; the insurgents were obliged to retire before her forces to Hexham; and hearing that reinforcements were upon their march to join the royal army, they found no other expedient but to disperse themselves without a blow. Northumberland fled into Scotland, and was confined by the regent to the castle of Lochleven; Westmorland, after attempting to excite the Scotch to revolt, was obliged to escape into Flanders. This rebellion was followed by another, led on by lord Dacres, but with as little success. Some severities were used against these revolters, and eight suffered by the hands of the executioner. The queen was so well pleased with the duke of Norfolk's behaviour, \* that she now released him from the Tower; allowed him to return home, only exacting a promise from him, not to proceed any farther in his pretensions to the queen of Scots.

But the queen's confidence was fatal to this brave, but undesigning nobleman. He had not been released above a year, when new projects were set on foot by the enemies of the queen and the reformed religion, secretly fomented by Rodolphi, an instrument of the court of Rome, and the bishop of Ross, Mary's minister in England. It was concerted  
by

\* A. D. 1569.

by them, that Norfolk should renew his designs upon Mary, to which it is probable he was prompted by passion; and this nobleman at last entered into their schemes. It was agreed, that the duke should enter into all Mary's interests; while on the other hand, the duke of Alva promised to transport a body of six thousand foot and four thousand horse, to join Norfolk as soon as he should be ready to begin. This scheme was so secretly laid, that it had hitherto entirely escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of secretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was found out merely by accident; for the duke having sent a sum of money to lord Herries, one of Mary's partizans in Scotland, omitted trusting the servant with the contents of his message; and he finding, by the weight of the bag, that it contained a larger sum than the duke mentioned to him, began to mistrust some plot, and brought the money with the duke's letter to the secretary of state. It was by the artifices of that great statesman, that the duke's servants were brought to make a full confession of their master's guilt. The duke was instantly committed to the Tower, and ordered to prepare for his trial. A jury of twenty-five peers passed sentence upon him; and the queen, four months after, signed the warrant for his execution. He died with great calmness and constancy; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice

justice of the sentence by which he suffered. A few months after, the duke of Northumberland being delivered up by the regent, underwent a similar trial, and was brought to the scaffold. All these ineffectual struggles in favour of the unfortunate queen of Scots, only rivetted her chains; and she now found no relief but in the resources of her own mind, which distress had softened, refined, and improved. From henceforth she continued for several years a precarious dependent on Elizabeth's suspicions; and only waited for some new effort of her adherents to receive that fate, which policy, not mercy, deferred.

Some years after, the earl of Bothwell being sick unto death in the castle of Malmay, made solema faith of what here followeth, viz.

“ The bishop of Schonen, together with four great lords, namely, Berin, Gowes, governor of the castle of Malmay, Otto Braw, of the castle of Ottenbruchet, Paris Braw, of the castle of Wescut, and Mons. Gullensterne, of the castle of Falkenstrie, and together likewise with the four bailiffs of the town, prayed the said earl to declare freely and truly what he knew of the death of the late king Henry, (Darnley) and of the authors thereof, according as he should answer before God at the day of judgment, where all things, how secret soever they may be here, shall be laid open.

“ Then the said earl declaring that through his present great weakness, he was not able to  
discourse



discourse all the several steps of these things, testified that the queen was innocent of that death, and that only he himself, his friends, and some of the nobility, were the authors of it."

And being thereafter pressed by those lords to name some of the persons that were guilty, he named my lord James earl of Murray, my lord Robert Abbot of Holyrood-house, (now earl of Orkney) both of them bastard brothers of the queen; the earls of Crawford, Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, my lord Boyd, the lairds of Lethington, Bucclough, and Grange.

The innocence of Mary, with regard to her husband's death, was so much cleared up by Bothwell's confession, and other evidences, that the countess of Lennox, his mother, acquitted her, in the most express terms, of having any concern in the murder.

"This good lady (says Mary in a letter transmitted from the Scots college at Paris, to her ambassador the archbishop of Glasgow) was, thanks to God, in very good correspondence with me these five or six years by gone, and has confessed to me by sundry letters under her hand, which I carefully preserve, the injury she did me by the unjust pursuits which she allowed to go out against me in her name, through bad information; but principally, she said, through the express orders of the queen of England, and the persuasion of her council, who also took much solicitude that she and I might never come to good understanding together. But how soon she came

to know of my innocence, she desisted from any further pursuit against me; nay went so far as to refuse her consent to any thing they should act against me in her name."

Notwithstanding Bothwell's confession, we are not to imagine that the noblemen and gentlemen whom he named as being concerned in Darnley's death, were actually accessaries to that murder; but it is pretty plain that they had declared themselves to be his enemies; and in the barbarous manner of that time, when assassination was scarcely looked upon with horror, he considered them as participant of the crime which he himself committed. Mary (who, notwithstanding her misfortunes, preserved a most amazing serenity of mind) understanding that Elizabeth did all she could to suppress Bothwell's dying declaration, ordered the archbishop of Glasgow to send one Monceaux to Denmark, to obtain an exemplification of the same.

One Barbay of Gartely was at London when Bothwell's dying declaration came to Elizabeth's hands; and returning to his native country of Scotland, he talked of it with great freedom, as being a full refutation of all the charges against Mary for being concerned in her husband's death.

Having thus far attended the queen of Scotland, whose conduct and misfortunes make such a distinguished figure in this reign, we now return to some transactions, prior in point of time, but of less consideration,

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In the beginning of this reign, the Hergots in France, called in the protection of the English; † and in order to secure their confidence, offered to put Havre into the queen's hands: a proffer which she immediately accepted. She wisely considered, that as that port commanded the mouth of the river Seine, it was of much more importance than Calais. Accordingly three thousand English took possession of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of Sir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found so little capable of being defended, that it was immediately abandoned. Havre itself was obliged to capitulate shortly after. Although the garrison was reinforced to six thousand men: and every means was employed for putting the town in a posture of defence against the French army that was preparing to besiege it, yet it felt a severer enemy within its walls; for the plague had got into the town, and committed such havoc among the soldiers, that an hundred commonly died in one day. The garrison diminished to fifteen hundred men, finding the French army indefatigable in their approaches, were obliged to capitulate; and thus the English lost all hopes of ever making another establishment in France. This misfortune was productive of one still more dreadful, for the English army carried back the plague with them to London.

§ This seems to have been the only disaster that, for above thirteen years, disturbed the peace of this reign. Elizabeth, ever vigilant, active, and resolute, attended to the slightest alarms

† A. D. 1562. § A. D. 1563.

alarms, and repressed them before they were capable of producing their effect. Her frugality kept her independent, and her dissimulation made her beloved. The opinion of the royal prerogative was such, that her commands were obeyed as statutes; and she took care that her parliaments should never venture to circumscribe her power. In her schemes of government she was assisted by lord Burleigh, and Sir Anthony Bacon, two of the most able ministers that ever directed the affairs of England; but while she committed to them all the drudgery of duty, Robert, earl of Leicester, engrossed her favour.

During this peaceable government, England furnishes but few materials for history. While France was torn with internal convulsions; † while above ten thousand of the Hugonots were massacred in one night, in cool blood, on the feast of St. Bartholomew, at Paris; while the inhabitants of the Low Countries were bravely vindicating their rights and their religion; while all the rest of Europe was teeming with plots, seditions, and cruelty; the English were enjoying all the benefits of peace, extending commerce, improving manufactures; and setting an example of arts and learning to all the rest of the world. Except the small part, therefore, which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarce passed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

There had for some time arisen disgusts between the court of England and that of Spain. Elizabeth's having rejected the suit

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† A. D. 1572.

of Philip might probably have given rise to these distrusts; and after that, Mary's claiming the protection of that monarch, tended to widen the breach. This began as usual on each side, with petty hostilities; the Spaniards, on their part, and sent into Ireland a body of seven hundred men, who built a fort there; but were soon after cut off to a man, by the duke of Ormond. On the other hand the English, under the conduct of Sir Francis Drake, assaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure, in the New World. This was the first Englishman that sailed round the globe; and the queen was so well pleased with his valour and success, that she accepted a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had atchieved so memorable a voyage.

In this manner, while hostilities were daily multiplying between Spain and England; and while the power of Spain, as well as the monarch's inclinations, were very formidable to the queen, she began to look out for an alliance that might support her against such a dangerous adversary. The duke of Anjou had long made pretensions to Elizabeth; and though she was near twenty-five years older than he, he took the resolution to prefer his suit in person, \* and paid her a visit in secret at Greenwich. It appears that though his figure was not advantageous, his address was pleasing. The queen ordered her ministers to fix the terms of the contract; a day was appointed for the solemnization of their nuptials, and every thing seemed to speak an ap-

\* A. D. 1581.

proaching union. But Elizabeth could not be induced to change her condition; she appeared doubtful, irresolute, and melancholy; she was observed to pass several nights without any sleep, till at last her prudence prevailed over her ambition, and the duke of Anjou was dismissed.

About this time several conspiracies were formed against her, many of which she was willing to impute to the queen of Scots. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, brother to him beheaded some years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son to the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under suspicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own house. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to custody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots; and shortly after he was condemned and executed. Soon after William Parry, a catholic gentleman, who had on a former occasion received the queen's pardon, was found engaged in a desperate conspiracy to assassinate his benefactor. He had consulted upon the justice of this both with the pope's nuncio and legate, who exhorted him to persevere in his resolution. He therefore associated himself with one Nevil, who entered zealously into the design; and it was determined to shoot the queen, while she was taking the air on horseback. But while they were watching an opportunity, the earl of Westmorland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to the family, he began to entertain

hopes, that by doing some acceptable services to the queen, he might recover the estate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He betrayed the conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry being thrown into prison confessed the whole. He was shortly after condemned and executed.

These attempts, which were set on foot by the catholic party, served to increase the severity of the laws against them. Popish priests were banished the kingdom; those who harboured them were declared guilty of felony; and many were executed in consequence of this severe edict. Nor was the queen of Scots herself without some share of the punishment. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who had always been indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise, and was committed to the custody of Sir Amias Paulett, and Sir Drue Drury, inflexible and rigid men.

These conspiracies served to prepare the way for Mary's ruin. Elizabeth's ministers had long been waiting for some instance of the captive queen's resentment, which they might convert into treason; and this was not long wanting. \* About this time one John Ballard, a popish priest, who had been bred in the English seminary at Rheims, resolved to compass the death of the queen; and with that resolution came into England in the disguise of a soldier, with the assumed name of captain Fortescue. He bent his endeavours to bring about at once the project of an assassination

\* A. D. 1586.

sination, an insurrection, and an invasion. The first person he addressed himself to was Anthony Babington of Dethick, in the county of Derby, a young gentleman of good family, and plentiful fortune. This person had been long remarkable for his zeal in the catholic cause, and in particular for his attachment to the captive queen. He therefore came readily into the plot, and procured the concurrence of some other associates; Barnwell, a gentleman of a noble family in Ireland, Charnock, a gentleman of Lancashire, Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the household, and John Savage, who had served in the low countries, and was under a vow to destroy the queen. He did not desire any associate, and refused for some time to permit any to share with him. He challenged the whole to himself; and it was with some difficulty that he was induced to depart from his propitious ambition. They determined to apprise Mary of the design; and it was said, they effected it by conveying their letters to her by means of a brewer that supplied the family with ale, through a chink, in the wall of her apartment.

Such was the scheme laid by the conspirators; and nothing seemed so certain as its success. But the ministers of Elizabeth were privy to it in every stage, and only retarded their discovery, till the meditated guilt was ripe for conviction. Ballard was attended by one Maude, a catholic priest, who was in pay with Walsingham, secretary of state. One Polly, another of his spies, had insinuated



ated himself among the conspirators, and gave an exact account of their proceedings. Soon after one Giffard a priest came over, and discovered the whole conspiracy to Walsingham.

The plot being now ripe for execution, and the evidence against the conspirators incontrovertible, a warrant was issued for the apprehending of Ballard; and this giving the alarm to Babington, and the rest, they covered themselves with various disguises, and endeavoured to keep themselves concealed. But they were soon discovered, thrown into prison, and brought to trial. In their examination they flatly contradicted each other: but the leaders were forced to make a full confession. Fourteen were condemned and executed, seven of whom denied the whole with their latest breath †.

The execution of these wretched men only prepared the way for one of still greater importance, in which a captive queen was to submit to the unjust decisions of those who had no right to condemn her. Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conspiracy, Mary remained in utter ignorance of the whole matter. But her astonishment was equal to her anguish, when Sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's order, came to inform her of the fate of those unhappy men. She was at that time mounted on horse-back, going a hunting; and

† It is highly probable, the whole was a mere fiction, contrived for a pretence to put Queen Mary out of the way,

and was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she was lodged in Fotheringay castle, in Northamptonshire. After her arrival here, her treatment was barbarous beyond precedent, and almost beyond belief. It was not enough for Mary's enemies to resolve upon her death, unless it was preceded by the most mortifying circumstances of disgrace. Elizabeth remembered Mary's promise that her last words should be those of a queen; and she could not bear her magnanimous perseverance in fulfilling it. Great as Elizabeth was, she had a strong tincture of low, feminine envy; and she even wantonly endeavoured to subdue Mary's high spirit by multiplying her hardships and disgraces.

Paulet had orders to strip her of her money and jewels; calling to his assistance one Wade, they burst into Mary's room, who was then in bed, and ill of a paralytic disorder arising from her confinement. He demanded her money in the most ruffian-like manner, and upon her refusing to deliver up the key of her cabinet, he brought crows and hammers to break it open. Mary upon this delivered up her key; and Wade seized between five and six thousand crowns in ready money. After this, he confined her servants to their several rooms (which he likewise searched for money) till he should receive orders from court for their being discharged from their attendance on their mistress.

Mary had two secretaries, Nauy and Curl, the former a French, and the latter a Scotchman; but neither of them was possessed of courage or constancy, sufficient to endure the racks; and therefore the evidence they gave against Mary (if any) ought to go for nothing. Their chambers were in like manner rissed; their papers and persons secured; and both of them examined in order to fix upon Mary the charge of being concerned in Babington's association plot. Elizabeth's next deliberation (now that she was possessed of all the evidences and papers that she could desire) was in what manner, and under what denomination, Mary should be tried. Two methods were suggested; the first was to try her upon the general words of the statute of the twenty fifth of Edward the third, "whereby he is made guilty of treason, who shall compass or imagine the destruction of the king or queen, raise war in his or her dominions, or adhere to his or her enemies." The other was to try her by the associating act of the twenty-seventh of Elizabeth. The latter method was approved of, because, when that act passed, Mary was in England, and, according to the lawyers, owed a local allegiance to queen Elizabeth. The designation under which she was to be tried came next under consideration. The lawyers were of opinion that no foreign name of dignity could be primarily taken notice of by the english law, though it might by an "alias dicta," which went for nothing after the person was certainly and properly described. They therefore designed her in  
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the commission which was issued for her trial, "Mary, daughter and heiress of James the fifth, lately king of Scotland, and commonly called queen of Scots and dowager of France." Thirty-six of the commissioners arriving at the castle of Fotheringay, presented her with a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to submit to a trial for her late conspiracy. Mary perused the letter with great composure; and received the intelligence without emotion or astonishment. She said, however, that she wondered the queen of England should command her as a subject, who was an independent sovereign like herself. She would never, she said, stoop to any condescension which would lessen her dignity, or prejudice the claims of her posterity. The laws of England, she observed, were unknown to her; she was destitute of counsel; nor could she conceive who were to be her peers, as she had but one equal in the kingdom. She added, that instead of enjoying the protection of the laws of England, as she had hoped to obtain, she had been confined in prison ever since her arrival in the kingdom; so that she derived neither benefit, nor security from them. When the commissioners pressed her to submit to the queen's pleasure, otherwise they would proceed against her as contumacious, she declared she would rather suffer a thousand deaths, than own herself a subject to any prince on earth. That, however, she was ready to vindicate herself in a full and free parliament, as for aught she knew

knew, this meeting of commissioners was devised against her life, on purpose to take it away with a pretext of justice. She exhorted them to consult their own consciences, and to remember that the theatre of the world was much more extensive than that of England. At length, after a dispute of two days, the vice-chamberlain Hatton vanquished her objections by representing that she injured her reputation by avoiding a trial, in which her innocence might be proved to the satisfaction of all mankind. This observation made such an impression upon her, that she agreed to plead, if they would admit and allow her protest, of disallowing all subjection. This they refused; but satisfied her, by entering it upon record.

The trial then proceeded with a shew of solemnity and order. Mary repeated her proclamations, and renewed her protests. The capital charge urged against her by the crown lawyers was, her being concerned in, or having knowledge of, Babington's conspiracy. Had they fairly made good this, it would have brought her under the act of the twenty-seventh of Elizabeth, upon which she was tried; but all they produced to support it was Babington's own confession while under sentence of death, and some copies of letters said to have been written by her to Babington, and though not so much as pretended to be of her hand, were drawn up so as to agree with his confession. Among the other absurdities with which these letters were

were stuffed, one was, her desiring Babington to apply to the earl of Northumberland, who was but a boy, and to the earl of Arundel, who was a close prisoner, for assistance. Upon mention of the Howard family, Mary, who till then had continued unmoved, burst into tears; “Alas, said she, how much has that noble house of Howard suffered for my sake.” She then again solemnly denied her being concerned with Babington in the assassination plot; and when a letter was produced written in her cypher approving of it, she positively declared that it never was written by her, or by her order; and took notice that as Walsingham, though one of her judges, was her avowed enemy, and was in possession of her cyphers, it was easy for him to forge such a letter for her destruction. She owned that she had been earnest with Elizabeth to mitigate the penalties of the catholics; and that she had obeyed the dictates of nature in endeavouring to engage her friends to deliver her: “But, said she, I would not purchase the highest felicity on earth with the smallest taint of blood, far less that of a queen and a sister.” She concluded this part of her defence with farther proofs of the falsehoods alledged against her, and drew from Walsingham a most solemn, awkward apology of his own sincerity and impartiality, which all who heard him disbelieved.

The crown lawyers next pressed her secretary Curl's deposition as an evidence of her guilt. I have more than once observed how little regard ought to be paid to confessions extorted either by the fear or feeling (for they

are both the same) of the rack. There cannot be the least question that the confessions of Babington, Ballard, Nau, and Curl (if they made any) were extorted from them in that manner. Mary acknowledged that she always believed her two secretaries to be honest men; and if they had accused her in their depositions to have dictated an answer to Babington's letter, they had committed two great faults; the first, in violating the oath of secrecy which they had taken to her at their admission; and secondly in inventing so detestable a calumny against her, their sovereign and their mistress; and all that can be drawn from it amounts to no more than, it comes from two perfidious men.

“ And, O good God? (says she) in what a desperate condition is the majesty and safety of princes, if they depend upon the writings and witnesses of their secretaries, who are subject to all the frailties that other men are subject to? Why did they not bring my secretaries before me to attest it to my face, which I am confident they durst not do? but (continues she) you are noble lawyers and judges, to put Babington to death without bringing him before me, to open his mouth by torments to tell a lie; and then to shut it up for ever against the truth. And if my secretaries be alive, why do you not (as I have said) bring them before me?

“ As to my desiring the assistance of foreign princes, who is not desirous of liberty that are in thralldom? I am no subject to your queen; I have been these many years her prisoner. The many offers I have made to her

her have been rejected; my sicknesses have increased on me; and I have been denied aid and assistance in them. And is it such a crime in me as deserves your consideration, to desire to be set at liberty? Whatever might have been this queen's offences, it is certain, her treatment was very severe. She desired to be put in possession of such notes as she had taken preparative to her trial; but this was refused her. She demanded a copy of her protest; but her request was not complied with; she even required an advocate to plead her cause against so many learned lawyers, as had undertaken to urge her accusations; but all her demands were rejected; and, after an adjournment of some days, \* sentence of death was pronounced against her in the Star-chamber in Westminster. †

Though the condemning a sovereign princess at a tribunal to which she owed no subjection, was an injustice that must strike the most inattentive, yet the parliament of England, who met four days after †, did not fail to approve the sentence, and to go still farther, in presenting an address to the queen, desiring that it might be put into execution. But Elizabeth still pretended to possess an horror for such severity. She intreated them to find some expedient to save her from the necessity of taking a step so repugnant to her inclination. The parliament understood her well, reiterated their solicitations; and remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her subjects, and her

\* Oct. 25. † Oct. 29.



her children. Elizabeth affected to continue inflexible; but at the same time, permitted Mary's sentence to be made public; § and lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk to the council, were sent to apprize her of it, and of the popular clamour for its speedy execution.

Upon receiving this information, Mary seemed no way moved; but insisted that since her death was demanded by the protestants, she died a martyr to the catholic religion. She said, that as the English often embued their hands in the blood of their own sovereigns, it was not to be wondered at, that they exercised their cruelty towards her. She wrote her last letter to Elizabeth, as follows:

“ Madam,

“ I give thanks to God with all my heart, who, by the sentence of death hath been pleased to put an end to the tedious pilgrimage of my life. I desire not that it may be prolonged, having had too long a time to try the bitterness of it. I beseech your majesty, since I am to expect no favour from some zealous ministers of state, who hold the first places in your councils, I may receive from you only, and from no other, these following favours. In the first place, I desire, that since it is allowed me to hope for a burial in England, I may be decently interred, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic church, of which I am a member, and in which faith all your predecessors and mine lived and died. And when my enemies are satisfied with the shedding of my blood, that

§ Dec. 6.

that my servants may be allowed to carry my bones into France, to be there interred, with the bones of the queen, my most honoured mother. Secondly, I beseech your majesty, in the apprehension which I have of the tyranny of those to whose power you abandon me, that I may not suffer in any private place; but in the view of my servants and other people; who may give a testimony of my faith, and of my obedience to the true church, and defend this period of my life, against the false reports which my adversaries may contrive against me. In the third place, I require, that my servants who have attended on me with great fidelity during so many afflictions, may have free leave to return where they please, and enjoy those small legacies, which in my last will, my poverty hath bequeathed them. I conjure you, Madam, by the blood of Jesus Christ, by the nearness of our consanguinity, by the memory of Henry the seventh, our common father, and by the title of a queen, which I carry to my grave, not to deny me those reasonable demands, but by one word under your hand, to grant me an assurance of them, and I shall die, as I lived,

Your most affectionate sister,  
 Mary R."

In the mean time, accounts of this extraordinary sentence were spread into all parts of Europe; and the king of France was among the foremost who attempted to avert the threatened blow. He sent over Believre as  
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an extraordinary ambassador, with a professed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. But James of Scotland, her son, was, as an duty obliged, still more pressing in her behalf. He dispatched one Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, conjuring her to spare the life of his parent, and mixing threats in case of a refusal. Elizabeth treated his remonstrances with the utmost indignation; and when the Scotch ambassador begged that the execution might be put off for a week, the queen answered with great emotion, "No, not for an hour." Thus Elizabeth, when solicited by foreign princes to pardon the queen of Scots, appeared disposed to proceed to extremities; but when her ministers urged her to strike the blow, her scruples seemed to return.

She appeared to be in great perplexity; and affected to be in much difficulty and distress. In this situation, she one day called her secretary, Davison, whom she ordered to draw the warrant for Mary's execution, informing him, that she intended to keep it by her in case any attempt should be made for the delivery of that princess. She signed the warrant, adding with a savage inhumanity, "Go and tell Walsingham what I have done; though I am afraid, poor soul, he will die with grief when he hears it." She commanded it to be carried to the chancellor to have the seal affixed to it. Next morning, she laid the affair before the council, who unanimously resolved, that the warrant should be immediately put in execution. Accordingly,  
Beale,

‡ Feb. 1. A. D. 1587.

Beale, clerk of the council, summoned the noblemen to whom it was directed, namely, the earls of Kent, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Cumberland; and the two former set out for Fotheringay castle, accompanied by two executioners, and arrived there on Feb. 7.

After Beale's departure, the queen told Davison, she had changed her mind. And yet she never called Beale back, tho' there were seven days between his departure, and queen Mary's execution!—Artifice all!—Falseness and dissimulation, almost without parallel!

Mary heard of the arrival of her executioners, who ordered her to prepare for death by eight o'clock the next morning. She heard the death-warrant read with her usual composure, though she could not help expressing her surprize at the queen of England! She again abjured her being privy to any conspiracy against Elizabeth, by laying her hand upon a New Testament, which happened to lie on the table. She desired that her confessor might be permitted to attend her; which, however, these zealots refused. After the earls had retired, she ate sparingly at supper, while she comforted her attendants, (who continued weeping and lamenting their mistress) with a cheerful countenance; telling them, they ought not to mourn, but rejoice, at the prospect of her speedy deliverance from a world of misery. Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them; they pledged her in order

on their knees, and craved her pardon for any past neglect of duty. She craved mutual forgiveness; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn separation.

After this, she reviewed her will, and perused the inventory of her effects. These she bequeathed to different persons, and divided what money she had, among her domestics, recommending them in letters to the king of France, and the duke of Guise. Then going to bed at her usual hour, she passed part of the night in sound repose; and rising, spent the remainder in prayer, and acts of devotion. Towards morning, she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved for this solemn occasion. Thomas Andrews, the under-sheriff of the county, then entering, he informed her that the hour was come, and he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, that she was ready; and bidding her servants farewell, she proceeded, supported by two of her guards, and followed the sheriff, with a serene, composed aspect, with a long veil of linen on her head, and in her hand a crucifix of ivory. In passing through an hall adjoining to her chamber, Sir Andrew Melvil, master of her household, fell upon his knees, and shedding a flood of tears, lamented his misfortune, in being doomed to carry the news of her unhappy fate to Scotland. "Lament not, said she, but rather rejoice. Mary Stuart will soon be freed from all her cares. Tell my friends that I die constant in my religion, and firm in my affection and fidelity to Scotland and France. God

“ God forgive them that have long desired  
“ my end, and have thirsted for my blood,  
“ as the hart panteth for the water-brook.  
“ Thou O God, who art truth itself, and  
“ perfectly understandest the inmost thoughts  
“ of my heart, knowest how greatly I have  
“ desired that the realms of Scotland and  
“ England might be united. Commend me  
“ to my son, and assure him that I have  
“ done nothing prejudicial to the state, or  
“ the crown of Scotland. Admonish him to  
“ persevere in friendship with the queen of  
“ England, and see that thou dost him faith-  
“ ful service. And so good, Melvil farewell;  
“ once again farewell, good Melvil, and  
“ grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy  
“ queen and thy mistress.” In this place  
she was received by the two noblemen, who  
with great difficulty were prevailed upon to  
allow Melvil, with her physician, apothecary,  
and two female attendants, to be present at  
her execution. She then passed into another  
hall, the noblemen and the sheriff going be-  
fore, and Melvil bearing up her train; where  
was a scaffold erected and covered with black.  
As soon as she was seated, Beale began to  
read the warrant for her execution. Then  
Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, standing  
without the rails, repeated a long exhortation,  
which she desired him to forbear, as she was  
firmly resolved to die in the catholic religion.  
The room was crowded with spectators, who  
beheld her with pity and distress, while her  
beauty, though dimmed with age and afflic-  
tion, gleamed through her sufferings, and  
was

was still remarkable in this fatal moment. The earl of Kent observing, that in her devotions she made frequent use of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her, exhorting her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand. She replied, it was difficult to hold such an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched for the sufferings of him whom it represented. She now began with the aid of her two women, to undress for the block; and the executioner also lent his hand to assist them. She smiled, and said that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be attended by such servants. Her two women bursting into tears, and loud exclamations of sorrow, she turned about to them, put her finger upon her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them; and having given them her blessing, desired their prayers in return. The two executioners kneeling, and asking her pardon, she said she forgave them, and all the authors of her death, as freely as she hoped forgiveness from her Maker, and then once more made a solemn protestation of her innocence. Her eyes were then covered with a linen handkerchief; and she laid herself down without any fear or trepidation. Then reciting a psalm, and repeating a pious ejaculation, her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood, and agitated with the convulsions of death; the dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies." The earl of Kent replied Amen, while

while the rest of the spectators wept and sighed at this affecting spectacle: for flattery and zeal alike gave place to stronger and better emotions. Thus died Mary, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity, a princess unmatched in beauty, and unequalled in misfortunes. Yet how far more desirable was her state, than that of her royal murderer?

Elizabeth upon hearing the news, seemed filled with indignation against her ministers. She committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the Star-chamber for this misdemeanor. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; in consequence of which he remained a long time in custody, and the fine, though it reduced him to want and beggary, was rigorously levied upon him.

While he was in custody, he wrote his apology, to this effect: "That when he delivered the death warrant into the queen's hand, she immediately signed it, desiring it might receive the sanction of the great seal. She broke out into passionate expressions against Sir Amias Pawlet and Sir Druce Drury, because they had not "spared her this trouble," and desired Walsingham would feel "their pulses about it." After the great seal was affixed, she blamed Davison for his haste, saying, "a better course might be taken." On the third day after the council dispatched Beale with the warrant, Davison asked her, if she had changed her mind? she answered,

"No;



“No; but another course might have been devised:” and asked if he had received any answer from Pawlet? he produced the letter, in which Pawlet flatly refused, to do any thing inconsistent with justice and honour. Then she exclaimed in a violent passion, against those “precise fellows;” but said, “there were some persons who would still do it for her sake.” He declared also, that on the very day of Mary’s death, she had chid him, “because she was not yet executed.”

Could this wretched woman believe, there is a God?

It is hard to say, whether her mercy or sincerity was more conspicuous through-out this whole affair! Let men applaud this great queen at their pleasure: but how will she appear before the God of truth?

Mary was considered by her contemporaries, and even her enemies, as the standard of all female accomplishments, with exquisite harmony of shape and dignity of mien. Her limbs were turned with a precision and beauty that the greatest grecian statuaries might have made their models. Few or none of her sex equalled her in music or dancing; and some specimens of her embroidery are still extant, which discover an uncommon taste for her designing and drawing.

She was formed by nature to bear adversity better than prosperity; and she retained the notions of respect that was due to her birth and rank to her last hour.

After Mary’s execution none of her servants were allowed to approach her body, which

which was removed to an adjoining room, where it lay for some days covered with a coarse cloth, which had once belonged to a billiard table; but the scaffold, the frocks of the executioners, the block, and every thing that was stained with her blood, were burnt.

*End of the Second Volume.*















