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Life of Edward of Lancaster -A Sketch

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LIFE OF EDWARD OF LANCASTER.

A SKETCH.

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THE life-story of young Edward of Lancaster is the most romantic and the saddest in our English annals. It was so closely interwoven with that of his mother that the one cannot be told without the other. Some of her earliest friends were the protectors of her child. Margaret, the second daughter of René of Anjou, and Isabelle of Lorraine, was born at Pont-à-Mousson on the 23rd of March, 1429, and baptized at Toul, in the arms of her father's nurse Tiffaine.¹ As a child she went with her mother to Capua and Naples. Provence was also one of the homes of her childhood, but she returned to Lorraine in her fifteenth year.

She was only sixteen when the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk came to Nancy to demand her hand for Henry VI. of England, and in November, 1444, she was married by proxy, amidst great rejoicings; for the event secured a peace between France and England which closed the hundred years of war. There was a grand tournament in the Place de Carrière at Nancy, to celebrate the event, at which Charles VII. and many of the chief nobles of France were present. Charles tilted with King René, bearing on his shield the serpent of the fairy Melusina. The daisy was young Margaret's cognizance, and Pierre Brezé, Lord of Varenne

¹ This faithful servant's monument, with a long inscription, is at Saumur, in the Church of Notre Dame de Nantilly. She died in 1458 :—

“Cy gist la nourrice Thiephaine”
 “La Magine, qui ot grant paine”
 “A nourrir de let en cufance”
 “Marie d'Anjou Royme de France.”
 “Et apres son frere René,”
 “Duc d' Anjou et depuis nommé”
 “Comme encore est Roy de Sicilie.”

and Seneschal of Normandy, maintained the pre-eminence of the "daisy flower" against all challengers in the Place de Carrière.¹ This was no passing sentiment. Two at least, in that brilliant throng, remained true to the fair Princess to the bitter end, Pierre de Brezè and the Duchess of Suffolk.

Margaret was not only very beautiful. She was endowed with rare gifts of intellect, which had been cultivated by travel in Provence and Italy, and through communion with her accomplished father. She set out for England, accompanied by the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, and a train of nobles. On her way she supped with the Duke of York at Mantes, and reached Honfleur on the 3rd April, 1445. Thence she sailed across to Portsmouth, where she slept at the Maison Dieu. She was then taken in a row boat to Southampton, but her marriage was delayed for some time by an illness. Henry VI., who was in his 24th year,² had been waiting for his bride at Southwick. The marriage took place at Titchfield Abbey on April 22nd, 1445, and Margaret was crowned at Westminster on the 30th of May.

Never was a young girl placed in a more wretched position. Married to a poor feeble creature who could be neither protector nor companion; surrounded by self seeking intriguers; living in a foreign country with few to sympathize with or care for her; the years that followed the marriage could not fail to harden the brave heart that no misfortune had power to crush. For years she lived on, the memories of the bright and happy court of her father gradually fading, while the cruel facts of her difficult position hardened round her.

It was in the eighth year of this miserable life that Margaret became a mother. Her whole soul opened to the loving influence. All her pent up womanly feelings found a vent. She at last had something to live for. Her brilliant intellect, her fortitude and devotion, her great powers of endurance, all she had, her whole being became centred in her child—the one thing she had to love. For him she would face dangers, dare more than most men in perils and hardships, and, if need be, would become as a

¹ Barante.

² Born in 1421.

tigress at bay in defence of its young. Yet she never failed in womanly tenderness and in duty towards the poor creature with whom she was mated.

The prince was born at Westminster on the 13th of October, 1453, St. Edward's day ; at a time when Henry VI. was in a state of mental derangement, and when the Duke of York was administering the realm. He was proclaimed Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. His mother was just 24, and Henry was in his 33rd year. The Queen had lost her mother, to whom she was fondly attached, on the previous 28th of February. Taking advantage of his birthday, and in the hope that the name would endear her boy to the people, young Margaret gave him that of Edward. He was baptized by Cardinal Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died a few days afterwards, and by Bishop Waynflete of Winchester ; the Duke of Somerset and the Duchess of Buckingham ¹ being sponsors. He was also created a Knight of the Garter.

From his very cradle the child was in the midst of war and turmoil. The misgovernment of the Beauforts had strengthened the legitimate claim of the Duke of York, which would never have had a chance against the parliamentary title of an able and popular King. But the Yorkists had to reckon with the gifted and intrepid Queen, whose whole soul, and whose every gift of mind and body were concentrated, with fierce devotion, on the defence of her child's birthright. Nothing but death could make her desist from efforts on his behalf.

Young Edward was only in his second year when the first battle of St. Alban's was fought, on the 22nd of May, 1455. His mother had taken him to Greenwich, where she received the fatal news of the death of Somerset and other lords, and of the wound received by Henry. During the following four years there were hollow reconciliations, but a death struggle was inevitable ; and in June, 1459 the court left London for Warwick, virtually to take the field. Edward was only five years old. He was born in the purple, but he was never destined to see London again ;

¹ A Neville, sister of the Duchess of York.

or the homes of his ancestors at Greenwich and Windsor, at Shene and Eltham.

Margaret strove to make the child popular with the people, and to excite a feeling of loyalty for him. He was named Edward to remind them of the King who added to the glory of England at Cressy and Poitiers. She adopted the badge of Edward III. as that of the Prince, and the pretty little boy, with long golden hair, distributed silver swans among the people wherever he went. The Queen could not bear him out of her sight, yet her dauntless eagerness would not allow her to be absent from scenes of strife, when her child's future depended on the result. Mother and child looked down upon the battle of Blore Heath from the tower of Mucleston Church, on the 23rd of Sept., 1459, and when Lord Audley was routed, they fled to Eccleshall Castle. Then there were a few months of dawning hope, which was crushed at Northampton. Again Margaret watched the fortunes of the day, with her child. She heard of the treachery of Grey, she saw the gallant young Edward of York leading his men over the trenches, and that the day was lost. The King fell into the hands of her enemies. On the evening of that fatal 9th of July, in 1460, she rode away with her beloved child, a homeless fugitive. Between Eccleshall and Chester she was made prisoner by a party led by John Cleger, a servant of Lord Stanley. Every instinct was on the alert when danger approached her child. She watched an opportunity while her captors were rifling the baggage, and escaped with little Edward in her arms. The adventures through which they passed are not recorded, but she was eventually joined by the Duke of Somerset, who conducted her to a safe refuge at Harlech Castle in Wales.

The Duke of York, with Henry in his power, easily induced a Parliament to alter the succession. Henry was to have the title of King during his life, but the rights of his son were ignored, and Richard of York was to be his successor. Moreover, the wretched King was induced to write a letter to Margaret, ordering her to accept the new settlement, and to join him in London with her child. This must have been one of the bitterest moments of her unhappy life. But no reverse could daunt this romantic

heroine. She went by sea from Harlech to Scotland, and thence called upon all loyal men in the north to rally round the standard of their King. Margaret's appeal received a prompt answer, and on the last day of the year 1460 the Duke of York lost his life at Wakefield, overwhelmed by superior numbers.¹ There too fell young Edmund of Rutland, in his eighteenth year, fighting valiantly for his father's cause.²

The road was now open to London, and Margaret made a vigorous effort to recover the birthright of her child. On the 17th of February, 1461, she won the battle of St. Alban's and recovered the person of her husband ; but she failed to induce the citizens of London to open their gates to her, and she was obliged to retreat northwards. The Queen and her child appear to have been in the thick of the fight ; and this was the third battle at which young Edward had been present, before he had reached his eighth year. The royal party retired to York, while preparations were made for the final and decisive struggle between the two factions. On the 4th of March, 1461, the young Earl of March was proclaimed King as Edward IV., and on the 29th he won the crowning victory at Towton.

Queen Margaret, with her husband and child, remained at York, and there she received the news of the destruction of all her hopes. There was nothing left for her but instant and rapid flight. The fugitives from Towton told her to mount at once, and the unhappy family, with their few faithful friends, galloped

¹ Margaret and little Edward were still in Scotland. All the stories about her unfeeling conduct at the battle of Wakefield are, therefore, absolutely false. More fabulous stories have been told about the Wars of the Roses than about any other period in history. Polydore Virgil, Fabyan, Hall, and Holinshed are answerable for them. None are corroborated by any contemporary writer.

² There is a striking parallel between the histories of Edmund of Rutland and Edward of Lancaster. Both enjoyed the special love of a parent. Both fell in battle at exactly the same age ; and about the deaths of both most absurd fictions were told, and have been repeated in modern histories. Edmund is said to have been a little child who was assassinated by Clifford, when he was really a youth well able to bear arms. Edward is alleged to have been married, and to have been assassinated, both assertions being erroneous.

out of Bootham Bar, and plunged into the forest of Galtres. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, Lord Roos, Sir William Talboys of Kyme, and the Lord Chief Justice, Sir John Fortescue, attended them. They escaped to Berwick, and thence to Edinburgh, where Henry took up his abode with the Grey Friars. A few faithful adherents gathered round Queen Margarat at the Scottish capital. The most dignified fugitive was the Chief Justice, whom Henry had made Lord Chancellor. He afterwards signed himself "*Cancellarius*." The principal ecclesiastics were Drs. Norton and Makerel. The former was born at Bere, in Dorsetshire, in 1410, or, as others say, in 1420, at Milborne St. Andrew. He had become a Master in Chancery, and was a Member of the Privy Council. The others were :—

Sir Thomas Butler, *brother of the beheaded Earl of Wiltshire.*

Sir William Talboys of Kyme, *but Stow says he was beheaded at York (?)*

Sir Thomas Tyndern, *afterwards taken at Hexham.*

Sir Edmund Hampden, *afterwards slain at Tewkesbury.*

Sir Henry Roos, *afterwards beheaded at Tewkesbury.*

Sir E. Mountford.

Sir R. Whittingham, *afterwards slain at Tewkesbury.*

Sir F. Courtenay, *beheaded at Tewkesbury.*

Myrfyn of Kent

T. Brampton of Guynes.

Sir F. Audley, *beheaded at Tewkesbury.*

George Borrett of Sussex.

Giles St. Lo, *pardoned after Tewkesbury.*

John Hallet.

The winter was passed in Scotland, but in the spring Queen Margaret, seeing no present hope from her English adherents, who appeared to be crushed, resolved to seek aid from abroad. Taking the little prince with her, she sailed from Kirkcudbright in April, 1462, and landed in Brittany on the 8th, whence she proceeded to the court of her cousin Louis XI., who was then at Chinon. It was resolved that some assistance should be given to the undaunted heroine, in men and money. Pierre Brezè, the Seneschal of Normandy, the same knight who had maintained

the pre-eminence of the "daisye flower" in the tournament at Nancy, now flew to the succour of the forlorn Margaret in her distress. He organized the expedition, and in October, 1462, he sailed for the coast of Northumberland with Queen Margaret and her son. They landed at Tynemouth, but the foreign levies were repulsed and fled to their ships, abandoning Brezé and the Queen. The fugitives were afterwards cut to pieces by troops under Sir Robert Ogle, when they landed at Holy Island. Brezé, with the Queen and her child, escaped from Tynemouth in a fishing boat, and, after a perilous voyage, they landed safely at Berwick.

The Lancastrians had taken fresh heart. Somerset, Sir Hugh Percy, and the other leaders had collected troops and captured the castles of Alnwick and Bamborough. The Marquis Montagu, followed by Edward IV. in person, advanced rapidly from the south to put down the new insurrection. In 1463 Percy was defeated and slain at Hedgely Moor; and soon afterwards the rest of Margaret's forces entrenched themselves near Hexham. Somerset commanded, but Henry and Margaret, with the little Prince, were also in the camp. Entrenchments were thrown up on Lyvel's Plain, near Dowelwater, and Somerset waited the attack. On May 8th, 1464, Montagu came in sight, assaulted the position, and, after a desperate resistance, carried it with great slaughter. The Duke of Somerset, Lords Roos and Hungerford, were taken and beheaded. Henry VI. galloped off on a swift horse, in the direction of the Scottish border, leaving his wife and child to their fate. He concealed himself in the west of Yorkshire for a year, but was captured at Bolton Hall in June 1465, and taken to the Tower.

The rout was so sudden and complete that Queen Margaret only had time to run into the neighbouring woods on foot, taking her little boy by the hand. Edward was only ten years old. They wandered about until they were surprised and captured by a band of robbers. While the ruffians were debating whether they should cut the throats of their victims, the Queen gave them the slip, and plunged into the dense thicket. As she wandered through the wood, with the poor little boy by her side, she was

suddenly confronted by a tall man at arms. Utterly exhausted, she took counsel with despair. Throwing herself on her knees before him, and holding out the child, she cried—"My friend! save the son of your King!" The appeal was not made in vain. The man proved to be an outlawed Lancastrian. He conducted her to a cave in which he had taken refuge, and gave rest and food to his Queen and her child. This cave is two miles from Hexham, on the south side of a little stream at the foot of Black-hill. It is about 34 feet deep by 14 feet, with a massive pillar in the centre. Here the fugitives remained hidden for two days, when they were found by Pierre Brezè and his squire Bonville. There can be no doubt of the truth of this incident, for the chronicler Monstrelet received it from Margaret herself. The romance of the adventure is enhanced by the final rescue having been effected by the true and constant knight of the Nancy tournament.

The fugitives escaped by Carlisle to Kirkcudbright, in Scotland; but they had no sooner landed than they were kidnapped by a gang of ruffians hired by a Yorkist in hope of reward, and hurried into a boat, which was at once pulled vigorously towards the Cumberland shore, by stalwart oarsmen. Brezè, Bonville, the Queen, and the little Prince, were tied down in the stern sheets. The two former succeeded in getting loose, and made a sudden and desperate attack on the boat's crew. The struggle was long doubtful. Several times the boat was on the point of capsizing; but at last the doughty Brezè and his esquire killed some, and threw the rest overboard. They then pulled the boat back to the shallow Scottish shore, a long and tedious piece of work. Brezè reached the land, with the Queen on his shoulders; while Bonville carried the young Prince in his arms.

There was but cold welcome in Scotland. It was necessary for them to make their way to Bamborough, which still held out, and there, abandoning present hope, the Queen and her child embarked to commence a life of exile. They were accompanied by a band of faithful friends who would not desert the Queen and her child in their extremity. The names of several of these

good men and true have been preserved :—

Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, *beheaded at Tewkesbury.*

Sir John Beaufort, his brother, *slain at Tewkesbury.*

The Duke of Exeter, *escaped from Barnet.*

Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde, *at Tewkesbury pardoned.*

Sir John Forteseue, Lord Chief Justice, *pardoned at Tewkesbury.*

Sir A. Audley, *beheaded at Tewkesbury.*

Sir J. Courtenay (Hugh ?), *beheaded at Tewkesbury.*

Sir E. Mountford.

Sir H. Roos, *beheaded at Tewkesbury.*

Sir Edmund Hampden, *slain at Tewkesbury.*

Sir W. Vaux, *slain at Tewkesbury.*

Sir R. Whittingham, *slain at Tewkesbury.*

W. Grimsby, other esquires and pages. *Grimsby was pardoned after Tewkesbury.*

Drs. Morton and Makerel, *pardoned after Tewkesbury.*

They encountered a furious gale of wind which lasted for 12 hours, but at length succeeded in reaching the Flemish port of Sluys. Thence they proceeded by Lille, Bethune, and Hesdin to the court of the Duke of Burgundy at St. Pol. Here the exiles were hospitably received and supplied with money, and, after some stay, they went on to the Castle of Kœur-la-Petite,¹ near St. Mihiel, on the Meuse, in the Barrois. King Renè had assigned this castle as the residence of his beloved daughter Margaret and his grandson, with their followers.

No boy, who had only reached his eleventh year, ever went through such vicissitudes as Edward of Lancaster. He had been at four pitched battles, and had ridden over hundreds of miles. He had thrice been seized by robbers. He had wandered in trackless forests, and had passed many nights on the bare ground, in caves, and in open boats. He had made hair-breadth escapes, and had suffered privations and hardships. Few children could have survived such a life. He must have had a robust frame, combined with the high courage of his race. Through all, and protecting him at every step, he had his heroic mother as his

¹ Villeneuve calls it *Kuerere*.

companion ; surrounding and pervading his life with her intense and devoted love. Such experiences must have left a deep impression on the boy's character. It was a wild and turbulent opening for the young life. But now at last there was to be a brief interval of rest. For a few years he was to live more peacefully, receiving instruction and enjoying some boyish pleasures, before destiny hurried him to a violent death.

St. Mihiel is a small town on the right bank of the Meuse, in the diocese of Verdun, and Duchy of Bar. Near it there are enormous rocks overhanging the river, called "Les falaises de St. Mihiel." In the fifteenth century there was cultivation along the river banks, while extensive forests covered the Argonne mountains further back. Nearly opposite St. Mihiel, on the left bank of the river, was the old castle of Kœur-la-Petite, which King Renè gave to his daughter Margaret ;¹ and he contributed to her support as far as his narrow means would allow. Here she dwelt for the five succeeding years, watching the growth and education of her boy, and enjoying more happiness than she had known since her ill-fated marriage. She was within a few miles of Pont-a-Mousson, the place of her birth, and often saw her beloved father, and her sister Iolanthe.

Young Edward was devoted to field sports and martial exercises. His companions were sons of the knights and esquires who had remained faithful to their Queen ; and he loved to gallop with them over the valley, and to exercise with sword and lance. So much of his time was passed in these out-door exercises that, as his years increased, the graver advisers of his mother began to think that he should give rather more attention to the acquisition of learning.

Among the exiles was the most learned and accomplished lawyer who sat on the English bench during the 15th century, and young Edward enjoyed the advantage of his companionship and instruction. John Fortescue, of Ebrington, was born in 1394, was educated at Exeter College, and called to the bar. In 1442 he became Lord Chief Justice of England. Considering the parliamentary title of the Lancastrian King not only good in itself,

¹ Villeneuve, "Vie de Roi Renè."

but even better than a merely hereditary title, he became a steady adherent of Margaret of Anjou. Attainted by Edw. IV., he took the field, was at the battle of Towton, and faithfully continued to give his services to the Queen in her adversity. He wrote a treatise supporting the claim of the Lancastrians on principles of constitutional law; while his presence in their camp gave judicial countenance to the appeal to arms. During his exile, he mainly resided at St. Mihiel, in attendance on the little court of Kœur-la-Petite, and superintended the education of young Edward. He was anxious to impart a knowledge of England, and of English constitutional law to a prince who might some day have to rule over freedom-loving Englishmen, but who left his native country when he was too young to recollect much about it. Fortescue relates the occasion of these studies being commenced, and the progress that was made.

“The Prince,” says the aged Chief Justice, “as he grew up, applied himself wholly to martial exercises. He was often mounted on fiery and wild horses which he did not fear to urge on with the spur. Sometimes with his lance, sometimes with his sword, he made it his diversion to assault the young gentlemen, his attendants, according to the rules of military discipline.” In this Sir John Fortescue encouraged him, but he also urged him to study law, quoting *Deuteronomy* xvii. 18, 19.¹ The boy replied that although he ought to read the divine law, it did not follow that, he should study human laws. He said this thoughtfully, and looking very intently at the old Judge. Fortescue answered that human laws were also sacred, that they were no other than rules whereby the perfect notion of justice could be determined, and that this justice must be the subject of the royal care. Quoting *Wisdom I.*, 1, he said: “Be instructed ye judges of the earth. Love righteousness ye judges of the earth.” “To love justice,” he concluded, “you must acquire a competent knowledge of the laws.” Prince Edward was convinced by the discourse of his

¹ “And it shall be, when he sitteth on the throne of his kingdom that he shall write him a copy of the law: and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of the law and these statutes to do them.”

venerable tutor. He said: "you have overcome me, good Chancellor, with your agreeable discourse, and have kindled within my breast a thirst for a knowledge of the law." But the boy candidly confessed that he did not want to pass all his younger years in such studies. Then Sir John Fortescue explained to him the amount of legal knowledge that was necessary for a Prince. In one year he could acquire sufficient acquaintance with the laws of England, and at the same time he could continue to inure himself to those martial exercises to which his natural inclination prompted him so much. "Still make them your diversion as it best please you, at your leisure," said the tutor.

After this conversation the aged judge of 75 and the young boy of 15 devoted some hours of each day to a study of the English constitution. Their lectures, in the form of dialogues, were afterwards embodied by Fortescue in a treatise entitled "*De laudibus legum Angliæ.*"¹ Edward began by asking his instructor to satisfy him that the laws of England were better adapted for the government of that kingdom than the civil law of the Holy Roman Empire. Fortescue proceeded to establish this point, specially dwelling on the fact that the English statutes were not made by the will of the Kings, but were enacted with the concurrent consent of the whole people, by their representatives in Parliament. He then explained the territorial division of England into counties, the duties of the sheriffs, the method of empannelling juries, and the procedure in civil and criminal causes. The boy approved highly of the system of trial by jury, the jurors being men chosen from among neighbours who knew the country and people. "I know of myself," he remarked, "more certainly what is doing at this time in Barrois, where I reside, than what is doing in England."

On another day the Chief Justice illustrated the good results of the English constitution, by comparing the condition of England with that of France ruled by a despotism. "In the land of England," he says, "there are no wolves nor bears. The grazing lands are enclosed with hedgerows and ditches, and planted with

¹ First printed in 1537.

trees which fence the herds and flocks from bleak winds and sultry heat. There are many franklins and yeomen, of estates sufficient to make substantial juries, not a few spending £100 a year and more. Other countries are not in such a happy situation, and not so well stored with inhabitants." The Prince then remarked that he could understand how the wealth and populousness of England had been caused by the superior excellence of her laws. But a doubt about the number of jurors had occurred to his youthful mind. He said: "Although this method of sifting out the truth highly pleases me, yet there rests this doubt with me. Our blessed Saviour says 'It is written in your law that the testimony of two men is true,'¹ and again in Matthew XVIII., 16."² Fortescue answered that our jury law did not contradict this, for if the testimony of two be true, *a fortiori* that of twelve ought to be presumed to be so. "The more always contains in it that which is less." Besides, in England some cases may be proved before two only, such as facts occurring on the high seas, and proceedings before the Lord Constable and Earl Marshal.³

On another occasion, having previously shewn that the prosperity of England was due to laws agreed to by the people, Fortescue illustrated the evils of despotic power by the condition of France. "You will remember," he said, "that you saw in France how the villages are so much oppressed by the King's soldiers that you could scarcely be accommodated in your travels. The troops pay for nothing, and treat the people barbarously if they are not satisfied. Thus the poor people are exposed to great calamities. The King of France will allow no one to use salt but what is bought of himself at his own arbitrary price. All growers of vines must give a fourth to the King. All the towns pay the King great yearly sums for his men at arms: so that the peasants live in great hardship and misery. They wear no woollen. Their clothing consists of little short jerkins of sackcloth, no trowse but from the knees upwards, and the legs exposed and naked. The women all go barefoot. The people eat not meat

¹ John VIII., 17

² "But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established."

³ See page 47.

except the fat, of bacon in their soup. Nor are the gentry much better off. If an accusation is brought against them, they are examined in private, and perhaps never more heard of."

"In England it is very different. No one can abide in another man's house without his leave, or take his goods; except the King, by his purveyors at a reasonable price. The King cannot put on taxes, nor alter the laws, nor make new ones. The English never drink water except for penance, they eat all sorts of flesh and fish, they are clothed throughout in good woollens, they have woollen bedding in great store, and are provided with all sorts of household goods. An Englishmen cannot be sued, except before the ordinary judge." Having drawn this contrast between the French and English, the old Judge continued: "These advantages are due to the political mixed government which prevails in England. Those Kings who have wished to change it preferred ambition, luxury, and impotent passion to the good of the State. Remember that the King is given for the sake of the kingdom, not the kingdom for the sake of the king."

Edward, although he frequently intervened with pertinent questions, showing that he was giving close attention to the subject, fully concurred in the arguments of his tutor, and must have derived great benefit from this course of studies. He was impressed with the duties of an English King, with the limited character of his power, and with the importance of a parliamentary title. Fortescue also began to occupy the young Prince in the active transaction of affairs of state. Edward himself wrote a dispatch to Sir Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde, who was in Portugal representing the cause of the House of Lancaster to the King Alphonso V.,¹ and he was acquainted with the proceedings of Sir John Fortescue, when he made journeys to Paris, to seek aid from Louis XI.

The residence at Kœur-la-Petite lasted for five years.² The peaceful home was broken up, owing to the treachery of the self-seeking and turbulent Earl of Warwick. Exasperated with

¹ Alphonso V. was a grandson of Philippa, the sister of Henry IV. of England; therefore a second cousin of Henry VI.

² 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469. Edward was not twelve when he came there, and sixteen when he left.

Edward IV., Warwick had resolved to abandon the cause with which he was connected by ties of relationship and by life-long service. He had married his daughter Isabel to the Duke of Clarence, and had alienated that vacillating prince from his brother. He came to France with Clarence, the Countess of Warwick, and her two daughters Isabel and Anne, and proposed to King Louis to espouse the cause of his cousin Margaret, and to restore her husband to the throne. The alliance of Edw. IV. with the Duke of Burgundy caused Louis XI. to entertain Warwick's scheme. But it was most distasteful to the Queen. Much as she longed for the restoration of his birthright to her child, she found it difficult to accept such aid. Warwick was not only the most inveterate enemy of her family, he had also made himself personally odious to Margaret. He was now a double-dyed traitor. His motives were transparently selfish, and she neither believed in his new-born loyalty, nor in his ability to help her. But the persuasions of Louis XI. and of her own relations at length induced her to come to the French court. The Queen and her young son, attended by Sir John Fortescue and their other faithful adherents, left their happy home in the lovely valley of the Meuse, in December, 1469.

Margaret arrived at Tours, where the French court then was, accompanied by Prince Edward, her father King Renè, her brother John of Calabria, her sister Iolanthe, and her brother-in-law Ferry de Vaudemonte. Warwick arrived soon afterwards and, with much reluctance, Margaret consented to an interview. Negotiations were continued for several months; and on the 15th of July the court moved to Angers, where the Countess of Warwick and her daughter Anne were in attendance.

Warwick asked that Prince Edward should marry his daughter Anne, as the reward of his assistance. At first the Queen positively refused, but she at last gave a conditional and very unwilling assent, moved by the importunities of Louis XI. and her relations. The marriage was to take place after Henry VI. was restored to the throne, and if Warwick failed, the agreement was at an end. "The said marriage shall not be perfyted till the Earl of Warwick has recovered the realm of England for King Henry."¹ They

¹ Ellis's Original Letters, second series, Vol. I., p. 132.

were never married. They were indeed mere children, Edward being 16 and Anne barely 14.¹ Knowing the dislike of his mother to such a union, and strongly prejudiced against it himself, it is not likely that Edward ever took more notice of Warwick's child than ordinary courtesies required.

After the departure of Warwick from Angers, on the 4th of August, 1470, events followed each other rapidly. Edward IV., surprised in his camp by Montagu, fled to Holland, and on the 6th of October Warwick entered London, releasing Henry from the Tower. On the 14th of March, 1471, Edward landed at Ravenspur, on the 9th of April he entered London, and on the 14th he gained a complete victory at Barnet, Warwick and his brother Montagu being among the slain. Henry's brief second reign lasted just 6 months and 3 days.

Meanwhile Queen Margaret was making preparations for a voyage to England, where her supporters were expected to rise in the western counties and in Wales. She was now in her 42nd year, and she had lost some of her buoyancy and vigorous hopefulness with her youth. Still as determined as ever to assert the rights of her son, she trembled for his safety. She got ready to embark with feelings of deep anxiety and foreboding. Edward reached his 17th birthday in October, 1470, and in November Queen Margaret and the Prince entered Paris, and were honoured with a grand official reception. Edward was now a handsome lad of 17, with a robust frame well seasoned by an active outdoor life. He was tall for his age, with the features of his mother, and long golden hair. He was a good horseman and a practised man-at-arms. Well instructed in all the literary culture of the time, and doubtless inheriting some of his grandfather's love of poetry and romance, young Edward had also carefully studied the constitution and laws of England. He was fully convinced of the justice of his cause by the reasoning of one of the ablest lawyers of the time, and the hereditary bravery of his race now filled him with martial ardour. But he was still very young, and all these qualities of head and heart were as yet only budding towards maturity.

¹ Anne was born on June 11th, 1456. She married her cousin Richard Duke of Gloucester in 1473, and became his Queen when he succeeded as Richard III. Queen Anne died on March 16th, 1485, aged 29.

The invading expedition was collected at Harfleur. Here, at the opening of 1471 were Queen Margaret with her grave councillors, Sir John Fortescue and Drs. Morton and Makerel. Prince Edward was surrounded by the faithful adherents of his house ; and the Countess of Warwick, with her daughter Anne, were in the same fleet. There was a persistent contrary wind. Three times the ships put to sea, and were forced to return. The Countess of Warwick arrived first at Portsmouth, and, hearing of the death of her husband at Barnet, she took sanctuary in the Abbey of Beaulieu. Queen Margaret, with her son Edward, Sir John Fortescue, Sir John Langstrother the Prior of St. John, and many exiled knights landed at Weymouth on the 14th of April, the very day of the battle of Barnet.

Weymouth was then a small sea port with no suitable accommodation for so large a concourse. The Queen therefore, passing through Dorchester, at once advanced fifteen miles northward from the sea coast, to the Abbey of Cerne.¹ Dr. Morton had once been a monk at Cerne ; and the Abbot, who had been elected in Feb., 1470, was his old friend. This circumstance no doubt led to the decision of Queen Margaret to seek the hospitality of Abbot Roger Benynster, and here she received tidings of the battle of Barnet, a disaster which seemed fatal to her cause. At first she was overwhelmed, and wished her boy to return to France. But in a few days she was joined by Edmund Beaufort, the last Duke of Somerset,² and his brother John. Somerset had commanded the archers at Barnet, but had escaped and found his way to the Queen. Jasper Tudor Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of

¹ Hall and Habington say that she went to Beaulieu, or Bewly, on the Southampton water, which would have been to march directly away from her friends and adherents in the west.

Cerne Abbey was on the site of a hermitage where Eadwald, brother of Edmund the Martyr, lived and died in 871. The abbey was commenced by an Earl of Cornwall in 987. It was a grand pile of buildings at the foot of a round spur from the Downs, called "Trendal Hill." On this hill a gigantic figure of a man, of unknown antiquity, is cut out of the chalk. The beautiful gate house of the abbey, which is still standing, was not built at the time of Queen Margaret's visit. Its probable date is about 1509.

² His elder brother Henry had been beheaded after the battle of Hexham, leaving an illegitimate son, the ancestor of the Dukes of Beaufort. Edmund and John were never married.

Devonshire, and Lord Wenlock followed quickly on the heels of Somerset. They entreated her to persevere, assuring her that the west of England was ready to rise in her support, and that levies had actually been called out, with Exeter as the rendezvous. With sad forebodings she consented, and her gallant son entered upon the last three weeks of his young life. Pembroke was dispatched to raise forces in Wales. Margaret, with the rest of her adherents, left Cerne Abbey after a stay of about ten days, marched to Exeter, and thence, by Taunton, Glastonbury, and Wells, to Bristol; fresh levies joining and increasing her forces as she advanced.

On the 16th of April Edward IV. heard of Queen Margaret's landing. He had returned to London two days before, after his victory at Barnet. On the 19th he went to Windsor and waited to collect men, celebrating the Feast of St. George there on the 23rd. He saw at once that the enemy had only two courses: either to march on London and give him battle, or to go northwards and unite with Tudor's levies in Wales. His policy was to engage his adversaries as soon as possible, before they could be re-inforced. He was not likely himself to receive more support, until he had gained a decisive victory and his position was established. Queen Margaret's generals tried to deceive him by sending detachments in several directions; but his final conclusion was that they intended to take a northerly direction, by crossing the Severn and marching into Wales.

Edward, therefore, left Windsor on the 24th of April, accompanied by his brothers Clarence and Gloucester, by Lords Hastings and Dorset, and by his old tutor Sir Richard Croft. He had some artillery, which caused him to proceed by easy marches. On the 27th he was at Abingdon, and on the 29th at Cirencester. He kept a somewhat northerly line so as to fall on the enemy's flank if a rush was made at London. At Abingdon he heard that the Queen was at Wells. News came to Cirencester that she would be at Bath next day, and then advance to attack him. So he moved to meet the enemy as far as Malmesbury. Then the news arrived that she had gone to Bristol, and had resolved to give him battle at Chipping Sodbury. Lancastrian parties had even been sent to take ground on Sodbury Hill. On Thursday, the

2nd of May, the King marched to Sodbury but found no enemy. It was a feint. The Lancastrians had gained a day on him, and were in full march to Gloucester. It was now a race to the Severn. It was life and death for the Lancastrian army to cross the river and join Pembroke on the Welsh border. It was equally life and death for King Edward to prevent it. He encamped in a valley between the hill and Sodbury village on the night of the 2nd, anxiously waiting for correct intelligence. At 3 a.m. he heard that the enemy was making a forced march on Gloucester. Luckily the castle was held for the King by Sir Richard Beauchamp.¹ King Edward sent a trusty messenger, urging him to hold out, with the assurance that he was following the messenger rapidly. The message arrived in time.

The Lancastrian army had marched all through the night from Bristol, over the plain between the Cotswold Hills and the Severn. At 10 a.m. of the 3rd of May, the Queen's forces came before the gates of Gloucester, and summoned the place. Sir Richard Beauchamp manned the walls and refused to surrender. There was no time to spare for taking the place by assault. It was thought wiser to proceed to Tewkesbury without resting. They arrived at about 4 in the afternoon of the same day. But the troops had now marched, during that day and the night before, a distance of 36 miles without rest, through lanes and woods. They were exhausted, and could go no further. Margaret wanted to pass over the Severn,² but it was represented to her that if they could cross the river, the King could follow, and attack them when they were worn out with fatigue. So it was resolved that the troops should obtain some rest, and that a strong position should be taken up and entrenched, outside the town of Tewkesbury.

Close to the first mile post on the turnpike road, on the west side of Tewkesbury, there is a range of elevated ground called Holme Hill, where a castle once stood. The present work-house is built on part of the site. Close behind it there is a field called

¹ Son of Lord Beauchamp of Powyke.

² There was no bridge over the Severn at Tewkesbury in those days, though there was one over the Avon.

“the Gastons,”¹ and some ground laid out as a cemetery. On the east side of the road is Gupshill farm and gardens, and a field called “Margaret’s camp.” The Lancastrian position included the Gastons and Gupshill, with the abbey and the houses of the town immediately in the rear. It is described as “a place right evil to approach.”² Strong entrenchments were thrown up in front and both flanks, strengthened by muddy lanes and ditches.

On the same morning of May 3rd, at early dawn, King Edward marshalled his forces at Sodbury in three battalions, and prepared for a long march, with scouts in front and on the flanks. His infantry numbered 3000 men. It was a very hot day, and he took a direct line over the Cotswold Hills; rightly judging that the enemy, having failed before Gloucester, would go on to Tewkesbury. Thither, therefore, he marched direct, without a halt. The men found neither food nor even water, except at a small brook. But the King allowed no rest. He reached Cheltenham as the enemy got to Tewkesbury. At Cheltenham he served out the rations that had been brought, the men having marched 28 miles. Then he resumed the march, and at night he encamped within two miles of the enemy’s position; having marched over 34 miles.

At dawn on Saturday, the 4th of May, 1471, the army of Queen Margaret prepared to resist the assault of the King’s forces. The van was commanded by Edmund Duke of Somerset and his brother Sir John Beaufort. Young Prince Edward was to lead the main battle, assisted by Lord Wenlock and the Prior of St. John.³ Wenlock owed his rise in life to the Queen. He

¹ Leland says: “*intravit campum nomina Gastum,*” and “*nomina occisorum in bello Gastriensis prope Theokesbury.*”

A place called “The Vineyard” is also mentioned. But “vineyards” were merely apple orchards. Where manors were held of the King, the tenants were obliged to pay yearly a vessel of wine made of apples, or cider.

See a discussion upon this subject: *Archæologia*, Vol. I., p. 321, and Vol. III., pp. 53-95.—Ed.

² “In a close harde at the toun’s end, having the toun and abbey at their backs, and before them defended by lanes and deep ditches and hedges.”—*Holinshed*.

³ Habington, p. 93.

deserted her cause after the first battle of St. Albans, and commanded the Yorkist rear at Towton.¹ Edw. IV. had created him a peer, but he had now changed sides once more. The rear division was under the Earl of Devonshire. Queen Margaret parted with her boy that morning in deep anxiety, for the first, and alas ! for the last time. She retired to a small religious house at Gupshill, with the Countess of Devonshire, Lady Vaux, and other ladies.

King Edward arranged his army in three divisions. Young Richard of Gloucester² commanded the vanguard with the artillery. The King³ himself led the centre ; and Hastings and Dorset conducted the rear. The King had observed a park, with much wood, to the right of the enemy's position, and he posted 300 spearmen there, to act as occasion might require. He then displayed his banners, blew his trumpets, and marched straight on the entrenchments.

Gloucester found so many hedges and deep dikes in front that he could not break into the enemy's lines, so as to come hand to hand. He ordered up the artillery and, also using arrows, opened fire on Somerset's division. Galled by the fire, Somerset then led his men down some lanes on the King's flank, which he had previously reconnoitred, and fell upon the troops of the Yorkist centre with great fury, driving them backwards. He charged Gloucester with the same impetuosity, and was in the full tide of success, when, just as the King was rallying his men, the select 300 spearmen from the wood, attacked Somerset's rear, and caused a panic. This gave the King time to reform and resume the fight. Somerset's men now fell back, while Gloucester made a desperate assault on the Lancastrian centre, behind the entrenchments. There was a short and gallant struggle, in which poor young Edward fleshed his maiden sword, and then the Lancastrians broke in all directions.

¹ In 1450 the Queen had made him her Chamberlain, and he was wounded on her side at St. Albans in 1455. He was made K.G. But he went over to the Yorkists, fought at Towton against the Queen, and was created Lord Wenlock in 1461. There was a T. Wenlock at the battle of Agincourt, in the company of Sir William Bourchier.

² Born Oct. 2nd, 1452, he was 18½, a year older than Prince Edward.

³ Edward was born on April 28th, 1442. His age was now 29 years and 6 days.

The rout was complete. The abbey water mills were in a meadow close to the town, and here many fugitives were drowned. There was a great slaughter in the "Bloody Meadow" to the rear of the Lancastrian position, for it leads to a ford or ferry over the Severn called Lower Lode. The meadow is half a mile from the river bank. But soon the conqueror gave orders to spare the fugitives.

The brave young Prince, who led the main battle of the Lancastrians, bore himself valiantly, and played the man before his people, in that supreme moment of his life. Of that we need have no doubt. Borne away in the route, and followed closely by the victorious enemy, he was slain on the battle field of Gaston, by Tewkesbury. The closing scene is dimly shown to us. The horse is wounded and on its knees. Then the rider receives his death blow from behind. The helmet had already been struck off. The bright golden locks sink down on the horse's mane, and in another moment horse and rider fall and are ridden over.¹ Thus ended the life of Sir Edward Plantagenet, K.G., Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. His age was 17 years, 6 months and 22 days. He was a boy of great promise; courageous, intelligent, and affectionate. His short life must have embraced a large share of happiness. Even during all the dangers and hardships of his childhood, the loving arm of the heroic mother must have averted those terrors which cause misery to unprotected children. The life at Kœur-la-Petite was a period of unclouded pleasure. Then came the excitement of the last campaign, and a glorious death on the field of battle.² If fortune had smiled on the enterprise

¹ So much is shown in a picture accompanying the narrative sent to Flanders, and written by an eye witness. It is in the public library at Ghent. See also the *Archæologia XXI.*, p. 11-23.

² The manner of young Edward's death has been the subject of one of those fables which abound in the pages of the Tudor chroniclers. There was only one eye witness who wrote an account of the battle of Tewkesbury, and his evidence is conclusive. Fleetwood (*Chron.*, p. 30) says:—"He was taken fleeing to the townwards and slain on the field." This is fully corroborated by Bernard André, the historian employed by Henry VII., who says: "*Is enim ante Bernardi campum Theozberye prælio belligerens ceciderat.*" Commines (*I.*, 262), who was a contemporary, says: "*Et fut le Prince de Galles tué sur le champ, et plusieurs autres grans seigneurs.*"

of Queen Margaret, no prince ever gave better promise. Brought up in the school of adversity, carefully trained in the principles of constitutional freedom, and taught to believe in the necessity for a parliamentary title to the crown, Edward of Lancaster, as King of England, might have given his country a long period of peace and prosperity. But it was ordained otherwise. The bright young life was cut short. The body found burial in Tewkesbury Abbey Church.

Many of the faithful adherents who had shared the exile of their Prince, fell fighting for him at Tewkesbury. Among them were :—

(ii) The Earl of Devonshire.—*His mother (Lady Margaret Beaufort) was with the Queen.*

[s] Lord Wenlock.¹

This was the simple fact. He fell fighting bravely on the field of battle. The Croyland chronicler says: “*As well in the field, as afterwards by the revengeful hands of certain persons,*” Prince Edward, Somerset, Devon, &c.” The “revengeful hands” refer to the executions after the battle, and give no countenance to the subsequent fable. Warkworth says that “*There was slain in the field Prince Edward, which cried for succour to the Duke of Clarence.*”

The assassination story was first told long afterwards by Alderman Fabyan, who says that the Prince was captured and brought before Edw. IV. “*The King strake him with his gauntlet in the face, on which the Prince was by the King’s servants incontinently slain.*” Then, as is usual in handing down a fabrication of this kind, it grew and was embellished as it passed from hand to hand. Polydore Virgil substituted Clarence, Gloucester, Hastings and Dorset for the “King’s servants” of Fabyan. Hall is always fond of a “lie circumstantial.” He adds that Sir Richard Croft captured young Edward and brought him to the King. On the same principle he gives the *name* of the tutor to the Earl of Rutland, whom he represents as a poor little child when he was slain on Wakefield bridge. But the fact that Rutland was then in his eighteenth year explodes the whole story of the child and his tutor, and the *name* goes with it. In Holinshed the Tewkesbury fable is further embellished by the statement that Gloucester struck the first blow. Stow, who is by far the most reliable of the Tudor chroniclers, rejects all the additions, and repeats the story as told by Fabyan. Sir Thomas More and Lord Bacon do not allude to the story. Sharon Turner, the first modern historian who examined it critically, rejects it altogether.

¹ An improbable story is told by Holinshed, that when Somerset was driven back, infuriated at not having been re-inforced by the centre, he clove Lord Wenlock’s skull with a battle axe. It is not corroborated by any contemporary evidence.

- (II s.) Lord John Beaufort.—*Shared the Queen's exile.*
- (II.s.) Sir Edmund Hampton.—*With the Queen and Prince in exile, embarked with them at Bamborough.*
- (II s.) Sir William Whittingham (R.?)—*With the Prince and Queen in exile, embarking with them at Bamborough.*
- (s.) Sir William Vaux.—*His wife Lady Vaux, was with the Queen. He was with the Queen and Prince in exile, embarking with them at Bamborough.*
- (s.) Sir William Feilding.
- (s.) Sir John Lewkener.
- (s.) Sir William Roos.—*With the Queen and Prince in exile, embarking with them at Bamborough.*
- (s.) Sir Thomas Seymour.
- (s.) Sir Thomas Fitz Henry.
- (II.s.) Sir John Delves.
- (s.) Sir James Lutterell (Lermouth ?)
- (s.) Sir John Urnan.
- (s.) Sir Nicholas Herby (Hartry ?).

The lords and knights who escaped from the battle field took refuge in the abbey church which, however, had no privilege of Sanctuary.¹ They were tried before the Earl Marshal and Lord High Constable, a court which is recognised by Chief Justice Fortescue in his discourse to young Prince Edward.² Thirteen were condemned, and were beheaded in the market place of Tewkesbury, on May 6th, 1471.

(s.II.) 1. Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.—*With the Queen in exile.*

(s.II.) 2. Sir John Langstrother, Prior of St. John.³

H.—Hall.

S.—Stow.

¹ In order to blacken the character of Edward IV., some of the Tudor Chroniclers allege that he gave a promise to the Abbot that he would spare the lives of those who had taken refuge in the church, in order to get possession of their persons; and that then he perfidiously beheaded them. The story, which was invented long afterwards, is disproved by the fact that the church had no such privilege of sanctuary.

² See p. 36.

³ Sir John Langstrother, and his brother William, had grown grey as Knights of Rhodes, fighting valiantly against the Turks. Sir John held the offices of Bailiff of the Eagle, Grand Commander of Cyprus, and Commander of Basal and Graston, in England. He was at Rome in 1467, at the Chapter which elected Grand Master Orsini; and afterwards appears to have joined Queen Margaret in France.

- (s.H.) 3. Sir Gervase Clifton.¹
 (s.) 4. Sir Humphrey Audley.—*With the Queen and Prince in exile.*
 (s.) 5. Sir Hugh Cary.—*Came from Devonshire with the Earl.*
 (s.H.) 6. Sir Thomas Tresham.
 (s.) 7. Henry Tresham.
 (s.) 8. Sir William Newborough.
 (s.) 9. Sir Hugh Courtenay (Walter ?) of Haccombe—*With the Queen in exile.*
 (s.) 10. James Gower —*Sword bearer to Prince Edward. With him in exile.*
 (s.) 11. Lewis Miles.
 (s.) 12. Robert Jackson.
 (s.) 13. John Flory.

Edward IV. was placable and forgiving, after the first fury of the moment had passed. All inferior officers and soldiers were pardoned, as well as the following important prisoners :—²

- Sir John Fortescue.—*With the Queen and Prince in exile.*
 Sir Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond.—*Embarked at Bam-
 borough with the Queen and Prince.*
 (s.) Sir Henry Roos.—*With the Queen and Prince in exile.*
 Sir John St. Lo (Giles ?).—*With Queen Margaret at Edin-
 burgh.*
 (s.) Sir Wm. Grimsby, the Prince's esquire.—*With him in exile.*
With the Queen and Prince at Bamborough.
 E. Fulford.—*Came from Devonshire with the Earl.*
 J. Parker.
 J. Basset.—*Came from Devonshire with the Earl.*
 J. Walleys.
 J. Throgmorton.

¹ Sir Gervase Clifton, of Scots Hall, in Brabourne, Kent, was the third husband of Maud, daughter of Sir Richard Stanhope, of Rampton, by Maud, daughter of Ralph Lord Cromwell. Her second husband, Sir J. Nevile, was slain at the battle of Wakefield. She made her will in 1497, and was buried at Tattershall, in Lincolnshire, where her brother, Lord Treasurer Cromwell, had built a lofty brick castle in 1445.

² Leland's Collectanea, Hearne, Vol. II., p. 505.

II.—Hall.

s.—Stow.

Dr. Morton }
 Dr. Makereel } *With the Queen in exile.*

The attainder of the venerable Sir John Fortescue was generously reversed. He received a pardon,¹ and retired to his seat at Ebrington, in Gloucestershire, where he passed the few remaining years of his life. Dr. Morton was taken into favour by Edw. IV., who made him Master of the Rolls, Bishop of Ely, and Executor to his Will. He died Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury at the great age of 90, on September, 13th, 1500.

One turns with shuddering pity from the anguish beyond all power of utterance, from the black despair in the religious house at Gupshill, where the Queen, with the Countess of Devonshire and Lady Vaux, is said to have awaited the issue of the battle.² Sir William Stanley arrested the ladies, and it was reported that he announced the prince's death with some brutality. It mattered little. The blow must have stunned the unhappy mother, and nothing could add to its crushing effect. Her real life ended with that of her beloved child. All before her was the blackness of darkness for evermore. Queen Margaret was brought to Edward IV. at Coventry by Sir William Stanley on May 11th, and to the tower on the 22nd. King Edward appears to have behaved to the captive Queen with kindness, although he insisted on a ransom. Her husband died in the tower on the 24th, at the

¹ Dated 13th Oct., 1471.

² There is some obscurity respecting the movements of the Queen during and after the battle, until she was captured. In 1885 the Rev. E. R. Dowdeswell read a paper to this Society, entitled "Movements of Queen Margaret after the Battle of Tewkesbury." After weighing all the evidence, Mr. Dowdeswell is of opinion that the Queen was *at* the battle, but that she escaped and fled, not towards Deerhurst, as some of the writers state, but towards Worcester, as related by Speed; that she took refuge at Payne's Place, in the parish of Bushley, and that next day, continuing her journey towards Worcester, she found shelter in some religious house near that city, where she was captured by Sir William Stanley, and brought to Edw. IV. at Coventry (See *Transactions X.*, p. 144.) Speed says: "Queen Margaret, in this fatal day of battle, fled towards Worcester, and by the way tooke refuge in a poore religious house, in that her present distresse; but three days afterwards she was apprehended," (p. 634.)

comparatively early age of 49.¹ Her brother John, and her brother-in-law, the chivalrous Ferry de Vaudemont, died in the same year. Queen Margaret was sent from the tower to Windsor, and thence to Wallingford, in charge of her old friend the Dowager Duchess of Suffolk. The Duchess had come to Nancy for Henry's bride, and had seen the beautiful young Princess at the brilliant tournament. She now received her, after 27 years, a childless and despairing widow, crushed to the earth by grief unspeakable. At last King Renè collected the ransom. On August 29th, 1475, the sum of 50,000 crowns was paid, and the Queen proceeded to embark at Sandwich, attended by three ladies and seven gentlemen, and escorted by Sir John Haute. She landed at Dieppe in Jan., 1476, and signed a renunciation of all the rights derived from her marriage, at Rouen, on the 29th. Thence she went to Reculée, a league from Angers, where she lived with her old father until his death in 1480.² The last sad years were passed at the chateau of Dampierre, on the Loire, near Saumur, under the care of François de Vignolle, an old and faithful servant of her family. The brave and loving soul was at length released. Margaret of Anjou died at the age of 52,³ on the 25th of August, 1482 : eleven

¹ The Tudor Chroniclers, in order to prejudice the memories of the Yorkist Princes, pretend that Henry VI. was murdered on the night of the 21st, when Edward IV. and his brother Richard were in the tower. They left for Kent on the 22nd. The payments for the board of Henry and his attendants up to the 24th, disprove this story. In *Rymer's Fœdera*, XI., p. 712, is the following entry : "*Super custodia Henrici Rēgis de costibus et expensis. Eidem Willielmo Sayer in denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias super custodia ejusdem Henrici videlicet pro xiv diebus, primo incipiente xi die Maii ultimo præterito, per breve præscriptum iel. vs.*" Another bill shows that Henry was allowed three readers. The fact that Henry died on the 24th, and not before, is corroborated in the letter to Bruges (*Archeologia*, Vol. XXI.) As Margaret arrived at the tower on the 22nd, she may have attended her husband during the last two days of his life, from the 22nd to the 24th, before she was removed to Windsor. The Lancastrian leaning of the family of Lord Rivers, who was Constable of the Tower, makes this supposition even probable. Henry's death may have been caused by the effects of a severe wound which he received from a ruffianly fanatic some months previously (See *Hearne*, p. 202, *ex coll. Blakman*). The poor King was too imbecile and callous to have died of grief.

² He was born January 16th, 1480, aged 72.

³ Age 52 years 5 month, 2 days.

years and some months after the light went out of her life, with her child's death. She was buried in the cathedral of Angers.

DATES IN PRINCE EDWARD'S LIFE.

Childhood in Palaces near London in Royal State, 5 years.

	AGE.
1453. Oct. 13. Prince Edward born at Westminster -	
1454. Duke of York in power - -	1
1455. Duke of Somerset in power <i>May 22nd</i> , Slain at St. Alban's - -	2
1456. Duke of York in power - -	3
1457. Duke of York displaced - -	4
1458. - - - - -	5
1459. Edward with his mother at Coventry, and in Cheshire - -	6
Sept. 23. Battle of Blore Heath - -	7

In wars, and flight with his mother, 5 years.

1460. July 10. Battle of Northampton. In Wales and Scotland - - -	8
1461. March. At York. Flight to Scotland -	9
1462. With his mother in France - -	10
1463.	
1464. May 8. Battle of Hexham - -	11

In exile 6 years.

1465-69. At Kœur-la-Petite - -	12-16
1470. At the French Court - -	16
1471. May 4. The end at Tewkesbury - -	17

BATTLES AT WHICH PRINCE EDWARD WAS PRESENT.

1459. Sep. 22. Battle of Blore Heath - -	6
1460. July 10. Battle of Northampton - -	7
1461. Feb. 17. Battle of St. Albans - -	8
1464. May 8. Battle of Hexham - -	11
1471. May 4. Battle of Tewkesbury - -	17

SEA VOYAGES OF PRINCE EDWARD.			AGE
1460.	Voyage from Harlech to Scotland	- -	8
1462.	Voyage from Kirkcudbright to Brittany	- -	10
1463.	Voyage from France to Tynemouth	- -	10
1463.	In an open boat from Tynemouth to Berwick	- -	11
1464.	„ „ in the Solway Firth	- -	11
1465.	Voyage from Northumberland to Sluys	- -	12
1471.	Harfleur to Weymouth	- -	17

MARGARET OF ANJOU.

1429-1445.	A maiden	- - -	16 years
1445-1453.	Married and childless	- - -	8 „
1453-1474.	Mother	- - -	17½ „
1471-1482.	Mourning for her child	- - -	11½ „
			<hr/>
			52 „

DESCENT OF EDWARD OF LANCASTER.

