

ART. XXXVI. *The House of Percy, entitled Barons Lucy of Cockermouth.* By GEO. T. CLARK, F.S.A.

*Read at Lancaster, Sept. 18th, 1890.*

THE house of Percy has at length found its historian, and that which bishop Percy contemplated, a century and a half ago, has been achieved by the industry of Mr. de Fonblanque and the liberality of the present duke. The result appears in the shape of two portly volumes, correctly edited, handsomely printed, and tastefully illustrated, worthy of the editor, the patron, and the subject.

It is pleasant to find the old border spirit still alive, though the sword has been superseded by the pen, and the bugle blast no longer awakes the ancient echoes. As in the days of "snaffle, spur, and spear", the provocation, though in the pacific form, has sprung from the north of the Tweed. The glove, no longer of steel, lifted by the lord of Alnwick, was flung down by the laird of Branksholm and his henchman Sir William Fraser, and the world is richer by two excellent histories of the families of Scott and Percy. The Douglasses indeed, the more immediate rivals of the Percies, and with them the theme of many a border ballad, have long since found their "vates sacer" in trusty Sir John Holland, whose theme was ever "The Douglas, tender and trewe".

It is remarkable that Scotland, wasted by centuries of civil dudgeon and foreign invasion, should retain so many families of historic celebrity, who still hold their hereditary lands, live within or on the site of their ancient castles, and preserve almost uninjured their household books, charters, and infeoffments. Douglas and Scott, Home and Ker, Maxwell and Elliot, still retain their border territories; and beyond the Forth and Clyde, Campbell  
and

and Graham, Hamilton and Carnegie, Gordon and Grant, Cameron and Mac Intosh, and a host of lesser chieftains, still dwell besides their lochs and their rivers, and beneath the shade of their craigs and their mountains. It is not so in England, though England has suffered but little from civil broils and not at all from foreign invasions. The house of Plantagenet has left but one offshoot, the house of Tudor not one; while the Bruces and the Stewarts are represented on both sides of the blanket, by many wealthy and powerful offshoots. With us scarce any survive of the older baronial families, and still fewer possess any part of their ancient lands or reside within an ancestral castle. Mortimer and de Vere, Mowbray and Warren, Clare and Montacute, Beauchamp and Bohun, are no more; their titles extinct, their lands scattered. Their castles, where such remain, are either owned or inhabited by strangers to their blood. The earls of Huntingdon, who under Elizabeth stood in dangerous proximity to the crown, retain but an empty title; the Clintons, founders of Kenilworth keep, and lords of Maxtoke castle, though not wanting in titles or estates, possess nothing of their ancient honours or property. Berkeley, by the injustice of a vicious ancestor, is divorced from the castle whence he derives name and title: Scrope lies crushed under well nigh five centuries of attainder; Beaumont retains nothing commensurate with his unbroken male descent from the house of France, nor Feilding with that from Rodolph of Habsburg. None of these have produced or can produce materials for a family history such as are found in many a Scottish muniment room. The lords of Belvoir, representing the barons Ros of Helmsley, those of Arundel representing their own unblemished name and that of Fitz Alan, and the Nevills of Abergavenny, are indeed illustrious exceptions, since they possess estates which have never been sold or bought, and castles which were strongholds in Saxon days, and  
in

in which their forefathers have resided from the Norman conquest. But though possessing ample materials for family history they have not yet found a Fraser or a Fonblanque. Courtenay, equally holding a castle and lands which, so far, have never come under the hammer, can indeed produce a family history, though scarcely one compiled with the completeness of that now under consideration.

The lords of Alnwick possessed one very considerable advantage over their compeers above enumerated, they were not only great, but they were border nobles. Their position on the northern and most exposed frontier of the kingdom was calculated to stimulate to the utmost their military qualities and to secure for them an independence held only, and of necessity, by a border chieftain. Hence the light of contemporary history beat fiercely upon their lives and actions, and the historian of the Percies must have contended rather with a surplus than a dearth of material. It seems generally to be admitted that Mr. de Fonblanque has executed his task with considerable judgment. Not being, as we understand, a genealogist by profession, he has not, like some others, confined himself to a mere record of names and dates and the details of an ordinary pedigree, while, on the other hand, though relating the actions of men rendered immortal by Shakespeare, and who took a leading part as warriors and statesmen in all the great transactions of their time, he has resisted the temptation to swell his narrative with extracts from the history of the country, and has confined himself to so much of it as bore directly upon the objects of his biography.

The Percies, though statesmen upon occasion, were essentially soldiers by profession. Alnwick, for many centuries the "castle dangerous" of the English border, was regarded as the main bulwark of the country against its most implacable and most formidable foe. But the  
accession

accession of the Stewarts to the English throne rendered the border castles unnecessary, and put an end to the struggles to which the border lords owed name and fame. The Percies retired from Northumberland to their southern possessions, and while Petworth rose to palatial splendour, Alnwick and Warkworth, Prudhoe and Cockermouth, were left uncared for and speedily fell into decay. The Percy race was well nigh run. Their possessions having come by the distaff, by the distaff descended. The earldom became extinct, and the estates centered in Elizabeth Percy, who became the greatest heiress of her day, and suffered accordingly.

It would seem that a certain William, designated from the manor of Perci in lower Normandy, accompanied the Conqueror to England, and was either of a rank or of personal merits, or both, to receive from him a considerable estate, together with the hand of a Saxon heiress, named possibly from her "Port" of Semer near Scarborough. He thus became a great Yorkshire baron, and established himself at Spofforth and Topcliffe as chief seats. Whitby an impoverished Saxon foundation, received restoration at his hands. He died in Palestine in 1096, the lord of 86 manors in Yorkshire, of 32 in Lincolnshire, and of others in Hampshire, as may be read in the Domesday survey. Alan, the second baron, augmented the Yorkshire estates; William, the third, founded Handel abbey, and another William, the fourth Baron, held a command at the battle of the Standard, and thus plunged into the thick of that northern warfare, in which his descendants were to become so distinguished. He also founded Sallay abbey. This was the baron whose gift of timber for the rebuilding of York minster is commemorated by a bas relief on the west front.

Unbroken male descent was rare in an age when men appeared in arms in their boyhood, and to this the fourth baron was no exception. His surviving child was a daughter,



daughter, Agnes de Percy, who bestowed her hand and her land upon Jocelyn lord of Petworth and constable of Arundel castle; a scion of the sovereign counts of Louvain, Brabant and Hainault, and half-brother to Adeliza the Queen of Henry 1st. Jocelyn, of whom it is said that he

for her sake  
Retained his arms, but Percy's name did take,

in point of fact seems to have borne no surname, and the name was not taken nor the arms used till some little time afterwards.

And thus began the new dynasty the Louvain-Percies, the Percies of English history. Agnes, the last of the old name, was buried at Whitby, dying on St. Agnes day as her epitaph recorded,

Agnes, Agnetis festo tumulatur, et istis  
Idem sexus, idem nomen, et una dies.

Here, on St. Agnes day, was Agnes laid,  
Of whom one sex, one name, one holy-day is said.

Henry, the sixth Baron, and the first of the new dynasty, thus united the royal blood of one parent with the landed possessions of the other. With his wife, a Bruce of Skelton, he added Leckinfield to the property, and his descendants long fulfilled the condition that on each Christmas morn the head of the house should attend the lady of Skelton to and from her mass, and dine afterwards at her table.

William the eighth baron was eclipsed by the superior strength and energy of his uncle and guardian Richard, who usurped the barony, took a leading part in the troubles of king John's reign, and gave his signature to the great charter. The succession however returned to his nephew Henry, who resumed the name given to his  
grandsire

grandsire at the font by Henry 1st, and borne by the head of the family for 13 successive generations.

Henry his son, the 9th baron, married Eleanor Plantagenet, called Warren, descended, with the bend sinister, from the house of Anjou, and niece of Henry III whose cause he espoused, and was taken with him at Lewes.

Henry, the 10th baron, commenced his career by obtaining a licence to fortify his houses of Spofforth, Leckinfild, and Petworth, but his military tastes were not merely of the defensive order, for he accepted early service in Scotland, Wales and Gascony. While a youth he took knighthood at the hand of the "Malleus Scotorum", at the siege of Berwick, and on the king's departure for Flanders he, with lord Clifford, was deputed to receive the submission of the Scottish nobles, and he held the constablership of Bamburgh and Scarborough, the two strongest of the northern fortresses. He was at the siege of Caerlaverock where

——— les Escoses dérompant,  
Jaune e bleu lyon rampant  
Fu sa baner bien vuable.

So that he then combined the lion of Louvain, an early example of "les armes parlantes," with the name of Percy, whose arms, five hand hammers or masons picks, savoured of the same usage. The lands granted to him in Scotland included the earldom of Carrick, which however passed away with the life of the donor; but he acquired by purchase, in 1309, the castle and barony of Alnwick, which thenceforward became the chief seat of the family, and one which obliged each lord in succession to become, not unwillingly, a military leader.

No doubt Anthony Bec, that "proud and maisterful prelate" who, himself in armour, attended Edward to the Scottish war, at the head of the armed tenants of his see, and who negotiated the sale of Alnwick, was anxious  
to

to interpose so warlike a chieftain between the Scottish marchmen and St. Cuthbert's patrimony, for Alnwick had fallen into decay, and the bishop had his own episcopal castles to attend to. The choice was well made. The new lord at once took the fortress in hand. Preserving what could be preserved of the keep, he and his son reconstructed, almost from the ground, though apparently on the old lines, the whole of the exterior walls and towers, in such a manner that amidst all the injuries and restorations brought about by time and war the work of the first lord Percy of Alnwick may still be identified by the skill of its design and solidity of its masonry. Though opposed in arms to the excesses of Edward the II, he took no share in the breach of faith by which Gaveston was put to death, and he shared in the battle and defeat of Bannockbourne, where he was taken prisoner, but which he did not long survive.

Alnwick is so closely identified with the name of Percy, that few persons are aware how late it so became, or that the Percies were preceded there by many generations of powerful barons who held their own against the Scots, and even at times against their own sovereign. But of the Tysons and de Vescis there is but little local memory, any more than of their neighbours the Mowbrays and the Umphravilles, names obscured, not assuredly from any defect of valour on their part, but from the superior vitality and self-assertion of the house of Percy, with whose name Alnwick was to become identified. Alnwick stood, and, complete from turret to foundation stone, still stands on the southern banks of the Aln, one of the wildest of the many wild and beautiful streams that descend from the hilly parts of Northumberland towards the German ocean. A knoll, in no way remarkable, seems to have been selected, at a remote period, as fitted for the residence of some powerful chieftain. It bears no marks of Celtic or Roman occupation, but much resembles in  
its

its circumscribing ditch and central mound the burgh of some Scandinavian viking, who, having landed in the adjacent harbour, was tempted to merge the pirate in the settler and colonist. And thus it is that, notwithstanding the constructions and reconstructions of many generations, the curious antiquary may still trace, or believe himself to trace, the outlines of the original stronghold.

It may seem strange the lord of estates so vast in Yorkshire, and in the more peaceful south, should desert them for a new and dangerous, and at that time barren, acquisition. But the greater the noble, the stronger his desire to place the centre of his power at a distance from the court of his sovereign, and thus it was that the de Clares, de Braoses, Bohuns, and Percies were willing to affront all the dangers of a marcher lordship, for the sake of the independence with which it was, of necessity, accompanied.

Another Henry, 11th baron, but the second of Alnwick, succeeded. He was but 14 years old at his father's death, but had already so distinguished himself that the king forewent his wardship, and placed him at once, not only in possession of Alnwick, but in command of Pickering castle, and the peninsular fortress of Scarborough. His exertions justified the exception. In Edward III he found a leader capable of calling forth his military talents. He garrisoned Alnwick at his own charges, served before Berwick with 146 men at arms, distinguished himself at Halidon Hill, and was active in seating Baliol on the Scottish throne. He was also present at Viranfosse, and in the great naval fight of Sluys. While Edward fought at Crecy, Percy was left in charge of the border, seeing that the king's absence, and that of the chief military force of the kingdom, made it probable that the Scots would turn the occasion to account, as indeed they did. King David with 50,000 fighting men,

Gleaning the ravished land with hot assays

crossed

crossed the border, and penetrated to Durham. Percy could collect but 16,000 men, chiefly raw soldiers, but the whole country was with him. Women became men, husbandmen fought like trained soldiers, men of peace became men of war. Queen Phillippa played her part. The two archbishops and the bishops of Carlisle and Durham led their vassals in person. Percy posted himself on the right wing. The combat was felt, as at Crecy, to be dangerously unequal, but the Scots like the French, declined negotiations, and the result was the victory of Neville's Cross, and the captivity of the Scottish king.

*Scoti fugerunt, latuerunt, morte ruerunt ;  
Percy persequitur, peremit, rapit, arte potitur.*

"Persequitor," "penetrans," "penetrator," were the monkish plays upon the name of the hero of the day. "Penetrans cognomine venit". Lord Percy's gallantry placed the family at the head of the chivalry of the north, and gave to the border some years of tranquility. Percy's acquisitions in the north were extensive, but transitory, but he added Warkworth to his estates, and the great middle gatehouse to his castle. He died in 1352, having married Idonea, daughter of lord Clifford, and leaving a name unrivalled in border warfare.

Henry the 12th baron, and 3rd lord of Alnwick, was a son not unworthy of his sire. Of small stature, "*vir parvæ staturæ*", he is also recorded as "*fortis, fidelis, et gratus*". He fought with the king at Crecy, and under his father at Neville's Cross. His later military successes were won as warden of the marches, but he also acted as an ambassador in France and Brittany. In his person the Percies attained their highest genealogical honour, intermarrying with the royal house, his wife being a daughter of Henry of Lancaster.

Henry the 13th baron, and 4th lord of Alnwick, perhaps the ablest of his race, and described as "*eloquent,*  
learned

learned, and watchful", succeeded to a large but dislocated inheritance. In his day the tide of internecine war rolled forward with almost unbroken force, and those who like the Percies, rode upon the crest of the wave, were not unlikely to be swept away in the foam, and had need to mingle prudence and circumspection with the headlong valour of their ancestors. In company with John of Gaunt, his friend and kinsman, Percy commenced his career under the Black Prince in Gascony, and after a short but active absence upon the Scottish border, returned to France with 60 men at arms and 40 servants, and shared in the victory of Navaretta with his brother Thomas, afterwards distinguished both as a sailor and a soldier, and not less as a statesman and a diplomatist. Again returning to his menaced border, Percy again crossed the seas with a large attendance in the vain hope of redeeming the disasters consequent upon the sickness and retirement of Prince Edward. Afterwards, at the instance of John of Gaunt, he appeared as the friend of Wickliffe at his trial, and shared in the dangers of the subsequent tumult in London.

At the coronation of Richard II he was created earl of Northumberland, became a member of the council of regency, and distinguished himself in various offices at home and abroad. In this he had the aid of his son, the famous Hotspur, so called says Froissart, "*à cause de son humeur violente et emportee*", who

For his sharpe quicknesse and speedinesse at need  
Henry Hotspur was called in very dede.

Hotspur was but 25 years his father's junior, but had served as his page in a stricken field, and been knighted at 12 years old, the year in which his father avenged the treason of the Scottish marauders, and their massacre of the garrison of Berwick, and in which, boy as he was, he led the assault. Out of this adventure rose a quarrel  
between

between the earl of Northumberland and the duke of Lancaster, in which a challenge was given and accepted, but overruled by the king. He next served as high admiral, and organized a naval force to protect the commerce of London. While thus engaged the earl and the duke attended Parliament in full armour, each supported by armed retainers.

The earl married, as his second wife, the heiress of the Lucys of Cockermouth, with whom came that castle and barony and Wressil castle, with large estates. The lady stipulated that her three lucas should be quartered in the Percy shield, and in return for so great a concession her estates were so settled that on her death without children the Percys should succeed. This actually happened, and

——— the lord Percy bore continually  
The blue lion and the lucas silver in his arms quarterly

and a record, 21 R II, notices the shield "*de insignibus armorum de Percy cum armis de Lucy*," besides which though quite contrary to peerage law as even then understood, the Percys assumed the baronage of Lucy as one of their subordinate titles.

But the prowess of the family was not confined to the acquisition of manors or castles, or the bearing of heraldic achievements. While the earl and his brother Sir Thomas took an active part in the wars, aggressive and defensive, of the country, Hotspur and his brother Sir Ralph prepared to meet the earl of Douglas and 40,000 Scots, who in two bodies traversed the border, and laid siege to Carlisle and Newcastle. The earl took charge of Alnwick, which lay in the Scottish war-path, and his sons defended Newcastle, where Hotspur challenged Douglas to a hand-to-hand encounter. They met, and Hotspur was worsted, and his pennon carried off in triumph, and is said to be preserved at Cavers, though unfortunately the pennon there bears the Douglas, not the Percy cognizance

nizance. Nevertheless the pennon was really taken, and Hotspur's determination to wipe out the stain led to the battle of Otterbourne, where

Now a Douglas was the cry,  
Now a Percy rent the sky.

and each nation and each leader sustained their high reputation.

It was the first appearance of the lion and the lucas on the same banner, and how great was the importance attached to these personal emblems may be gathered from the Scottish account of the battle which relates how that

By the formost man of ev'ry clan  
His chieftains crest was borne on high :  
But the Douglas heart was aye in the van  
And was carried full gallantlie.

It was also by Hotspur, as is supposed, that the Percy war cry and motto of "Esperance" or "Esperance en Dieu" was first adopted.

The earl was with his sons in the field. Douglas was slain, but Hotspur and his brothers were made prisoners. The battle of Otterbourne has been the theme of many a ballad, but its renown is mainly due to its having given the text for Chevy Chase, nor has even that land of chivalry and patriotic song recorded anything finer than the passage where Percy

Leaned on his brande  
And saw the Doglas de :

And then

He tooke the dede man be the hande  
And sayde, wo ys me for the !  
To have sayde thy lyffe I wolde have pertyd with  
My landes for yeares three ;  
For a better man of hart, nare of hande,  
Was not in all the North countrie.

The services of Hotspur were recognized with the captainship



tainship of Carlisle, and the wardenship of the western march, and he was admitted into the great English order of chivalry, already attained by his father and his uncle, and it is satisfactory to learn that records lately discovered prove beyond reasonable doubt that the Garter was then held for the first, and it is believed for the only time, by three living members of the same family.

The earl next appears as the president of a court of chivalry in the well known Scrope and Grosvenor dispute for the right to bear the "bend or"; a dispute more celebrated, though far less tragic, than that in which the male heir of the great house of Hastings claimed to bear the golden maunch.

But Richard's weak and tempestuous reign was about to fall under "the sweeping whirlwinds sway", and the turbulent times gave ample employment to the four active members of the house of Percy. Sir Thomas, become earl of Worcester, took a conspicuous part in parliament. Laying aside their feud with the duke of Lancaster, the earl and Hotspur, on his banishment, attended him to his embarkation, and thereby incurred a sentence of exile and confiscation, which however no man was found bold enough to execute, and they were foremost to welcome Bolingbroke on his landing at Ravenspur, although they did not, at first, support his usurpation of the throne.

When the usurper became king he spared no pains to win the Percies to his side. The earl became high constable, his brother joint high steward, and wardenships and grants of land were showered upon Hotspur. For some time these retainers were well earned, but Henry's inability to pay the troops gave rise to discontent, and finally the Percies took part with the earl of March, and even Hotspur's splendid victory over the Scots at Homildon only gave rise to a personal quarrel, even to the drawing of daggers, with the king, on his claiming, contrary to the custom, the custody of Hotspur's prisoners.

The

The step into open rebellion was, in those days, easily taken, and the quarrel was fought out on the field of Shrewsbury, with what result Shakespeare has proclaimed. Hotspur there met a soldier's death. Worcester was taken and beheaded on the field. Northumberland, confined to a litter by sickness, was on his way to join them, but was not actually present at the battle, made his peace, but for a time only, and finally, as the royal party gathered power, his estates were confiscated, and he himself met his death at Bramham Moor, leaving his grandson, a youth of ten years old, an attainted name and a broken estate.

*Stirps Persitina periet confusá ruiná.*

and the Percy crescent, the silver horn of the border firmament, which had waxed brighter and brighter with each succeeding lord, was now on the wane. At Northallerton and Neville's Cross the struggle was patriotic, but the wars into which the Percies had now entered were of a very different character; the game was one from which both sides were to rise losers.

The next Henry, the successor of his grandsire, and the 2nd earl of Northumberland, who was to become

*The great lord of Northumberland,  
Whose warlike ears could never brook retreat,*

was taken by his mother, a fugitive, to the court of Scotland, where he was well received and brought up with the future James the 1st. Ten years later, when James, on his way to the court of France, was driven to land under Flamborough head, and was taken for a captivity of 18 years, the young earl was his companion, and narrowly escaped the same fate. While hiding on that and other secret visits to his paternal lands, he met with many adventures, and was hero of many Northumbrian songs and legends. Latterly, however,  
though

though treated with personal kindness, his stay in Scotland became compulsory, and it was only in exchange for a son of the duke of Albany that he was released. In Henry of Monmouth, the new king of England, he found a friend. His honours were restored, and he recovered from time to time a large portion of his estates, and at once took his seat in parliament. The grace, freely granted, was well bestowed, and Henry V had no more faithful subject. He gained his pardon too late for Agincourt, but he shared in the subsequent campaign, entered with the king into Rouen, and was present at the siege of Melun.

When the Scottish king was restored to his throne, the charge of his escort was committed to the earl, but whatever their personal friendship, it stood not in the way of a good deal of international strife, in which Percy was by no means always the victor. He avenged the massacre of Wark in 1419, but at Piperden on the Cheviots he was beaten by Angus, with the loss of half his army and 1,500 followers of gentle blood. He also took part in civil affairs; was lord steward at Henry's marriage, and sat as judge on the trial of the duke of Suffolk for the death of the duke of Gloucester. He was also a principal in a case of wager of battle, concerning a claim for a Cumberland manor, in which chief justice Babington sat as assessor. The proceedings are very curious and are given by Mr. de Fonblanque at length. The matter however did not come to blows; had it done so the duel would have been fought by champions, a very convenient arrangement—for the principals.

The earl recovered Wressil castle, and lived to see his second son created baron Egremont. He survived the king and took an active part in the wars of the roses. Of his sons three fell in battle, at Northampton, Hedgeley Moor, and Towton, fighting for the red rose, for which cause the earl also died, at the first battle of St. Albans, in 1455.

Nevertheless

Nevertheless his career was in many respects a successful one, seeing that he restored the fortunes of the family, and even added to the landed estate. He possessed the family taste for liberal arts, and founded three divinity fellowships, still extant, at Oxford, and a grammar school at Alnwick, where he obtained a license for the walling of the town, one of the gates of which, bearing the Percy lion is still standing. He also rebuilt Warkworth castle, where the singular and very perfect keep is his work.

Another Henry, the third earl, succeeded in his 34th year. Born in the same year with Henry VI and married at the same time, they were intimate from infancy, and when Henry received the accolade of knighthood, the first upon whom he bestowed it was Henry Percy. As warden of the marches and governor of Berwick his first employment was to enforce the observance of the treaties between England and Scotland. He was also justiciary of the forests north of Trent.

Early in his career the Lancastrian nobles formed a party to avenge their losses at Shrewsbury, which was met by a corresponding demonstration by the Yorkists. The king strove to bring about a reconciliation, and summoned the leaders to London. They came, but armed to the teeth, and attended by all the followers they could muster, Percy bringing up 1,500 men, and Warwick, from his house in Warwick lane, crowding the streets with wearers of his badge of the ragged staff. At the king's earnest entreaty they joined their orisons at St. Pauls. But party hatred was too strong for any precepts of peace. They rose in arms, and the Yorkists won the fields of Blore Heath and Northampton, where it was said that Egremont fell by the hand of Warwick. On the capture of the king, the queen, supported by Percy, led the party. In the north, amid a Lancastrian population, they raised an army of 20,000 men and won the battle of Wakefield  
at

at which the duke of York was slain, and the subsequent cruelty was such that

Northumberland, then present, wept to see.

But the success was transient. Northumberland indeed gained the second battle of St. Alban's over Warwick, but Pembroke was beaten at Mortimer's Cross, and the earl of March was proclaimed king as Edward IV. The Percies retired to the north, and raised a second army of 60,000 men, but only to meet with a hopeless defeat at Towton, with the loss of Northumberland and his brother Richard on the field, where three centuries later was found the earl's massy signet ring. There remained of the family only Sir Ralph who at first surrendered to King Edward, but a month later fell at Hedgeley Moor, the last of the four brothers, and the fifth of the Percy family who had died for the red rose. It was Sir Ralph who, when dying, in allusion to their fidelity to the house of Lancaster, said, "I have saved the bird in my bosom". Percy's Cross still remains to indicate the place of his death, and the spring whence he drew his last draught still bubbles up at its base. The earl with the rest of the family died under an attainder, which included the baronies of Poynings, Fitz Payn, and Bryan, with considerable southern estates which came with his wife, the heiress of those ancient titles.

The next Henry, the 4th earl, was 15 at his father's death, and, like his grandsire, took refuge in Scotland, while Edward bestowed his earldom upon Sir John Neville, lord Montacute. A little later, when Edward found himself overshadowed by the power of the Nevilles, he brought forward Percy as a countervailing power; restored a part of his estates, and as an arrangement with lord Montacute, prepared the way for a restoration of the titles. In the struggle that followed between queen Margaret and Edward IV, the earl's dislike to  
Warwick,

Warwick, and his natural caution, and cold calculating character, led him to stand neutral, as he continued to be even after Edward's landing at Ravenspur and his reception at York, but such was his personal weight and his hereditary power in the north, that Edward was fain to regard his neutrality as good service, and soon after the battle of Barnet his titles were restored. Nevertheless the support he gave during the remainder of Edward's reign continued to be of a passive character.

On Edward's death his allegiance took a more active form, was transferred to his brother Richard, both as regent and as king. His reward was the complete restoration of the estates.

His conduct at Bosworth has been severely, though perhaps not unjustly, commented upon. He was present with a considerable force but took no part in the combat. It was said that

With thirty thousand fighting men  
Lord Percy———went his way.

and he certainly displayed a degree of prudence not common in the family. He no doubt recognized the abilities of Henry Tudor and the prospect of a strong government, then much needed in the country. He at once gave his support in the north to the king, and was confirmed in the offices he had held under Richard. In return he escorted the king on his visit to the north, and put down the rising of Lovel and Stafford. He was also present at the battle of Stoke by which Simnell the pretender was disposed of.

On the other hand his good understanding with Henry was endangered by the king's avarice and his jealousy of the great nobles. Nevertheless he stood for the maintenance of order, and it was while supporting the king's measures in Yorkshire that he was set upon by a Yorkist mob, and murdered as a supporter of an unpopular taxation, of which indeed he seems to have disapproved. Henry  
accepted

accepted his death as an evidence of his loyalty, and ordered him a magnificent funeral at Beverley, but at the expence of the family. From Jocelyn, his youngest son, descended Thomas Percy a conspirator in the gunpowder plot.

Henry Percy, the fifth earl, succeeded in his 12th year, and was one of the youths knighted with Prince Arthur a few months later.

Young lyon, but tender yet of age.

as he is addressed by Skelton. He won his spurs at Blackheath leading the northern horse, when the Flemish counterfeit was taken, and he received the almost hereditary office of warden of the marches in which capacity he escorted the princess Margaret to her Scottish bridegroom, and by his display on that occasion won for himself his title of "The Magnificent". An early transaction in which the earl was concerned throws light on the perversion of justice by which the king filled his coffers. A certain Sir John Hotham having committed a murder, by the interest of the archbishop of York was allowed for £50 to obtain a pardon, upon which the earl paid £100 to bring the matter to trial. On another occasion the earl was fined £10,000 for having bestowed a lady in marriage whom the king claimed as a ward.

The well known Northumberland household book, framed on the model of that of the royal court, shews the style in which a great noble lived under the Tudor sovereigns, and the order and economy with which the expences were regulated. The establishment was composed of 166 persons, some of them men of high rank, and provision was made for 57 strangers daily, and the earl was by no means, at that time, the richest subject. Nor was his magnificence confined to his housekeeping. His Maunday alms were large, and his progresses through his estates,  
and

and to his several houses, absorbed large sums ; Wressil and Leckinfield were then his principal seats, and Topcliffe was also visited. Alnwick and Warkworth seem to have been rather military barracks than well furnished residences. Lydgate and Skelton were of his intimacy, and his love of letters, rare in that age, seem to have been regarded as almost inconsistent with his military position. He was however kept in countenance by Prince Henry who spoke Latin, French, and Spanish, and was an accomplished musician.

But the earl's love for literature was not inconsistent with the military qualities hereditary in his house. He crossed the seas with Henry VIII in 1513, contributing a large force of retainers to the expedition, and taking with him "Esperance" his own herald, and a staff composed of the leading gentlemen of the north. They prepared the way for the king, and with him laid siege to and took Terouenne, and routed the French army coming to its relief. It was during the earl's absence in France that Flodden was won, and Sir William Percy, the earl's brother, held a command in Surrey's army.

So great a position awoke the jealousy of the king and the rising Wolsey. Upon a trumped up charge of having interfered with the royal wardships he was committed to Fleet prison, and though speedily released was regarded with dangerous suspicion. Attempts were then made to impoverish him by laying upon him expensive duties such as receiving Margaret of Scotland, and attending at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The want of means led him to resign his wardenship somewhat to the disgust of his dependants. At this conjuncture he died, at Wressil castle, in 1527, in his 50th year, leaving an exhausted treasury, with but twenty marcs in hand.

Henry Percy, styled, with scant justice, "The Unthrifty", succeeded as 6th earl to an embarrassed inheritance, but to a position sure to be regarded with jealousy  
by



by both Henry and his minister. Wolsey attached the young lord, as was the custom, to his household, and while there he became enamoured of Ann Boleyn, an attachment which lasted through his life and proved the bane of it. The king, who even then had fixed his lustful eyes upon the lady, employed Wolsey to nip the attachment in the bud. Ann was sent to her father and Percy was forced into a childless marriage, with a woman who proved that a man's worst foe is she of his household.

The earl succeeded in his 25th year, but the cardinal continued to treat him as a child, interfering in the management of his household, and thwarting him in his conduct as warden of the marches. His history, beyond that of any other great noble of the reign, shews the injustice of the king and the arrogance of the minister, and the degraded condition to which the wars of the roses, and the policy of the house of Tudor had reduced the great historic families.

The earl's conduct as warden did him much credit. Rigorous in putting down disorder, he was always disposed towards mercy, usually in opposition to the commands of both king and cardinal. When the tide turned and Wolsey fell into disgrace, Northumberland shewed no petty spite. When ordered to arrest him he did so with every mark of respect, private and public, nor did Henry disapprove of his conduct but, on the contrary, rewarded it with the Garter.

In the intrigues against queen Ann Boleyn, and the brutal proceedings of the king, the earl took no part, but denied solemnly that they had ever been engaged, which had been alleged as an argument for the divorce. His attachment survived her death and gave rise to the well known lines,

Life without love is earth without sun,  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Anna, my first, my last, my only love.

His

His position at the head of the Northern Catholics placed him necessarily in opposition to Henry's ecclesiastical proceedings, and on the breaking out of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" his brothers Thomas and Ingelram with Aske pressed him sore to join them. He refused, though racked with pain and sickness, and ran great risk of being massacred like his father by the brutal populace, for Aske was the leader of 35,000 men.

The crushing of the insurrection and the cruelties that followed are matters of history. Sir Thomas Percy, the heir of the earldom, was hanged and beheaded, and attainted in blood. The earl, foreseeing what would happen, thought by bequeathing his estates to the crown, there was a chance of their future restoration. Upon his brother's attainder he converted his bequest into a deed of gift. Henry, as rapacious as he was cruel, accepted, and left the earl to die in poverty, which took place at Hackney, near London, in his 35th year, in 1537. Though scarcely deserving to be called "Unthrif", the earl was undoubtedly a bad manager, and at one time he was so pressed that he contemplated selling Petworth to the king. His heir was his nephew, Thomas, son of Thomas attainted brother.

Thomas Percy, who broke the long chain of the Henries, and whose stately form and picturesque attire hold a conspicuous place in the dining hall at Alnwick, was next in succession as the seventh earl. Sir Thomas' his attainted father, left two sons and a daughter to be cared for by his friends. Thomas, the elder, while a youth was knighted by Edw. VI and appeared as Sir Thomas Percy in 1549, and was soon after so far restored in blood as to be capable of inheriting from his collateral relations, that is excluding the estates of the earldom.

Under Mary he received favour and employment, became governor of Prudhoe castle, and recaptured Scarborough from the French under Sir Thomas Stafford.

His

His father's attainder was held to have extinguished the earldom beyond the powers of a reversal, a somewhat extraordinary doctrine, so the queen created it anew, giving him, it is thought illegally, the precedence of the previous title. He also recovered a portion of the lands conveyed by his uncle to the crown and was admitted to the offices usually held by his family on the border, in which and in divers military operations, he acquitted himself with credit, though his tastes, fostered by a happy marriage, were rather of a domestic than a public character.

The accession of Elizabeth materially altered his position as a catholic leader in a district ill affected to the doctrines of the reformation : he was regarded with suspicion : his officers were displaced, and he was practically superseded on the border by Sir Ralph Sadler. In consequence he retired to Petworth, but was reported as "obstinate in religion". When Mary of Scotland landed at Cocker-mouth, the earl was at Topcliffe, and claimed to have charge of her as within his command. In this he failed but was regarded as a favourer of the queen. About the same time the crown claimed certain of his minerals which led to disputes with Cecil, and he and the earl of Westmorland were summoned to the court, obviously with a view to the securing their persons. They refused to obey. The earl of Sussex was sent to arrest him and he was then forced into the rebellion known as "the rising of the North" supported by "all the flower o' Northumberland".

Now was the north in arms ; they shine  
In warlike trim from Tweed to Tyne  
At Percy's voice !

Percy though a good soldier was no general. The insurgents adopted the cause of the queen of Scots, but notwithstanding its local popularity the rebellion was  
speedily

speedily crushed, and the two earls fled to Scotland, where Northumberland was at first harboured by the Regent Murray, but afterwards by his successor sold to Elizabeth, and after a vain attempt by harsh usage to make him betray his friends, he met his death at York upon the scaffold with great dignity. "I die", said he "in the communion of the Catholic Church, and I am a Percy in life and in death". His faithful wife who had spared no exertions to serve him in Scotland, survived in exile and poverty 30 years. Cecil's resentments pursued her beyond the seas, and even prevailed upon the Spanish government to refuse her a residence at Brussels.

The eighth earl had won a considerable reputation as a diplomatist and a soldier, as Sir Henry Percy, and was in the confidence of Elizabeth and her minister. Though not a better, he was a stronger man than his brother, and far more suited to the dangerous circumstances of the times. He was employed by both Mary and Elizabeth, and not only repressed a Scottish invasion, defeating the French auxiliaries, but retaliated upon the Merse, where he burned 16 villages and standing corn to the value of 2,000 marcs. But though Elizabeth's servants might gain honour, they gained little wealth from so parsimonious a mistress, so he was glad to mend his fortunes by a marriage with a Neville heiress whose landed possessions were considerable.

But the queen was slow to recognize him as heir to his brother, and his dissatisfaction ripened into something approaching treason. He became opposed to the imprisonment of the queen of Scots, and promoted her claim to the English succession. He even went so far as to communicate with Mary, which brought him into great disfavour with Elizabeth, and it was only his connection with Cecil that saved him from the scaffold. He was however committed to the Tower, detained there 18 months, heavily fined, and when liberated exiled from the North.

In

In the proceedings he is described as earl of Northumberland, but the formal acknowledgement of the title was not given until 1576, and his restoration to favour was very partial.

His position as head of the northern catholics, and his leaning to the queen of Scots caused him to be suspected and watched. He was a second time sent to the Tower and liberated, but deprived of his government of Tynemouth. This did not increase his loyalty, and being a third time committed to the Tower, he was found in his bed shot through the heart, and opinions were divided as to whether it was suicide or political murder. Those who took the former view supposed that, as a dead man, as it was then held, could not be attainted, he wished to anticipate an attainder and so secure his title and estates to his son. The mystery has not been cleared up.

Henry Percy, the ninth earl, whose intellectual and care-worn face is best known by the portrait by Vandyke of which Mr. de Fonblanque gives an engraving, was born in 1564, and at his father's death was 21 years old; probably from political motives, he had been brought up a protestant, and by the advice of lord Burghley he had travelled on the continent, where however his intimacy with the recusant Sir Charles Paget exposed him to the suspicion of a leaning to Rome. His father had bestowed much care upon his education, but had neglected to admit him to any knowledge of the estates or dependents of the family. His first care was to supply this want, and he set himself to look into his affairs and to see that his tenants, especially the poorer ones, were treated with justice and moderation. He became a purchaser of books, of which the titles may be taken to shew the extent of his reading both in literature and science. He also employed persons to search the records in London, for evidences bearing on the family history, and he laid out money in pictures. But his special tastes were for mathematics,

mathematics, chemistry, and the occult sciences, and in the family roll he is designated as "the wizard earl". He learned to smoke tobacco from Raleigh, not being deterred by King James's "counter blast", and though not an habitual gambler, he indulged occasionally in high play, losing to Sir Walter and others in 1586, towards a thousand pounds.

Upon the breaking out, in 1588, of the war with Spain the earl contributed largely towards the fleet, being one of those who equipped ships at their own charges. In consequence he was restored to his father's government of Tynemouth, and received the garter. The queen also remitted the fine of 5,000 marks which had been imposed upon his father. This however was the height and almost the end of his prosperity. He was credited with the idea of a marriage with Arabella Stewart, who stood high in succession to the crown, and though the jealous queen put a stop to this, by marrying him to a daughter of the earl of Essex, his wife's intrigues involved him in other troubles, which however were postponed by his departure, on active employment in the Netherlands, serving with Sir Francis Vere, the Sidneys, and Sir John Morris, and being present at the taking of Berghen and the siege of Ostend.

It was not until the close of Elizabeth's reign that the earl began to promote the cause of James as her successor, and thus awoke the jealousy of Burghley whose intrigues were to the same end. His correspondence with James is extant and does credit to his honesty and patriotism and on James' arrival he was well received, and rode upon his right hand on his entry into London. Moreover the king made him a grant of Syon and restored the remainder of his father's possessions. At Raleigh's trial the earl gave his cordial and efficient support, and thereby incurred so much of the king's ill will, that he retired from the court, and occupied himself at Syon with his books and his gardens, nor does he seem to have been at  
pains

pains to conceal his contempt for the king's hungry and rapacious countrymen. The connexion of his kinsman and agent Thomas Percy with the powder plot tended still further to alienate him from the court, and upon the fact that Percy had been employed by him, and had been of his household, an attempt was made to found a charge against him as an accessory. The main charge failed utterly, but out of it the Star Chamber contrived to manufacture certain minor accusations, upon which the earl was committed to the Tower, and fined in the monstrous sum of £30,000. He remained a prisoner from 1605 to 1622, 17 years, during which he occupied the N. East or Martin's Tower, renting an adjacent tower for his attendants. He seems to have lived in considerable state, having the society of Raleigh, and other learned men and occupying himself much in chemistry, and in the personal education of his son. When at last he was liberated the grace was clogged with unworthy conditions. He was confined to Petworth and its neighbourhood, occasionally going to Syon, but being jealously debarred from visiting the north. He died at Petworth in 1632, in his seventieth year.

Algernon, the 10th earl, was so called from the soubriquet of the first of the English Percies. He was the last of his race to take part in the public service of his country, or to leave a name holding a place in its history. The three score and six years that intervened between his cradle and his grave saw many and violent changes. The religious conflict was over, the political conflict was about to begin. It began as a war not of parties but of principles on both sides, in which men of honour, of honesty, and of undoubted patriotism, were found in opposite ranks, and in the course of which some of the best and wisest saw cause to modify their opinions without imputation upon their motives. By degrees, as personal ambition became an influence, and love of country degenerated into party strife,

strife, moderate men were set aside, and the earl, whose birth and abilities placed him in the fore front of the struggle, shewed himself too free from prejudice, and far too just, to become a popular leader, or even to acquire much permanent influence. He earned the respect of all parties but was followed by none.

His childhood and youth were passed within the gloomy precincts of the Tower, but his education there was conducted by his father, and was of a high order, and his instructors were the best that could be obtained. He took knighthood at 15 years of age, was entered at Cambridge, and afterwards visited Paris. On his return he joined his father at Petworth. King James failed to attract him to the court or to impose upon him a wife. The young lord chose for himself, and happily, although the lady was a grandchild of Cecil, his father's most dangerous enemy. On his marriage he visited the north, where he found Topcliffe and Leckinfield dismantled, Alnwick almost in ruin, and only Wressil in a habitable state. On his succession to the earldom he at first attached himself to Charles, received the garter, was made high admiral, and was called upon to regulate the condition of the forces, both by land and sea. He found the navy a nest of abuses, and set himself fearlessly to root them out. Spain and Holland had command of the sea. In his internal reforms he was opposed by strongly existing interests, and on the sea his attempts to restore to England her supremacy, were thwarted by the intrigues of the secretary Windebank, and still more by the conduct of the king, strong in words, but timid and wavering in actions.

When Charles, inclining to the counsels of Strafford and Laud, began to strain the prerogative, the earl's opinion placed him more or less in opposition to the court; at the same time, when his brother Sir Henry a devoted royalist, fell under the displeasure of parliament he aided him



him to escape to France, and became distrusted also by the popular party. Soon afterwards the king revoked his commission as high admiral, upon which the parliament stepped in and appointed his successor, and the king lost the support of the fleet for the formation of which he had incurred so much hatred. When the king raised his standard at Nottingham and declared war, the earl sided openly with the Presbyterian party, but exerted himself to bring about a peace, and took a leading part in the Oxford Commission, but without success. His moderation then was distrusted, especially by the Independants, and an imputation upon his honesty was brought forward by Henry Marten, upon which the Percy temper broke out and the earl administered a caning, or what was called a cudgelling, on the spot.

When the royal children fell into the hands of the parliament they were committed to the care of the earl at Syon, and were treated with due respect. By his second marriage with a daughter of the earl of Suffolk, and on a payment of £15,000, the earl became possessed of Howard House, at Charing Cross, which he rebuilt from the plans of Inigo Jones, and which continued until our times to be the London residence of the family. When the king's trial was proposed he voted against it as "an illegal and unconstitutional measure", and on the king's execution he returned into private life "regarded with respect", says Clarendon, "by all except those violent men who had from the first resented his constant efforts as a peacemaker". Parliament incited by Cromwell caused Wressil castle to be destroyed.

He remained in retirement for 12 years, until the Restoration, building, laying out gardens at Syon, and forming a gallery of pictures at Northumberland House. He actively promoted the Restoration, sitting in the council of state, but attempting, though in vain, to secure certain restraints upon the royal power; and he proposed the impeachment of Clarendon.

But

But though well received by the king he took little part in public affairs, and shortly afterwards, in 1668, he died, at 66 years, a broken and worn out man. His panegyric and a very high one, was pronounced by his friend Sir William Temple.

Jocelyn, the 11th earl and 22nd baron, succeeded, and with a brief and undistinguished career, closed the lines of his ancient and historic family. He was born when his father was of the mature age of 42, also had the great advantage of that father's training and experience during the 25 years that elapsed before he succeeded to the earldom, and to possessions, which though clipped and curtailed, by the vicissitudes of four generations, were still adequate to the maintenance of his name and rank. His early promise was considerable. "When virtue and blood", said his friend Evelyn, "are coincident, they both add lustre and mutual excellences. This is what my lord takes care to secure to his son, and what I foresee and augur of my noble lord Percy".

Though of a weak constitution he entered early into public life, being at 16 a colonel of militia, and at 18 joined with his father in the lieutenancy of Northumberland, and in the same year, 1662, he was married to the half-sister of Lady Rachel Russell. A lover of literature and the friend of Evelyn, Sir William Temple, and Locke, his tastes were domestic. A son was born to him and two daughters, but of them all but one daughter died in infancy, and taking Locke as a physician and companion the earl and his countess left England for the continent. His course however was already run, and he died at Turin at the age of 26. With him the earldom became extinct, as, according to modern doctrine, did also the baronies created by queen Mary, so that, the earlier titles being extinguished by the attainder of the 7th earl, the heiress, notwithstanding the grant of precedence, was  
legally

legally without any title, save that, of courtesy, of an earl's daughter.

Lady Elizabeth Percy, at her father's death, was but three years old, and when her mother, partly to avoid the licentious attentions of Charles II, married, 1673, lord Montague, the guardianship of the child, under earl Jocelyn's will, fell to the dowager countess, whose passion seem to have been social power, money, and match making, which she was thus enabled to gratify. While much under age the heiress was contracted to the sickly son of Cavendish, duke of Newcastle. They were to be separated for two years; but the bridegroom died in six months. The second venture was with Thomas Thynne of Longleat, "Tom of ten thousand"; but about this marriage, which was also held in abeyance, there was some mystery, and Lady Elizabeth fled to the continent and took refuge with Sir William Temple, her father's friend, then representing England at the Hague. This second marriage came to an end by the assassination of Thynne in 1682, on which a third husband came forward in Charles Seymour, known as the proud duke of Somerset, whom the young lady had previously refused.

The duke is favourably known in history by his refusal to introduce the papal nuncio at Windsor, and on James asserting that the king was above the law, for his answer, "that may be, sire, but I am not", for which he was deprived of his office and of his regiment. His good qualities were however neutralized by excessive family pride; of which many stories are told, and which created many enemies. Stanhope describes him as a well meaning man, but of shy and proud habits and slender understanding, and Swift, "modo suo", is even less complimentary. He took office under William and Anne and strongly supported the Hanover succession.

The duchess possessed excellent abilities, was well educated and accomplished, of high character, of much personal

personal dignity, and greatly respected. Of their thirteen children, Algernon, earl of Hertford, succeeded his mother in 1722, and was summoned as baron Percy with the precedence of the 27 Ed. I. He was no favourite with his father, who alienated from the title much the larger portion of the estates in favour of a daughter who had married Sir William Wyndham. Lord Hertford survived his father two years. He died in 1750, leaving but one surviving child, a daughter. Elizabeth Seymour, who thus became the second Percy heiress, had, during her brother's lifetime, given her hand to Sir Hugh Smithson, a Yorkshire baronet of good family and estate, who, if not equal to his wife in descent, as who indeed could be, proved a husband admirably suited to her very peculiar circumstances. He was a man of great personal attractions, courteous and of distinguished manners of address, of good abilities, ambitious, resolute, and accomplished; bent upon upholding the dignity of his wife, and his own dignity as her husband. He was a good man of business, and most successful in his administration of the residue of the Percy estates, which he raised from £9,000 to £50,000 per annum. He was a great agriculturist, a great planter of trees, very popular with the tenantry, and in all respects a very remarkable man. The position he took is difficult to explain. He inherited the earldom of Northumberland under a limitation on the death of his wife's father. His acceptance of the lord lieutenantcy of Ireland seems to have been considered as a favour on his part. He refused a marquissate as a title of comparatively modern date, and finally obtained a dukedom and the garter.

The caprice of the proud duke reduced very materially the wealth and position of the heretrix of the Percy honours. The whole of the Sussex, Cumberland, and Yorkshire estates had passed away to the Wyndhams, with the castle of Cockermouth and what remained of Wressil, Spofforth, and Leckinfield, together with Petworth,

worth, upon which so much had been expended, and which contained the family plate and pictures, having been the chief seat of the later earls. Alnwick, Warkworth, and Prudhoe were in ruin, so much so that the new lord and lady had to consider where to fix their future seat. The decision happily fell upon Alnwick, which they proceeded to render habitable. The times were not favourable to mediæval restorations. St. Paul's, St. Martin's, and the Oxford Radcliffe, monuments of genius of Wren and Gibbs, had made popular the Palladian style; the old mediæval architecture had fallen into disuse, and the canons of Durham were about to sweep away their unrivalled chapter house, and those of Lichfield to restore their beautiful west front with a coating of "compo". It chanced however that the restorations executed at Alnwick were of a less mischiveous because of a less extensive character. The outer walls remained and do still remain very much as they were originally constructed in the 14th century, with their entrance through a stately barbican, almost the only example of such a work remaining in this country. The keep, the central and habitable part of the castle, was not a mere cube like those of London or Hedingham, unfitted for modern life, but was composed of a circle of clustered towers, arranged round an open court, entered beneath a gatehouse which combined the distinguishing features of the 12th and the 14th centuries. Though in great disrepair, and much split and shaken in its masonry, the keep did not absolutely demand reconstruction, and its restoration seems to have been confined to the roofs and interior fittings. These were executed in plaster, in a sort of a Strawberry-hill gothic, shewing what would have taken place had the walls been rebuilt. And thus the whole remained until the accession of duke Algernon in 1847. The duke, better known as lord Prudhoe, was a good man of business, magnificent in his liberalities, and possessed of a highly cultivated taste.

Having

Having expended large sums in putting the estate into order, rebuilding the cottages and farmhouses, restoring the churches and parsonages in his gift, and in establishing life-saving appliances along his iron-bound coast, he determined to restore the castle, and showed his judgment in selecting Salvin as his architect. The encircling walls and towers were left almost untouched, but the masonry of the keep being found to be in a dangerous condition, the greater part was taken down and rebuilt almost on the old lines, and in a very pure taste. To execute the interior fittings the duke founded a school of local carvers in wood and stone, under the direction, for a time, of an Italian master, and the general result was a suite of rooms of noble proportions, though in shapes determined by the outlines of the towers, and the fittings and ornaments of which for richness of design and excellence of execution are probably unrivalled. Exception has been taken to the combination of an English mediæval castle with fittings, such as da Vinci or Michael Angelo might have designed for a Visconti or a Medici. But the combination as actually carried out no one but a pedant could condemn, so congruous is the effect to the eye and to the mind. Could the shade of Hotspur again take possession of his seat upon the wall he would see nothing that had not or that might not have existed in the 14th century, and could the magnificent Lorenzo revisit the glimpses of the moon, and walk through the interior, he would recognize, in wood and in marble, work rivalling that of his own age in delicacy, a library the like of which never enriched his palace, and paintings some of which had been in his own possession.

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