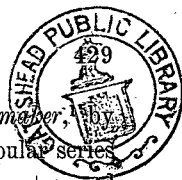


## APPENDIX (L).

## THE WARS OF THE ROSES IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

IN order to understand the complicated sieges and countersieges that the castles of Northumberland endured in the beginning of the reign of Edward IV. it becomes necessary to give some general sketch of them as a whole, in addition to dilating on the particular circumstances that attended the investment of each fortress when treating of its separate history. As these sieges form to a great extent the foreground of English history at the time, a critical study of the series may possess more than a provincial interest.

The period, as is well-known, is the most difficult and perplexing to deal with in the whole course of our annals since the Norman Conquest. Reference has already been made to the able attempt of Mr. Perceval to correct some of the inaccuracies in the ordinary accounts of it in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in London in 1881, and published in vol. XLVII. of their *Archæologia*. But the most thorough-going investigation of this historical labyrinth is to be found in Mr. Plummer's introduction to Sir John Fortescue's *Governance of England*, printed at the Clarendon Press in 1885. It is characteristic of the way in which work of sterling value is often buried, still-born, in the publications of learned societies, that Mr. Plummer was apparently unaware of the existence of Mr. Perceval's essay. A preface proves frequently a similar grave; and it is only an eleventh-hour perusal of Mr. Plummer's introduction that renders it possible now to modify considerably several statements that appear in the preceding pages relative to the castles of Warkworth, Dunstanburgh, and Bamburgh. A careful examination of the authorities Mr. Plummer refers to in his excellent notes tends, on the other hand, to show that he has not succeeded in every instance himself in interpreting and marshalling correctly the various facts they furnish. It becomes a pleasure to point out these misconceptions in the work—too modestly hidden—of a writer who himself has adopted the noble device, that should be common to all true historians: *Opprobret nobis, qui volet, modo corrigat*. A still more recent and very brilliant



essay on this period is to be found in *Warwick, the Kingmaker*, by Mr. Oman, but the fact that this forms a volume of a popular series has unfortunately caused it to be published without the notes and references necessary to explain certain dubious passages.

From the disastrous field of Towton, 29th March, 1461, Margaret of Anjou with her husband and their adherents retired to York, but on the city being summoned to surrender, they packed their baggage in haste and fled the same night towards Scotland. They were supposed to have halted at Newcastle, and Edward sent 20,000 men to besiege the town. On Easter Monday, the 6th of April, a letter reached London to announce their capture. Nicholas O'Flanagan, bishop of Elphin, immediately joined the duchess of York in a Te Deum to celebrate the event, but those better versed with the situation regarded the news with suspicion, and thought that, having found means to embark, the fugitives had proceeded to Scotland or France.<sup>2</sup> About ten days later came the rumour that Henry, Margaret, and the young prince were then besieged by Sir Robert Ogle and Sir John Conyers at 'a place in York schire (that) is called Coroumbr, 'suche a name it hath or muche lyke,'<sup>3</sup> by which the castle of Carham or Wark would seem to be meant, though this had recently been dismantled by the Scots. Henry found it necessary to procure a safe conduct for himself and a thousand horse to enter Scotland,<sup>4</sup> and this delay probably caused him to be overtaken by the knights in question. He might, we are told, at one time have been stolen away at a little postern behind the castle. Several esquires of the earl of Northumberland gathered together five or six thousand Lancastrians in order to raise the siege, and no fewer than three thousand north-countrymen are said to have fallen in the consequent

<sup>1</sup> *Warwick, the Kingmaker*, by Charles W. Oman (vol. xvi. of *English Men of Action*), Macmillan and Co., 1891.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. i. pp. 100, 105.

<sup>3</sup> *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii. p. 7. Strictly speaking this ought to refer to Coverham Abbey in Yorkshire, locally called 'Corram,' but unless the Yorkists had been entirely misinformed as to the route taken by the fugitives, it is impossible to suppose that the latter could have remained so far south at this time. The mistake as to the county and the doubt as to the name may have arisen from the fact that the priory of Carham in Northumberland was a cell of that of Kirkham in Yorkshire. Wark had a little postern leading down to the Tweed; Norham, which might otherwise have put in a claim, seems not to have had one.

<sup>4</sup> Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 1808, vol. v. p. 446.

'byger.' The victorious Edward IV. remained eight days, it is said, at York, and then marched on to Durham. Margaret had borrowed four thousand marks of the prior and convent there 'against their good will,' as they declared, 'by might and main force,' and when Edward took his leave of St. Cuthbert, the prior 'put up a bill' beseeching him to have the money by some means recovered, as well as certain sums they had lent to Lancastrians slain at Towton.<sup>5</sup> At Newcastle, Edward caused the earl of Wiltshire to be beheaded. The earl had been taken prisoner at Cockermouth Castle, together with Dr. John Morton, chancellor to the young Prince of Wales.<sup>6</sup> Morton was sent to the Tower, whence he afterwards escaped. Thinking that Henry and Margaret had fled to Scotland and that it was not worth while to pursue them, Edward returned to London.

Berwick was handed over to the Scots by king Henry on the 25th of April in consideration of their promised assistance. On the 26th of June Henry, accompanied by Sir John Fortescue and others, rode, it appears, 'with standardes, and gyturons unrolled' through Ryton as far south as Brancepeth.<sup>7</sup> About the same time Carlisle would have been taken by the Scots but for the timely arrival of lord Montagu with reinforcements. The principal castles of Northumberland probably acknowledged Edward IV. soon after. Dunstanburgh, we know, was regularly held of the new king by Sir Ralph Percy from at any rate the following Michaelmas.<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, Henry and Margaret were leading a precarious existence in Scotland,<sup>9</sup> while Louis XI., who had just come to the

<sup>5</sup> See the *Supplicatio facta Domino Regi Edwardo* (Reg. parv. III. f. 96) and the curious letter of the prior of Durham to George Neville, chancellor of England, dated 27th October, 1461 (Reg. III. parv. f. 105), in Raine, *Saint Cuthbert*, p. 163, as also that to lord Ogle, really written 7th March, 1462, in *Priory of Coldingham*, Surt. Soc. xii. p. 191.

<sup>6</sup> *Paston Letters*, ii. p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Rolls of Parl.*, v. 478 b.

<sup>8</sup> See above p. 178. Mr. Oman seems unaware of this.—*Warwick*, p. 140.

<sup>9</sup> Henry VI. granted an annuity of forty marks to John Napier at Edinburgh, 28th August, 1461.—*Marmion*, 1852, p. 232 n. Sir Walter Scott there quotes with patriotic pride the almost contemporary stanzas of Molinet in *Recollections des Aventures*, relating how the English spitefully drove out their old king and his heir—

Qui fuytst alla prendre  
D'Ecosse le garand,  
De tous siècles le moindre,  
Et le plus toilerant.

In a letter from Dieppe, 30th August, 1461, we are told that 'King Harry is at Kirkhowbre with four men and a child,' and Queen Margaret and her son at Edinburgh.—*Paston Letters*, ii. p. 46. Cf. Wavrin, *Anchiennes Chroniques*,

throne of France, vainly attempted to mediate between them and Edward through his envoy the seigneur de la Barde.<sup>10</sup> The duke of Somerset returned to Scotland from France in March, and can have reported little hope of assistance in that quarter, while the scandalous stories he had told of the queen of Scots while abroad tended to alienate her sympathy from the Red Rose. On the 28th of March, 1462, Henry, in despair, addressed to Louis from Edinburgh an especial letter of credence for his chancellor, Sir John Fortescue;<sup>11</sup> and on the 10th of April gave there a general commission to Margaret to treat at the French court in his name.<sup>12</sup> Fortescue appears to have proceeded by way of Flanders in order to see what prospect there was of obtaining Burgundian assistance. He had the misfortune to be detained at Rouen on the 13th of June, together with the earl of Pembroke, in consequence of their having no safe-conduct from Louis.<sup>13</sup>

Margaret, on her part, sailing for Kirkcudbright landed in Brittany on April 16th, where she was honourably received by the duke, who made her a present of twelve thousand crowns. She then visited her father, René, titular king of Sicily, in Anjou, where she met Pierre de Brezé, seigneur de la Varenne and count Maulevrier, who, after having greatly contributed to drive the English out of France and having been the popular seneschal of Normandy, had been recently unjustly imprisoned for four months by Louis XI. Her arrival at Angers in May was the cause of much uneasiness to Louis, who was at Bordeaux at the time. He ordered Montauban to find out all she

ed. Mdle. Dupont (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), 1858-1863, vol. iii. p. 179. This must have been immediately after their return from Wales where they had been expecting the arrival of the duke of Somerset with a large French army, when the death of Charles VII. disconcerted their plans.—*Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, vol. i. p. iii.

<sup>10</sup> Georges Chastellain, *Chroniques des derniers Ducs de Bourgogne*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels, 1863-6, vol. iv. p. 220.

<sup>11</sup> Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Baluze, n°. 90377, fol. 176, printed in Wavrin, iii. p. 170 n. Mr. Plummer has been misled by lord Clermont into supposing this letter to belong to 1465.

<sup>12</sup> Comines, *Memoires*, ed. Lenglet du Fresnoy; ii. 368.

<sup>13</sup> Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Baluze, n°. 90377, fol. 177 in Wavrin, iii. p. 170 n. The earl of Pembroke was present at the treaty of Tours on the 28th of June; Fortescue was, no doubt, purposely detained at Rouen in order that he might not oppose the project for surrendering Calais. To some of the resolutions of Henry's council during this period he states he was 'not well willing,' and the compact for the similar surrender of Berwick seems to have been one of them.—See Plummer, pp. 57, 75.

had come about in order that he might the sooner be relieved of her presence, but was on the point of committing himself to champion her cause as the best way of defending himself against any possible attack from Edward IV.<sup>14</sup> In June, Louis heard that Margaret had advanced as far as Tours, and immediately wrote to Aymar de Poysieu, telling him to endeavour to detain her there, and on no account to let her reach Amboise, where his own queen was, nor to allow the latter to go to Tours. If there were no means of preventing Margaret from going to Amboise for the purpose of awaiting Louis there, then Poysieu was to take the French queen and the ladies of her court away to Melun, and Louis sent him a duplicate of a letter he had written to his wife, directing her to go there, so that if necessary it might be shown to Margaret.<sup>15</sup>

Louis and Margaret eventually met at Chinon, where she borrowed 20,000 livres from the king on the 23rd of June, engaging to repay double that sum within a year of her recovery of Calais, or in default to cede Calais to France. This agreement was ratified in a treaty signed at Tours on the 28th, in the presence of the earl of Pembroke and others.<sup>16</sup>

From Tours Margaret turned northwards in order to commence her preparations for invading England, and arrived on Tuesday, the 13th of July, at Rouen, where she was received in state by the authorities and lodged at the *Lion d'Or*.<sup>17</sup> A month later Louis made his public entry into Rouen, side by side with Pierre de Brezé, on the

<sup>14</sup> 'La royne d'Angleterre est arrivée Angiers, ainsi que savez. Vous ne vous tordez guere, vous sariez tout quant qu'ils ont ou ventre, par quoy je les en pourroye plus tost despecher. Toutesvoyes, il est force d'entendre à son fait et de la soustenir de tout nostre povoir, car s'est le bolvert contre le roy Edouart. Le seneschal est Angiers, faites lui bonne chiere, et escoutez tout ce qu'il voudra dire.'

This was crossed out by the writer of the minute and the following substituted:—'La royné d'Angleterre est arrivée Angers, ainsi que vous savez. J'envoye le bailli de Rouan, qui va voir sa femme, et maistre George Havart devers elle. Je vous pryé que vous faciez diligence de venir devers moy, affin que nous soions ensemble devant qu'ilz y viennent, pour adviser que j'aie à faire.'—Bibl. nat., Min. Fr. 20427, fol. 57; *Lettres de Louis XI.* ed. Vaesen (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), 1885, ii. p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> Bibl. nat. Fr. 20489, fol. 69; *Lettres de Louis XI.* ii. p. 54.

<sup>16</sup> Comines, ed. Lenglet du Fresnoy, ii. p. 372, 'tiré des Recueils de M. l'Abbé Le Grand.'

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* ii. p. 12n. Louis had written to the chapter of Rouen from Meslay, 8th July, 1462, that they were to receive Margaret of Anjou 'en telx honneur, bonne chiere et reverence que feries nostre très chiere et très amée compaignie la royne.'—*Lettres de Louis XI.* ii. p. 61.

12th of August.<sup>18</sup> He entrusted Brezé with the command of the expedition that was to aid Margaret in replacing her husband on the throne, and gave orders to engage ships in all the ports of Normandy and Picardy for the passage of the queen and her companions.<sup>19</sup> Rumours of an intended invasion of France by Edward IV. then seem to have greatly alarmed Louis, and probably dissuaded him from entering on an open war with England.<sup>20</sup> At any rate, when Margaret and Brezé finally embarked in October it was with a contingent of not more than two thousand men.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile the queen of Scots had been coquetting with Edward IV., and had received his envoy, Warwick, at Dumfries. The Lancastrians, however, had not been wholly inactive in Northumberland, and had appeared in force in the neighbourhood of Dunstanburgh.<sup>22</sup> They had either never given up Alnwick or now recovered possession of it, as it was held for them by William Tailbois. In July, lord Hastings, sir Ralph Grey, and others laid siege to it, and Tailbois was forced to capitulate. The castle was committed to the custody of sir Ralph.<sup>23</sup> Lord Montagu, after having taken Naworth, established himself at Newcastle.<sup>24</sup> The prior of Durham sent him a clock there on the 8th of August.<sup>25</sup> In October, sir Richard Tunstal, who had been in Naworth Castle at the time of its conditional surrender, conspired to prepare Bamburgh to receive Margaret. This was held at the time for Edward IV. by sir William Tunstal, whose head was placed in jeopardy by his brother Richard's success.<sup>26</sup>

Margaret landed with Brezé near Bamburgh on the 25th of October, in the expectation that there would be a general rising in her favour. But the country people, finding that she had brought so few French auxiliaries with her, remained passive.<sup>27</sup> Indeed the peasantry

<sup>18</sup> Chastellain, iv. p. 230.

<sup>19</sup> Comines, ed. Lenglet du Fresnoy, ii. p. 373.

<sup>20</sup> *Lettres de Louis XI.*

<sup>21</sup> Basin says only about eight hundred—'Aggregans . . . collectitium militum numerum circiter usque ad octingentos viros, tam suis, quam reginæ sumptibus, cum exigua et exili classe in Scotiam cum regina trajecit.'—Basin, *Hist. de Rebus a Ludovico XI. gestis*, lib. i. cap. xiv. ed. Quicherat (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), 1856, ii. p. 50.

<sup>22</sup> See above, p. 179.

<sup>23</sup> Will. Wyrcester, *Annales (Wars of the English in France, Henry VI., Rolls Series, vol. ii. pt. ii.)*, p. 779.

<sup>24</sup> *Paston Letters.*

<sup>25</sup> Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, i. 349.

<sup>26</sup> *Paston Letters*, ii. p. 120.

<sup>27</sup> Will. Wyrcester, p. 780

of Rock and Beadnell seem to have proved themselves particularly vigilant in the Yorkist interest.<sup>28</sup> She proceeded to lay siege to Alnwick, which was obliged to yield for want of provisions.<sup>29</sup> Dunstanburgh also admitted a Lancastrian garrison.

On the 30th of October, the earl of Warwick set out with an army from London,<sup>30</sup> and was followed by Edward himself.<sup>31</sup> Alnwick, Dunstanburgh, and Bamburgh were invested on the 10th of December. From his headquarters at Warkworth Warwick rode round every day to superintend the three sieges.<sup>32</sup> William Hasildene, Matilda Walsh, and John Carter acted as purveyors for the forces before Bamburgh, bringing provisions from Newcastle.<sup>33</sup> The king's own tents were set up at Bamburgh by William Hill, a servant of the Master of the Tents. A 'bombard' was carted from Warkworth to Bamburgh by William Hoo, and Richard More was despatched there with the royal ordnance, while the king's own ordnance appears to have arrived in the charge of a carter named Hugh.<sup>34</sup>

On hearing of Warwick's advance and these formidable preparations Margaret, who was in Bamburgh with Brezé, determined to take

<sup>28</sup> 'Die Jovis xvij<sup>o</sup> die Febr. . . Hominibus ville de Roke et hominibus ville de Bedenale In denariis eis liberatis, viz.: dictis hominibus ville de Roke ~~xxs~~ et dictis hominibus ville de Bedenale vs iij<sup>jd</sup> de regardo speciali pro vigiliis suis per ipsos sustentis ex mandato Regis pro certis specialibus causis et materiis ipsum Dominum Regem moventibus per breve generale carrens (de privato sigillo inter mandatis de termino Pasche ultimo preterito).'—*Issue Rolls (Pells)*, Mich. 2, Ed. iij. P.R.O.

<sup>29</sup> 'Penuria victualium' Will. Wyrcester, p. 780.

<sup>30</sup> *Paston Letters*, ii. p. 463.

<sup>31</sup> *MS. Lambeth*, 448, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Camden Soc. 1880, p. 175.

<sup>32</sup> *Paston Letters*, ii. p. 121. See above, pp. 113, 179, 254. It must be remembered that this Appendix is intended only to explain more clearly the general sequence of events, and neither to repeat what has been said already nor to forestall the accounts of the sieges of Alnwick and Norham which will be given when treating of those castles in the second volume.

<sup>33</sup> 'Die Jovis xvij<sup>o</sup> die Febr. Willelmo Hasildene, Matilde Walsshe et Johanni Carter. In denariis eis liberatis viz.: dicto Willelmo misso pro empcone victualium pro solidariis partibus borialibus existentibus vs, dicte Matilde pro victualibus ab ea emptis pro eisdem soldariis vs viij<sup>jd</sup> et dicto Johanni pro cariagio diversorum victualium de Newcastle usque Bamburgh pro eisdem soldariis xij<sup>s</sup>.'—*Issue Roll (Pells)*, Mich. 2. Ed. iij. P.R.O.

<sup>34</sup> 'Willelmo Hylle servienti Magistri Tentarum Regis Willelmo Hoo Carter Ricardo More et Hugoni, Carter In denariis eis liberatis—viz.: dicto Willelmo Hylle pro cariagio Tentarum ipsius Domini Regis de Newcastle usque Bamburgh xls. dicto Willelmo Hoo pro cariagio unius Bunbarde de Werkworthe usque Bamburgh xs. dicto Ricardo More misso, cum ordinacione Regis usque Bamburgh vijs viij<sup>jd</sup> et dicto Hugoni pro cariagio ordinacionum ipsius Domini Regis ijs.'—*Ibid.*

advantage of the arrival of a French fleet with arms and supplies to effect her escape from the beleagured fortress. She accordingly went on board 'a carvyle,' taking her treasures with her. A violent storm arose, and the queen appears to have anchored off Holy Island.<sup>35</sup> Some of the other French ships, with four hundred soldiers, went ashore near Bamburgh. The blockade round the castle was too close for them to communicate with the garrison, so they set their ships on fire and endeavoured to provide for their own safety by occupying Holy Island. They surprised a party of two hundred Yorkists who happened to be there, but were eventually forced to take refuge in the priory. In an ineffectual attempt to defend this two hundred of them were killed or taken prisoners and the rest put to flight. The prisoners of the greatest note were Louis Malet, seigneur de Granville, and Raoul d'Ailly, seigneur d'Araines. Meanwhile, Brezé was successful in escaping from Bamburgh to Scotland,<sup>36</sup> and Margaret also reached Berwick in a fishing boat. She there heard that the 'carvyle' in which she originally embarked had gone down in the storm with all her treasure.<sup>37</sup>

Bamburgh capitulated on Christmas Eve, and three days later Dunstanburgh did the same. The besieged garrisons had been compelled to eat most of their horses, and were glad to have their lives spared and be allowed to make for Scotland with white staves in their

<sup>35</sup> 'Auquel passage estoit mesmes logié sur l'eau la royne Marguerite.'—Wavrin, ii. p. 320.

<sup>36</sup> 'Neantmoins eschapa saulvament le seigneur de la Varenne, lequel s'en alla en Escocce.'—*Ibid.* p. 319. Cf. 'Messire Pierre de Bresy, seigneur de la Varenne et seneschal de Northmandie, avoit habandonné Bambourg,' p. 320.

<sup>37</sup> There can be no doubt that the capture of the French knights which Wavrin, ii. p. 320, places after a company of Warwick's forces had crossed 'ung passage nomme Holibant' was the affair of Holy Island, see above, p. 254. The chronology and geography of Wavrin are not to be depended on. He places Berwick in Wales and makes the French take Durham, ii. p. 318, so that it is less surprising that he should turn Holy Island into the ford of Holibant on the border-river of Scotland. The alliteration is not more curious than that of 'Brambourg' for Bamburgh and 'Amunchic' for Alnwick. There is no mention of any name like 'Holibant' in the minute accounts we have of the fords over the Tweed in the Border surveys. Wavrin places this incident in the general account of the skirmishes and feats of arms that took place during the war, 'Durant les assiegemens d'entre les Anglois et Francois, y eut plusieurs escarmuches et maintes belles apartises d'armes faites,' &c., &c., ii. p. 319, but he makes it precede the great 'merrymaking' of Edward in London, 'si s'en alla à Londres, où fut faite tres grant chiere, tant par les nobles de la cité comme par les bourgeois et marchans, et mesmement par le Mairesse de Londres;' and we know that this banquetting took place in the spring of 1463.

hands.<sup>38</sup> With the assistance of the earl of Angus, Brezé was enabled to bring off the greater part of the garrison of Alnwick on the 6th of January, 1463, but the Scots were afraid to assume the offensive, and the castle fell on the 30th of that month.

Henry VI. was still at Edinburgh on the 15th of December, 1462. He must have expected that the struggle would prove more protracted, as he issued powers on that day for borrowing money from the duke of Burgundy.<sup>39</sup> When, however, it became evident that Louis XI. did not intend to actively support him and that Brezé could effect nothing in Northumberland with the forces at his disposal, the queen-dowager and many of the Scottish lords began again to look with favour on Edward IV. Fearing, therefore, that if they remained so near the Border as Edinburgh he and his son might be delivered into the hands of their enemies, Henry and his council retired with the regent, bishop Kennedy, the main-stay of their cause in Scotland, to the castle of St. Andrew's. Here Kennedy treated the royal exile with all the hospitality the place afforded, and lent him both money and silver for coining.<sup>40</sup> Anxious to take advantage of the disputes that had arisen in Scotland on the question of the regency and to avenge himself on Kennedy and the Lancastrian

<sup>38</sup> 'Seulement la vye de ceulz quy dedens estoient saulves, le blancq baston 'on poing, et tous les seigneurs prisonniers; mais anchois qu'ilz voulsissent 'tomber en ces traitiés, per rage de faim mengerent la pluspart des leurs 'chevaulz.'—Wavrin, ii. p. 319.

<sup>39</sup> Wavrin, iii. p. 169; from Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Baluze, No. 9037, fol. 176.

<sup>40</sup> 'Le dit roy Henry et son conseil se doubtoient a demourer si pres des 'Marches, comme è Edembourgh, paour que les Anglois et aucuns Escossoys, 'qui mieulx aymoient le party contraire que luy, ne feissent aucune convencion 'ou préjudice de luy et de son beau filz, le Prince. Par quoi il desiroit, pour la 'seureté de sa personne, venir en ma place de Saint Andry, là où il fut bien 'recueilly, selon ma petite puissance, et bien reconforté, tant dedens, comme de 'luy prester or et argent monnoyé et à monnoyer, et aultres choses à luy neces- 'saires, en luy faisant aussi bonne chiere comme je luy ay sceu ne peu faire.'—*Instructions a Messire Guillaume, seigneur de Monypenny de se qu'il a a dire a Tres Hault, Tres Puissant et Tres Chrestien Prince le Roy de France de par l'Evesque de Saint Andrieu en Ecosse*, in Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Baluze, No. 9037, fol. 184; Wavrin, iii. p. 169. It is difficult to understand how both Mr. Plummer, p. 60, and Mr. Oman, p. 140, wrongly refer this withdrawal of Henry VI. to St. Andrew's to the summer of 1462, since Kennedy there explicitly declares that it was the consequence of the bad effect produced by the arrival of Brezé, seigneur de Maulevrier, with so small a contingent, besides this both writers state that prince Edward was with his mother in France at the very time they send Henry to St. Andrew's, though Kennedy says the prince was then with him at Edinburgh. The fact that Margaret took her son with her to France in 1462 seems to rest on the notice of their return from there in *Paston Letters*. Kennedy's instructions to Monypenny were drawn up in 1464 between the 6th of March and the 20th of April, as is shown by internal evidence.

party in that country, Edward let slip the earl of Douglas on the West Marches, with funds sufficient for the collection of a large force of reckless borderers. In the beginning of March, 1463, Douglas defeated the earl of Crawford and the warden, lord Maxwell, at the East Hill, killing or capturing seventeen Scottish lords and four thousand of their followers.<sup>41</sup> On the 23rd of March Edward sent 100*li* to the abbot and convent of Alnwick to compensate them for losses they had sustained during the last siege of the neighbouring castle, evidently never dreaming that there would soon be fresh trouble in Northumberland.<sup>42</sup> Before Easter, however, which in that year fell on the 10th of April, while Edward and his companions in London were 'merrymaking and I wot not what else,' as the chronicler expresses it, the Scots and French once more seized on Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh, with the passive connivance of sir Ralph Percy, who had been appointed constable of both castles as the reward of his second submission to Edward.<sup>43</sup> Towards the end of May, sir Ralph Grey, disgusted at having only been made captain of Alnwick, delivered sir John Ashley, who had been placed over him as constable, into the hands of sir Ralph Percy by a clever stratagem, and admitted lord Hungerford and the French into the castle. Upon hearing of this Henry and Margaret came to Bamburgh with Brezé and two thousand men.<sup>44</sup> On the other side, lord Montagu immediately marched north from London, followed, on the 4th of June, by his brother Warwick.

Montagu reached Newcastle just in time to defend it against a sudden attack from sir Ralph Grey. Several Lancastrians fell in a

<sup>41</sup> *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Camden Soc. p. 159.

<sup>42</sup> *Issue Roll (Pells)* Mich. 2., Ed. iiij. P.R.O.

<sup>43</sup> See above, p. 255. Mr. Oman (p. 149) has reversed the real order of events in connection with this betrayal of Bamburgh and Alnwick.

<sup>44</sup> Wavrin, iii. p. 160. Bishop Kennedy had sent Henry from St. Andrew's to another of his places on the coast, and had thence, he tells Monypenny, transmitted him in safety to England.—'D'illecques le convoyay en une aultre 'des mes places sur la mer, et de là le transmis seurement en son royaume.'—*Ibid.* iii. pp. 170-171. It is curious to find the monks of Farne complaining about this time of ravages committed by men from Pittenweem in Fife.—Raine, *North Durham*, p. 355. Some Englishmen taken at Reouille (?) near the Hague on 1st July, 1463, in a small carville commanded by William Wignere, reported that when they left England a week before the news was that Henry and Brezé 'ont prins deux villes et trois chasteaux et marché pais bien avant' to which they added the wildest rumours of a Lancastrian triumph.—Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Gagnières, No. 375, fol. 94; in Wavrin, ii. p. 317 n.

skirmish under the walls. The burghers of Newcastle also captured four French vessels, one of them being, it was supposed, a large 'carville' belonging to the Comte d'Eu.<sup>45</sup> Grey and Brezé then engaged on the siege of a castle near Alnwick, probably Warkworth, but they were compelled to abandon this on the advance of Montagu, who had been relieved at Newcastle by the arrival of Warwick with a considerable force.<sup>46</sup> Notwithstanding this Henry and Margaret with the king of Scots and Brezé proceeded to lay formal siege to Norham about Midsummer. 'Then,' says Gregory, 'my Lord Warwick and his brother, 'the Lord Montagu, put them in devoir to rescue the said castle of 'Norham.'<sup>47</sup> To do so they had to outflank the strong Lancastrian triangle formed by the castles of Bamburgh, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh. Being probably inferior to their combined adversaries in point of numbers, they appear to have determined to keep as far as possible out of their way to the west, and therefore to have chosen to march by Rothbury and Ingram. They seem, after crossing the Aln, to have found queen Margaret with her French adherents and a large body of Scottish troops drawn up on the hill-side in front of Great Ryle<sup>48</sup> in order to prevent their passing over

<sup>45</sup> Wavrin, iii. p. 160.

<sup>46</sup> 'Au regard des nouvelles du Nort, messire Pierre de Bresey, messire Ralphe Gray et aultres avoient assigié une place assez prez de Hennewik, mais le seigneur de Montegu, frere au conte de Warwick, messire Rebert Alwang et autres sont venus lever le siege: mais les autres ne les ont point actendu, ains se sont retrais, &c.'—Letter from Philippe de Cran to 'Monsieur de Croy, conte de Porcian et de Guisnes' written at Boulogne, Saturday, 16th July, 1463, and giving the news brought from England by Colin Herevé, Clerk to the Lieutenant of Guisnes, who had arrived that morning in a fishing boat, Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Baluze, No. 9037, fol. 182; *ibid.* iii. p. 163.

<sup>47</sup> *Gregory's Chronicle*, Camden Soc. 1876, p. 220.

<sup>48</sup> Chastellain, iv. p. 278, calls this battle 'ceste honteuse retraite que firent 'les Escots devant Rel.' Gregory, p. 220, says that at the commencement of the siege of Norham, which Stow fixes about Midsummer (24th June), Henry, Margaret, the King of Scots, and Brezé were all there, but when Warwick raised the siege eighteen days later (12th July), he only 'put bothe Kynges 'Harry and the King of Schotys to flyghte.' Margaret and Brezé had then disappeared from before Norham in the meantime, and had probably advanced to stop Warwick's march by acting in concert with the garrison of Alnwick. If so, history repeated itself the next year (1464) when Montagu on his way to Norham was attacked by sir Ralph Percy on Hedgely Moor. It is annoying that there is a gap in Chastellain's Chronicle which would have otherwise given us full particulars of the affair of 'Rel.' On the other hand we must not underrate the tradition that locates the adventure of Margaret in Dipton Wood near Hexham. The first allusion to this in print seems to be in *An Essay towards a History of Hexham*, by A. B. Wright, 1823, p. 195. Wright had a survey of the 'Queen's Cave' made; it did not exceed 31 feet in its greatest length, and 14 feet in breadth, while the height would scarcely admit of a

into the Breamish valley. It would be difficult to find a more advantageous position for the purpose, but, anyhow, the Scots were seized with a sudden panic and shamefully deserted the braver Frenchmen. In attempting to escape towards Scotland, Margaret was overtaken by a band of Yorkists who laid hold of her royal jewels and other treasures. In spite of her piteous entreaties, they were quite prepared to cut her throat, when they began to fight among themselves over the rich booty. The queen seeing their attention thus distracted, besought an esquire who was there to take pity on her 'for the sake of the Passion of Our Saviour Jesus Christ,' and assist her escape. 'Madam,' said he, yielding to her prayers, 'mount you behind me, and let my lord the prince get up in front, 'and save you I will or die, though death seems the more probable.' So the queen and prince mounted and the three rode off, while the soldiery were too much engrossed in their quarrel to notice their departure.<sup>49</sup>

person standing upright. 'According to tradition,' he naively adds, 'the rude pillar (which supports the roof) forms part of a wall which divided the cave longitudinally for the accommodation of Margaret and her son.' Now it will be noticed that in Margaret's own account of her adventure there is no mention of any cave, and the queen herself did not trespass on the robber's hospitality. As to the name 'Queen's Cave,' it may have the same origin, whatever that may be, as the 'Queen's Letch,' the name of a small runner (and from it of a farmhouse) about a mile lower down on the opposite side of Dipton burn, and which is not brought into the tradition. Both names seem to have been unknown to Wallis, who, in his history of Northumberland, 1769, derives Dukesfield, three miles higher up the Devilswater than the Linnels, from the *Duke* of Somerset, beheaded in 1464, though it appears as 'Duxfield' in records of the 13th century. Near Dukesfield there is a prominent hill known now as Rye Hill, but in the 17th century as 'Mount Ryall' (Hodgson, *Northd.* III. i. 293), but if this was the 'Rel' of Chastellain, there must have been two battles of Hexham fought nearly on the same spot, the one in 1463, the other in 1464. The almost contemporary *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* (Camden Soc.), quoted by Dr. Perceval, p. 285, indeed places 'the battelle of Hexham felde' in the former year, and the *Inq. p.m.* 8 Ed., iv. n. 54 (Perceval, p. 282), strangely dates the death of Somerset 3rd April, 1463. Is it within the bounds of possibility that this could have been the date of a first battle of Hexham, in which Margaret and Brezé were defeated 'devant Rel,' while Somerset was really only concerned in the battle fought at the Linnels on 8th May, 1464?

Mr. Oman, p. 150, has confused the relief of Norham in July, 1463, with the occupation of Holy Island in December, 1462.

<sup>49</sup> As the whole story of this adventure was related by queen Margaret herself to the duchess of Bourbon at St. Pol on the 2nd of September, 1463, in the presence of the historian Chastellain, it rests on the most unimpeachable of evidence. It is remarkable that both Dr. Perceval, pp. 286-294, and Mr. Oman, p. 151, have rejected the story through not being acquainted with this prime authority. Margaret told the duchess that:—'A la derrenière mal-eurée desconfiture où elle fut prinse et saisié, elle fut robbée et pillée de tout son vaillant, de ses royaulx joyaulx etabis, de ses grosses vasselles, et des trésors les quels cuidoit aller sauver en Escoce; et les quelles toutes prinses, qui riens ne lui estoient au regard du surplus, fut prinse meismes

Near the place where this occurred there was a wood and into it they rode in order to be lost to sight. To the terror-stricken Margaret every tree looked like a man with a drawn sword, not that it was her own life she cared for so much as for that of her son, in whom centred all her hopes of an ultimate restoration. The wood was indeed a favourite haunt of robbers known to be merciless cut-throats, and as the queen was deploring her fate up came one of them, hideous and horrible to behold. He was about to attack the party, when Margaret boldly bade him approach.<sup>50</sup> 'Man,' she cried, 'thou

'et saisie au corps, vaillamment arraisonnée, courrue sus à espée traicte, prinse pour l'atour du chief, pour luy tranchier le col, menascée de divers tourmens et de crudelités, là où elle, ruée à genoulx et les mains jointes, gémissante et plorant, prya que, pour honneur de divine pitié et humaine et l'honneur de toute noblesse, souverainement de feminine nature, la voulsissent prendre à mercy, et qu'en prenant compassion de son povre mal-euré corps, voulsissent reconnoistre au moins, comme malheureuse qu'elle estoit là entre leurs mains, que toutesvoies estoit elle fille de roy, et aultrefois eulx mêmes l'avoient recongneue et tenue pour leur royne; parquoy, se maintenant leurs mains se souilloient en son sang, la cruauté en demorerait empreinte en la mémoire des hommes par tous siècles. En disant ces paroles, tousjours plouroit si fondamment, qu'il n'y avoit créature raisonnable qui n'en deust prendre pitié, avec ce que persévéramment s'escrioit sur la miséricorde de Dieu; dont les cieux conceurent la clameur; car prestement et comme par envoi de Dieu, commença ung tel discord et desroy entre ceulx qui l'avoient prinse, pour cause du butin et du gaing de sa despouille, que furieusement tuans l'un l'autre, comme gens enragés, n'entendirent plus à la très doloieuse desconfortée royne leur princesse, mais l'abandonnèrent, fuyans l'un ci l'autre là par impétueuse fureur, pour tuer ou estre occis, affin d'entendre et ravir leur proie à part, l'ung d'ung costé, l'autre de l'autre; dont il en ensuivy grosse occision. Sur quoy, quand ceste povre royne vit ce, et que luy sembloit bien que c'estoit ung droit divin envoy, parla piteusement à ung escuyer qu'elle vit là, et luy prya que, en onneur de la passion de Nostre Sauveur Jesus-Christ il print pitié d'elle, et de luy aider qu'elle peust estre sauvée. Si la regarda l'escuyer, et Dieu lui fit concevoir une pitié envers elle, par la quelle il lui dist: "Madame, montez darrière moy, et monseigneur le prince devant, et je vous saulvéreray ou je y mourray, combien que la mort m'y est plus apparente que aultrement." Si monta la royne et tous les fils. Et donna Dieu tel amusement à tous les autres que nul d'eux oncques ne perceust leur partement; ne s'ils le perceurent, si ne leur en estoit riens, pour entendre à leurs propres vies."—Chastellain, ed. *Panthéon Littéraire*, p. 230.

<sup>50</sup> 'Or y avoit il une prouchaine forest du lieu où cecy avint. Si ne désira le royne. fors estre en icelle pour estre hors de la veue des autres. Si y tira tout droit l'escuyer, non pas sans peur. Et tant fist qu'en la forest entrèrent sans encombre, là où n'avoit arbre toutesvoies, qui ne semblast à la royne que ce ne fust ung homme à espée traicte et qui ne lui escriast: "A la mort!" Car avoit la cervelle et toutes les veines du corps pleines de crudelles menasses et impressions qui luy représentoient mort, dont jamès ne cuidoit eschapper. Avoit toutesvoies tousjours ung regard sur son fils plus que sur elle; et disoit que au fort, de ly ne povoit chaloir si elle moroit ou non; mès de son fils, reputoit la pitié trop grande se perdicion en estoit faite; car c'estoit le vray hoir de la couronne, et par qui vie une fois, elle avoit espoir, tout retourneroit à sa droiture. Si avoit tant grande et extreme paour de cest enfant que, non chaillant de sa vie propre à sauver, ne queroit que la sauveté de son fils; car ne pensoit jamais vuyder de ceste forest sans estre rattainte arrière de ses

'wast born under a lucky star. After all the wrong thou hast done, a  
 'chance is now given thee of doing good that never shall be forgotten.  
 'Till to-day thou knewest not what pity meant. The Christian blood  
 'thou sheddest touched thy heart no more than it would a brute  
 'beast. It is to turn thee from thy old way of living, that I have  
 'fallen into thy clutches, I the wretched, unhappy queen of England,  
 'the princess the most tried by fortune that ever reigned, the most  
 'pierced by the pangs of death, that has ever been told of in books.  
 'If, man, thou hast any knowledge of the name of God, or hast heard  
 'of his Passion, our Salvation, take pity, for the sake thereof, on my  
 'misery. Save at least this youth, thy king's only son, true heir here-  
 'after, so please God, of the kingdom of which thou art a liege. By  
 'this deed of mercy all thy past cruelty shall be blotted out. Truly  
 'fortunate is the robber who having it in his power to slay a queen  
 'of England and her son becomes the blessed guardian of their lives.  
 'If thou dost right, thy present state, which differs little from that of  
 'the vermin of the woods, shall acquire a nobility from affording protec-  
 'tion to the great ones of the earth. Thou shalt hide the prince with  
 'thee in thy woods and thickets, eating at need roots and acorns with  
 'the swine, and he living with thee as thy ward shall lie on the cold  
 'ground more like beast than man. Yet on such a couch, in such  
 'a royal chamber, in such baronial company, he will be able to count for  
 'riches the fact that his life is safe, instead of having to taste the fitful  
 'changes that a crown brings with it. I make thee this day both father  
 'and mother to my child, and entrust to hands dyed with Christian  
 'blood that which the world would expect me to rescue from them.  
 'Do my bidding, I beseech thee. Save my son and keep him for me,

'ennemis, là où en la mort de tous les deux, et de l'escuyer avecques, n'y avoit  
 'point d'espargne."—*Ibid.* p. 231.

'Or y avoit en celle forest coustumier repaire de brigans, et dont la fame par  
 'pays portoit d'estre impitéables meurdriers coppegouges. Si advint, et comme  
 'Dieu veult peut-estre pour tant plus faire mytérieux l'infortune de ceste royne,  
 'qu'ainsi que toute se tourmentoit en sa doloieuse adversité, et se lamentoit à  
 'son escuier de son ennuy, survint ung brigant hydeux et horrible en veue, prest  
 'et adonné à faire tout mal. Et meü comme visant proye à soy rassaisier, ce lui  
 'sembloit, en ce que avoit de coustume, approucha à la royne à intencion de  
 'y mettre main ; et pensant la calengier et ce qu'elle portoit, né varia en faire  
 'comme des aultres, mès après prise obtenue. Comme doncques ceste noble royne  
 'véit ce, et ne pensoit fors que mort tousjours, de quel lez que venir pourroit, fust  
 'du costé des ennemis dont elle estoit eschappée, fut du costé des brigans dont  
 'maintenant véoit l'evident exemple, angoisses à tous lez à double mort la  
 'surprindrent ; et voyant que du péril ne pavoit eschapper, si non par grâce-  
 'de Dieu meismes, appela à venir devers elle le brigant."—*Ibid.*

'and, if God grant his re-establishment, he will know how to reward a  
'marvellous service such as never yet hath fallen to the lot of a man  
'like thee to perform.'<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> 'O homme né de bonne heure, se tu, après tant de maulx que tu peux avoir  
'fais, te convertir puisses à faire ung bien dont par tous siècles sera mémoire.  
'Tu es, comme je suppose, ennemy à tous passans, et de nullui amé, doubté et  
'cremu comme la mort, car tu la portes ès mains, et ne sceus jusques aujourd'hui  
'ne n'agoustas jamès que c'est de compassion ne de pitié, si non que le sang  
'chrestien que tu as fait randir sur terre t'a peu commouvoir l'humanité plus que  
'de beste meue. Or a esté aultresfois ton usage de quérir ce en quoy tu penses  
'exercer ta cruauté, et de mettre tes espies et aguets pour saisir ès mains les  
'humains corps. Et moy ores, non pourgettée ne circoüe de tes las, te voy  
'appelant meismes, et priant que tu viengnes vers moy, comme se lasse feusse  
'et ennuyée desormès de vivre, et non ayant eue d'eschapper tes cruelles  
'mains. Et certes, bien le dois penser estre tel, qui meismes à ceste intencion  
'te fais approche, sauve merci que je demande. Dont, pour ce que tu n'en  
'fus oncques coustumier, et que ton cuer est cruel, et qu'oncques telle prise  
'ne te cheut ès mains, je, pour vaincre ton ancien usage et le faire  
'tourner à pitié, te viens ruer entre tes mains, la misérable et doloureuse  
'royne d'Angleterre, ta princesse, la plus airentie de fortune qui régnast,  
'et la plus percée d'amers aguillons de mort dont jamès veu fut en livres.  
'O homme, se tu as aulcune congnoissance du nom de Dieu, ne se ton  
'humanité a conceu aulcune chose de sa passion, nostre salut, si te prenne pitié  
'doncques, en l'onneur d'icelle, de ma misère; et qui ne refuse au fort la cruauté  
'estre monstrée en moy, sauve au moins et espargne de mort ce jouvenceau, le  
'fruit de ma ventrée, la geniture et seul unique fils de ton roy, futur vray hoir,  
'se Dieu plait, du réaume dont tu ès suppos; sauve le et lui baille garant  
'entre tes bras. C'est ton roy à venir, et celuy dont les cieulx prendront la  
'bonté à lui faicte et la te mectront au front devant Dieu, là où de mille ans  
'peult estre, non dès le commencement du monde, ne fut jamès monstrée si  
'glorieuse euvre, quand tu, cruel des cruels, en l'espargne et sauveté d'ung seul  
'enfant, auras sauvé cent milliers de vies par pitié non apprins. O! et comme  
'eureuse ta crudélité, alors que tirée à compassion effacera toutes inhumanités  
'passées, et comme bien euré l'estat du brigant, quand capable d'une royne  
'd'Angleterre et de son fils pour povoir occire, aura esté faict salutaire refuge  
'de leurs vies; contraire condicion non à croire oncque soye! O homme! gaigne  
'Dieu aujourd'hui en ta part, pour délaisser une triste mère; et en donnant vie  
'à la morante, sauve aussi de mort en aultrui mains l'innocent réal sang que je  
'te livre; non à intencion que tu le me relivres, mès qu'en tes mains homicides  
'tu l'absconses et couvres contre tous aultres. Certes, se tu scés prendre bien,  
'moult est digne aujourdhui et eureux ton indigne estat, le quel cremu à paine  
'de la vermine du bois, est requis ores pour manteau de salut à ung des grands  
'de la terre. Et à toi sera grand eur, meismement grace et glorieuse aventure,  
'de son cachier desormès avecques toy en tes bois et buissons, de son embler et  
'celer ès fuellages de la forest, mengeant glands et racines au besoing avec-  
'ques les porcs, et de veoir et apprendre tes cruelles inhumanités, s'ainsy  
'avient, comme ton disciple, et là où le coucher en froide terre, en dur et aigre.  
'repos, vivre comme beste non comme homme, attendant perdicion d'âme et de  
'corps; certes, ce lui sera arrièrre comme chambre de royal atour; ce lui sera lit  
'de jocondité et de solas; ce lui sera compaignie et adestrance de baronnie; et  
'reputera plus ricesse en celle povreté, avoir vie sauve, qu'en splendeur et pos-  
'session de couronne non agouster les variabilités de fortune. O homme, je te  
'fais aujourd'hui le ventre de mon enfant; je te constitue saing et tectin qui l'a  
'nourry; je te fay père et mère de mon portage. Et je, qui en deusse estre  
'sauverresse, devant les hommes je te le mets en main meurtrière des chrestiens.  
'Fay, te supplie, mon requérir; sauve mon fils et le me garde, le quel, se Dieu  
'vouloit envoier l'eure de son ressoudre, te pourroit remérir haultement cestuy  
'service, dont jamès si estrange ne si hault mystère n'escheyt en main de tel  
'homme comme toi.'—*Ibid.*

With these words, or something like them, Margaret so confounded the robber that, seeing her tears and distress and hearing that she was the queen, he felt a deep sympathy for her. Touched by the Holy Spirit, who softened his heart, he even began to weep with her, and threw himself at her feet, declaring that he would die a thousand deaths and bear a thousand tortures rather than abandon the prince, whom he would bring to the haven of refuge in spite of everybody.<sup>52</sup> He sought pardon for his misdeeds from the queen, as though she still bore the sceptre in London, and vowed before God and the world never to relapse into his former ways, but to devote his life to acts of mercy. Then he quickly took charge of the prince, for Margaret was still in dread of being pursued and taken, and only yearned to know that her child was safely entrusted to God's guidance. For herself, she felt no fear as long as her son was concealed, so, kissing the boy, who was all tears, she left him in the hands of the bandit, who honourably fulfilled his promises.<sup>53</sup>

Margaret, for her part, rode off, mounted behind the esquire, and, trusting to Providence, made her way without any guide towards the frontier, where she expected to find her husband.<sup>54</sup> In the meanwhile, however, Warwick and Montagu had driven Henry and the young James III. from before Norham,<sup>55</sup> and it was only after long and fatiguing journeys that Margaret at last discovered Henry.<sup>56</sup> They were, no doubt, in considerable dread of being delivered into the hands of Warwick by the Scots, and preferred to conceal themselves

<sup>52</sup> 'A ces mots, ou ancques près en substance, la povre royne arraisonna le brigant; le quel voiant ses larmes et son desconforté semblant, ensemble et qu'elle estoit royne du pays, print une amère pitié en ly; et suscitâ au Saint Esperit qui l'amolist en cuer, prist meismes à plourer avecques elle et de soy ruer à ses pieds, disant: qu'ains morroit de mille morts, et d'autant de tourmens, premier qu'il abandonnast le noble fils et ne le menast au port de salut, maugré tous hommes.'—*Ibid.* 232. By the 'port de salut' Bamburgh was probably meant.

<sup>53</sup> 'Et priant mercy à la royne de ses mesfaicts, comme s'elle portast sceptre en Londres, voa à Dieu et au monde de non jamès rentrer en cest estat et d'amender sa vie en observacion de miséricorde. Et prist le fils assez en haste, car peur chassoit la royne que ne fust rattainte, par quoy ne quéroit riens que d'estre quiete de l'enfant, et de le mettre en la main de Dieu pour le conduire. D'elle meismes ne faisoit poix, mès le fils seulement lui suffisoit d'absconder, non sa propre personne; ainsy baisant son fils plorant et gemissant, le lascia entre les mains du brigant, qui noblement en fist son devoir depuis.'—*Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> 'Et la royne tyrant pays en la garde de Dieu, darrière l'escuier, sur adressement d'oeil, tendoit vers une marche estrange, où trouver pensoit son mary le roy.'—*Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Gregory's Chronicle*, p. 220.

<sup>56</sup> 'Au quel parvenue par longs annuyeux travaux, lui conta les aventures telles que avez eyes.'—Chastellain, 232.

with the prince of Wales in Northumberland till they could escape to Bamburgh, with the certainty of ships being ready there to take them abroad. For five days they only had a single herring among them, and there was one day when they were actually left without bread. On a certain feast day, probably July 20th, the festival of her patron St. Margaret, the unfortunate queen, happening to be at mass, found she had not even a black penny to offer in alms, so, beggar that she was, she asked a Scots archer to lend her something. Pulling a long face, the man reluctantly drew a Scots groat from his pocket and lent it to her—a touch of national character that brings the scene vividly before us.<sup>57</sup>

Warwick and Montagu appear to have pursued the royal fugitives up to the very walls of Bamburgh. Margaret's anxiety to place her son in safety prompted her to embark while the opportunity offered, so, leaving Henry with her horses and arms in the castle, which she knew was safe from any immediate attack,<sup>58</sup> she and her son set sail for Flanders on the 30th of July,<sup>59</sup> accompanied by Brezé and his Frenchmen in four 'balynggarys'.<sup>60</sup> 'At the departing of Sir Perys 'de Brasyl and his fellowship' there was a valiant French drummer who wished to meet with the earl of Warwick. He took his stand on a hill by himself with his tabor and pipe, tabering and piping as merrily as any man might, and would not leave his ground till Warwick came up to him. The earl there and then took him into his service in which he continued 'fulle good' for many years.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> 'Trouvée s'estoit, l'espace de cinq jours durant, que son mary, le roy son fils et elle n'avoient pour eulx trois que ung harenc, et non pas du pain pour nourriture d'ung jour; et que par ung jour solempnel, s'estoit trouvée à la messe, non ayant ung noir denier pour offrir; parquoy mendicque et disetteuse, pria à ung archier escot de lui prester aulcune chose, qui demy à dur et à regret luy tira ung gros d'Escosse de sa bourse et le luy presta.'—*Ibid.* p. 230.

<sup>58</sup> 'Sachant son mari le roy Henry estre compètement en lieu assez seur pour un espace de temps, prit son fils Edouart, nommé prince de Galles; et entrant en mer, sous l'avis et consentement du vaillant chevalier, messire Pierre de Brezé, conduiseur de sa querelle, le mena avecques elle . . . Sy l'amena tranquillité de vent auprès de l'Escluse, atout le nombre de gens qu'avoit avec elle, qui n'estoit point grand, sur la fin de juillet.'—*Ibid.* iv. p. 279. Cf. 'They londyd at the Schluse in Flaundyr, and lefte Kyng Harry, that was, behynde them, and alle thyr hors and thyr harneys, they were so hastyd by my Lorde of Warwyche, and hys brother the Lorde Mountegewe.'—*Gregory's Chronicle*, p. 220.

<sup>59</sup> The month and day of the departure of Brezé with his Frenchmen is from *A Fragment of a Chronicle relating to King Edward IV.*, printed by Hearne at the end of Sprott's Chronicle, 1719, and quoted by Dr. Perceval, p. 268.

<sup>60</sup> See above, p. 255.

<sup>61</sup> *Gregory's Chronicle*, pp. 220, 221. Mr. Oman, p. 151, lays this scene at Norham, but the context points to Bamburgh.

Margaret's confidence in the strength of Bamburgh was not misplaced. Warwick, having no large force at his disposal, was not prepared to engage on a set siege of the fortress, and perhaps his personal interests did not make him wish to utterly crush the hopes of Lancaster. He withdrew to the south of England, and, in spite of the great preparations for war made by king Edward, Henry VI. in the old Northumbrian capital continued for the next nine months to reign over Bamburghshire and Alnwick. In December, 1463, with a view to obtaining possession of Prudhoe, he issued letters of protection in favour of William Burgh, constable of that castle,<sup>62</sup> and in January, 1464, he conferred a charter on the burgesses of Edinburgh that gave them especial privileges in trading with the principality in his possession.<sup>63</sup>

In the meantime, a fair wind had borne Margaret to Sluys, and she had been received by the duke of Burgundy and his son, the count of Charolois, better known by the name of Charles the Bold. She despatched several letters from the Continent to Henry and those of his council. Some of them were carried to Bamburgh by a certain John Brown, and others by William Baker, a servant of the duke of Exeter. In these letters she stated that she had received satisfactory assurances from the duke of Brittany and the count of Charolois that they were both determined to aid Henry as far as ever they could.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, one of the count's household, named Preston, arrived at the court of Bamburgh with very kind and consolatory letters from his master and instructions to communicate verbally to Henry the hope that the former would be able to give him all the assistance he could

<sup>62</sup> See above, p. 205.

<sup>63</sup> The abstract of this charter to the Community of Edinburgh, dated 2nd January, 1463-4, in *Scottish Burgh Records Society's Publications*, 1871, p. 119, contains no evidence of Henry VI. being then at Edinburgh, while the matter of it points to his being king *de facto* of some part of England at the time.

<sup>64</sup> 'La royne d'Angleterre avoit escript plusieurs lettres au roy Henry et à ceulx de son conseil, les uns par ung nommé Jehan Bron, et les autres par ung nommé Willem Bacquier, qui fut au duc de Xestre, lesquelles lettres contenoient, entre autres choses qu'elle avoit-eu de bonnes nouvelles du duc de Bretagne et de monseigneur de Charolois, et qu'ilz estoient tout ung ensemble, et tous fermez et joings pour secourir le roy Henry en tout ce qu'il leur seroit possible.'—*Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Baluze*, No. 90377, fol. 184, in Wavrin, *Croniques d'Angleterre*, ed. Dupont (Soc. de l'Histoire de France), vol. iii. p. 178. Mdle. Dupont there incorrectly assigns these interesting papers to 1462, and is followed by Mr. Plummer, p. 159. Margaret, however, was not on the Continent on 31st March, 1462, nor was Henry at Bamburgh at the time.

wish for, and the promise that he would invariably take his part.<sup>65</sup> A ship from Brittany also arrived at Kirkcudbright, the crew of which said they had received orders from their duke to give Henry whatever he chose to select from the cargo.<sup>66</sup> About Christmas, 1463, the duke of Somerset, who had been in high favour with Edward IV., secretly left Wales for Newcastle, which was garrisoned by his retainers, with a view to betraying the town to the Lancastrians. The plot was, however, discovered, and Newcastle placed in the trusty keeping of lord Scrope of Bolton.<sup>67</sup> Somerset reported to Henry VI. that seventeen of the leading men in Wales had bound themselves by oath under their seals to support his cause, and that many persons whom he could name in the south and west of England had entered into a confederacy for the same purpose.<sup>68</sup> Hereupon Henry and his council desired Pierre Cousinot, the envoy of Louis XI. at Bamburgh, to take upon himself, after returning to the French court, a visit to queen Margaret, in order to inform her of the state of affairs in England and the action that it was deemed advisable for her to take.<sup>69</sup> In the first place, they wished to see a firm alliance established between the duke of Brittany and the count of Charolois, in which Henry should be joined; then the peers of France were to use their influence to dissuade the king from agreeing to any truce or armistice with Edward;<sup>70</sup> and, finally, Margaret was to arrange with Charolois for his sending artillery or provisions to Bamburgh, while her father, the titular king of Sicily, was to supply it with 'cannoneers' and culverins,

<sup>65</sup> 'Et avec ce, estoit venu devers le dit roy Henry ung nommé Preston, qui demeure avec mon dit seigneur de Charolois, lequel lui avoit apporté lettres du dit mon dit seigneur de Charolois, bien gracieuses et confortatives, avec creance de bouche pour lui donner toute l'esperance qu'il estoit possible tant de secours et aide que de bon vouloir qu'il avoit à luy; et qu'il tendroit tousjours son parti sans varier.'—*Ibid.* 179.

<sup>66</sup> 'Et aussi il estoit venu ung navire de Bretagne à Quicombri en Escosse, duquel les Bretons qui estoient dedens en disoient autant touchant Bretagne, et qu'ilz avoient charge, de par le duc, de bailler au dit roy Henri tout ce qu'il leur demanderoit de leur marchandise.'—*Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Gregory's Chronicle*, p. 223.

<sup>68</sup> 'Monseigneur de Sombreset avoit rapporté; c'est assavoir qu'il avoit le serment et scellé de xvii hommes de Galles des plus grans qui feussent ou pays, lesquels il nomma au roy Henri, et pareillement luy nomma plusieurs autres qui sont devers le West et devers le Su, qui semblablement estoient tous joings et fermez ensemble pour icellui roy Henry.'—Wavrin, iii. 179.

<sup>69</sup> 'Il fut advisé par le dit roy Henri et ceulx de son conseil que, apres ce que j'aurais esté devers le roy, je m'en iroye devers la dite royne d'Angleterre pour ces matieres, et lui declaireroie l'estat d'Angleterre.'—*Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

and she was also to find means for procuring a little money for the soldiers in garrison there and in the other fortresses.<sup>71</sup> Margaret, and likewise Coussinot, were to proceed to Brittany and persuade the duke to send the earl of Pembroke into Wales with an army of five hundred men at any rate, and by thus attacking Edward at both ends of his dominions they doubted not that, with the hopes they had of internal assistance, Henry would regain his throne.

No wonder then that the people of London were ill-pleased with the presence of Pierre Cousinot at Bamburgh, and that Edward IV. determined as soon as Easter (April 1) was over to lay siege to it and the two other castles.<sup>72</sup> The active measures of Warwick had indeed already induced bishop Kennedy, the regent of Scotland, to sue for peace. A meeting of English and Scottish commissioners was to have been held at Newcastle on March 6th in order to arrange a truce, but in consequence of the disturbed state of Northumberland this was postponed till April 20th.<sup>73</sup> In the meantime, the Lancastrians made themselves masters of the castles of Norham and Skipton. The way in which Edward's expedition was commenced could only have resulted in a loss of time and money had not George Neville, the chancellor, pushed on to the north to arouse his brother, lord Montagu, to action.<sup>74</sup> Parliament was summoned to meet at York on May 5th,<sup>75</sup> and, as the Scottish mission being sent to it required a strong escort to pass the Lancastrian fortresses in safety, Montagu marched towards Norham. On Hedgeley Moor, on April 25th, the duke of Somerset, with five thousand men, endeavoured to check his

<sup>71</sup> 'La tierce fin estoit que la dite dame trovast moien avec mon dit seigneur de Charolloys qu'il envoiast aucun secours à Bambourgh d'artillerie ou de vitailles, et quele roy de Secille y envoiast des cannoniers et des culuvrynes, et avec ce que icelle dame trovast quelque fasson pour avoir ung peu d'argent pour entretenir ceulx qui estoient au dit Bambourgh et es autres places.'—*Ibid*, 180.

<sup>72</sup> 'Est le roy d'Angleterre deliberé, ces Pasques passees ou tost apres, aler mettre le siege devant Bandebourgh où est le roy Henry, et deux autres places de son obeissance.

'Est le peuple d'Angleterre mal content de ce que ung nommé Pierre Cousinot, qui est vostre subget et de vostre royaume est ou dit lieu de Bandebourgh à l'aide et tenant le party du dit roy Henry.'—Letter to Louis XI., dated Abbeville, 31st March, in *Bibl. nat. MSS. Suppl. fr. No. 2875*<sup>12</sup>, pièce 188. Legrand, t. XII. Wavrin, *Chroniques*, ed. Dupont, Paris, 1863, iii. p. 183.

<sup>73</sup> Wavrin, iii. pp. 173-174.

<sup>74</sup> *Compilatio de Gestis Britonum et Anglorum*, MS. Arundel, 5, College of Arms, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Camden Soc. Publ. p. 178.

<sup>75</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 499.

advance, but Sir Ralph Percy being slain, the others all took to flight, and Montagu was able to proceed to Norham and conduct the Scots to York.<sup>76</sup> On May 8th the Lancastrians suffered a final defeat at the Linnels, near Hexham, and the castles of Langley and Bywell, together with the tower of Hexham, were surrendered to lord Montagu.<sup>77</sup> Henry fled from Bywell<sup>78</sup> to Bamburgh, whence sir Henry Bellingham and others appear to have assisted him to escape on May 31st.<sup>79</sup> Alnwick and Dunstanburgh were given up to Warwick during the following month, and it was in vain that sir Ralph Grey made some amends for his cowardice at the Linnels by his spirited defence of Bamburgh. With the famous bombardment of June 25th, 1464, the Wars of the Roses came to an end so far as Northumberland was concerned.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> See above, p. 180. Mr. Oman, pp. 154, 155, dates Hedgeley Moor April 15th, and Hexham May 13th. That Hedgeley Moor was fought on St. Mark's Day, Wednesday, 25th April, 1464, is clear from the contemporary entry in MS. Lambeth, 448, *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, p. 156.

<sup>77</sup> MS. Arundel 5, *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> See above, p. 372. According to the fragmentary account of Will. Wyrcester, p. 782, Somerset and the others who fled from Hedgeley Moor (?) pitched their camp on a hill about a mile from Hexham:—'. . . dominis de exercitu fugientibus campum super quendam montem ad unum miliare juxta Hexham.' They had only 500 men with them, and on the approach of Montagu with Grey-stoke and Willoughby, and an army of 4,000, the duke and many of his followers took to flight. Somerset was pursued and taken by the servants of sir John Middleton. The lords Ros and Hungerford hid themselves in a wood near Hexham, 'in quadam silva prope Hexham absconditi,' but were discovered three days later.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* p. 256.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 257, 258.