

**Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.**

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## I. HIS LIFE-HISTORY.

The paper I am about to read is on the subject of that Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, with whose Chantry Tomb in the Saint's Chapel of our Abbey of St. Alban we are all familiar. This monument, in the hands of an expert, would almost warrant a paper to itself, but when one remembers that Gloucester was a constant visitor to the Monastery during his lifetime—that, as the “son, brother, and uncle of kings,” he took part in the historical events of a picturesque age, and, as a man of letters, was instrumental in founding the famous library, now known as the Bodleian, at Oxford, we shall find much besides to interest us in his career.

The youngest son of our fourth Henry, he was born in 1391; and, according to Bale (who lived about a hundred years later), he was educated at Balliol College, Oxford. He was wounded at the battle of Agincourt, in 1415, and later, owing to the absence in France of his brothers, Henry V. and John, Duke of Bedford, he was made Regent of England. At different times, also, he filled a variety of other offices, such as Great

Chamberlain, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Lord of the Isle of Wight.<sup>a</sup>

Henry V. seems to have mistrusted his younger brother's character, for, on his death-bed, he warned the latter against selfishly placing his personal interests before the welfare of the nation.<sup>b</sup> On the accession of the infant Henry VI., in 1422, Gloucester claimed the Regency, but was only allowed to be Protector of England so long as Bedford remained in France; and even in this capacity his actions were, fortunately, hampered by the Executive Council, of which he was not much more than the chairman.<sup>c</sup>

Henry V. had not been dead many months when Humphrey displayed at once his true temper, and his disregard for his dying brother's advice, by marrying Jacqueline of Hainault.<sup>d</sup> This lady was the widow of the Dauphin Louis, son of Charles VI. of France; and her second husband was her cousin, John IV. Duke of Brabant, he being also cousin to Philip, the powerful Duke of Burgundy, whose friendship was all-important to England in this latter portion of the Hundred Years' war with France. That same year (1422) the Duke of Bedford had concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Philip of Burgundy, and had cemented it by himself marrying the Duke's sister Anne.

But his politic efforts were thrown to the winds by the impetuous Humphrey's action. Jacqueline in her own right was mistress of Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland; and by his marriage with her Gloucester showed an absolute neglect of all patriotic interests. It instantly alienated Philip by putting his interests at variance with those of England for possession of mastery over the Netherlands. Moreover, Jacqueline was but half-divorced from John of Brabant, her marriage with him having been annulled only by the Spanish anti-pope, Boniface III.

An undignified struggle ensued between Gloucester and Burgundy in Hainault. As a result, the former drew away, to take part in his wife's quarrel, fighting

<sup>a</sup> "Dictionary of National Biography." Article by Professor Tout.

<sup>b</sup> Waurin's Chronicle, p. 423.

<sup>c</sup> Dict. of Nat Biog.

<sup>d</sup> Dict. of Nat. Biog.

men from the war with France, while the latter naturally neglected the interests of his new allies, the English. Philip challenged Gloucester to a duel, but this was forbidden by both Bedford and the Pope, and soon after, Humphrey tired of Jacqueline, and left her alone to fight her own battles, gallantly but unsuccessfully.

Meantime, the Council at home had forbidden the continuance of the quarrel; and Gloucester seems to have revenged himself, by accusing the Chancellor, his uncle, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, of mal-administration during his absence.<sup>e</sup> Thus began those embroilments between uncle and nephew which form so great a feature in the history of the time. Bedford was recalled from France to mediate between them, and Gloucester was urged to appear at the Council which his brother held at St. Albans in 1426, to prove his charges against Beaufort.<sup>f</sup> It is not known whether he complied, but he certainly was present at the Parliament that assembled at Leicester in March of that year, known to history as the "Parliament of Batts," or bludgeons, from the clubs which the followers of both Gloucester and Beaufort carried on their shoulders.<sup>g</sup> The charges on both sides were gone into, and by Bedford's agency, a truce was patched up between them; but Beaufort resigned the great seal of the Chancellorship.<sup>h</sup>

A year later, Humphrey showed his self-will by averring that, when left again to his own devices (by his brother's departure for France) he would "govern as meseemeth good<sup>i</sup>," a threat he did not fail to carry out, for he was both reckless and extravagant in money matters, and always trying to assume greater powers than the Council were willing to give him.<sup>j</sup>

In 1428, the Pope annulled his marriage with Jacqueline, who submitted to Burgundy, and later on contracted a fresh marriage herself, while between 1428 and 1431, Gloucester married Eleanor Cobham, daughter of Lord Cobham of Sterborough.<sup>k</sup>

In 1429, Henry VI. was crowned, at the age of seven. This event brought to an end the Protectorate

<sup>e</sup> "Constitutional History," by Stubbs. Vol. III. 104. <sup>f</sup> *Ib.* p. 106.

<sup>g</sup> *Annales Mon. S. Albani Amundesham.* Ed. Riley. I. Intro. xxiii.

<sup>h</sup> *Const. Hist.* III. 106. <sup>i</sup> *Ord. P.C.* III. 241.

<sup>j</sup> *Const. Hist.* III. 109-10. <sup>k</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

of Gloucester, but the constant disputes in the Council between him and Beaufort did not cease. Indeed,<sup>l</sup> Beaufort's acceptance of the cardinalate, in 1426, had given Humphrey a real handle against him, though the attempts which the latter made, in 1430, to have his uncle removed from the bishopric of Winchester, were unsuccessful.<sup>m</sup> Gloucester showed himself about this time capable of quarrelling even with his long-suffering elder brother, John of Bedford, on the subject of how the war with France was being carried out.<sup>n</sup> Later on, when the question arose of making peace with France, Gloucester, incompetent though he might be on the Council, increased in popularity with the nation, by an obstinate opposition to the idea.

A Congress of Ambassadors,<sup>o</sup> convened at Arras in 1435, in order to negotiate on the terms of peace (which, however, could not then be agreed upon) was Bedford's last public act; he died in September of the same year.<sup>p</sup> Gloucester was then appointed "Captain of Calais," which was shortly after besieged by Burgundy. Humphrey did not add to his military fame on this occasion; he failed to come in time to the rescue of the town, and the siege was eventually raised by Edmund Beaufort, the Cardinal's nephew. The Cardinal himself was the prime mover of the peace-party; consequently, a charge which Humphrey made against him, in 1440, as to dishonesty both in his public and private affairs, was greatly instrumental in hardening the popular mind against peace.<sup>q</sup>

But the end of Gloucester's power was at hand, and we find him retiring to South Wales, where he held the appointment of Chief Justice.<sup>r</sup> Moreover, in 1441, his wife Eleanor fell under the grave accusation of being concerned with Roger Bolingbroke in an attempt to bring about the King's death, in order to secure the succession of Humphrey, who, since Bedford died, had become heir to the throne.

The deep-rooted belief of the age in magic and sorcery easily gave credence to the tale that the conspirators had placed before a slow fire a waxen image of the

<sup>l</sup> Amund. I. 11.    <sup>m</sup> Const. Hist. III. 111.; *Ib.* 116.

<sup>n</sup> *Ib.* 123.    <sup>o</sup> Const. Hist. III. 121.    <sup>p</sup> *Ib.* 126.

<sup>q</sup> *Ib.* 130.    <sup>r</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog.

young King, whose health was supposed to be undermined, in proportion as the image gradually melted away.<sup>s</sup> When the plot was discovered, Bolingbroke accused Eleanor of being "accessory to the crime," and she was put on her trial on the charge of "necromancy, witchcraft, heresy and treason." Having been found guilty, her sentence of penance was declared. Bareheaded, she was to perambulate the streets of London for three days, bearing a lighted taper in her hand, which she offered at different churches. Nor was this all: imprisonment for life was also to be hers; and, after being confined at Chester and Kenilworth, she is supposed to have died at Peel Castle, in the Isle of Man, in 1466. To rescue her was beyond her husband's power; perforce, he "took all things quietly, and said little."<sup>t</sup>

As bearing on these sad occurrences, I will read a stanza from a contemporary poem, called the "Lamy-tacion of the duches of Glowcette":—

"Thorow London in many a strete,  
Of them that were most pryncypalle,  
I went bare fote on my fette  
That sum tyme was wonte to ride rialle.  
Fader of hevyn and lorde of alle,  
As thou wilt, so must yt be,  
The syne of pryde will have a falle,  
Alle women may be ware by me."<sup>u</sup>

There are several stanzas, and each finishes with this same piteous refrain—

"Alle women may be ware by me."

It will be remembered that Eleanor's disgrace and punishment are introduced by Shakespeare into his "Second Part of Henry VI."<sup>v</sup> As Mr. Train, a modern historian of the Isle of Man, points out, Shakespeare delivers the Duchess over to the custody of Sir *John Stanley*—an obvious error, as the last Sir John died in 1432, and the play only comprises the years between 1445 and 1455.<sup>w</sup> Stow, writing in 1590, remarks that she "remayned during her life in the Castell of Chester, having yerely an hundred markes."<sup>x</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog.      <sup>t</sup> "Grafton," p. 588, edition 1569.

<sup>u</sup> "Thomas Wright's Political Songs." Vol. II. p. 205.

<sup>v</sup> Act II. scenes iii. and iv.      <sup>w</sup> "History of the Isle of Man," 1845.

<sup>x</sup> "Summearie of the Chronicles of England," p. 381.

That her custodian was really Sir *Thomas Stanley*, and that she actually was sent to the Isle of Man, is proved by the order for her committal, dated A.D. 1446:—

“24 Hen. VI.) The Kyng wol that his letters under his prive Seal be directed to Sir Th. Stanley to carie & to be caried by land & by water Elianer Cobham in the isle of Man, and there that he rule her as he hath yeve him commandement.” *y*

When I was in the Isle of Man this year (1902) I was shown the dungeon in which Eleanor is supposed to have been kept for fourteen years. It is the old Ecclesiastical Prison, and lies under the ruined Cathedral of St. Germain on the rocky islet on which Peel Castle is situated. One can hardly believe that any woman could have been kept there, and survived such treatment so many years. As she was a State prisoner, with an annual income allotted for her keep, one hopes the dungeon was only used as a last resort, and that Shakespeare's reference to her treatment may be the truer version. The Duchess asks—

“Stanley, I pr'ythee go, and take me hence;  
I care not whither, for I beg no favour.  
Only convey me where thou art commanded.” *z*

*Stanley.* “Why, madam, that is to the isle of Man;  
There to be used according to your state.”

*Duchess.* “That's bad enough, for I am but reproach;  
And shall I, then, be us'd reproachfully?”

*Stanley.* “Like to a Duchess, and Duke Humphrey's lady:  
According to that state you shall be used.”

But that Eleanor gave her custodian an infinity of trouble seems likely. Waldron, a Manx historian of the 18th century, says she “lived in a manner befitting her dignity, nothing but liberty being refused; she appeared so turbulent and impatient under this confinement that he was obliged to keep a strict guard over her, not only because there were daily attempts to get her away, but also to prevent her from laying violent hands on her own life.”<sup>a</sup>

Naturally the Manx tendency is to make the most of such a romantic story, and one is told over there (by

*y* “*Monumenta de Insula Manniæ.*” Translated by J. R. Oliver. Vol. III. p. 19.

*z* “*Henry VI.,*” Part II. Act ii. Scene 4.

*a* “*Description of the Isle of Man,*” 1726. Published by Manx Society, 1865, p. 14.

what authority I do not know) of an ineffectual attempt on her part to escape by the aid of a soldier through subterranean passages to the sea-coast, and of her capture in a hermit's cell.<sup>b</sup>

To Waldron one is indebted for the information that since her death "a person is heard to go up and down the stone staircase of one of those little houses on the walls, constantly every night, as soon as the clock strikes twelve. The conjecture is that it is the troubled spirit of this lady, who died as she lived, dissatisfied and mourning her fate."

The King's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, in 1445, was at once a victory for Beaufort, and the defeat of Gloucester's war-policy. The young couple themselves, however, placed implicit confidence in William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and utterly neglected Gloucester.<sup>c</sup> So great was Henry's distrust of his uncle that he went in bodily fear of him, suspecting an attempt on his life.<sup>d</sup>

At the Parliament held at Bury St. Edmund's on February 10th, 1447, Gloucester was accused of stirring up insurrection in Wales,<sup>e</sup> though he was, in fact, at that moment travelling thence to the Parliament, hoping to secure his wife's pardon.<sup>f</sup> On arrival at Bury he was ordered to his lodgings in the N. Spital of St. Saviour's, and kept in strict custody, while his followers were imprisoned. He fell ill, and on Feb. 23rd he died; but though foul play was suspected, none of his friends, such as Wheat-hampstead, Abbot of St. Albans, raised any doubt at the time as to the naturalness of his death, his health being known to be weak.<sup>g</sup>

If he was murdered, suspicion naturally falls on Suffolk, rather than on the youthful King and Queen (Margaret being only eighteen at the time), or perhaps it was due to the joint connivance of the Council, who must have been responsible for the arrest.<sup>h</sup> Shakespeare, who brings Gloucester into his plays of Henry V. and Henry VI., parts I. and II., describes his murder by the

<sup>b</sup> "Handbook to Peel Castle," p. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Const. Hist. III. 138. <sup>d</sup> Registrum Abb. Wheat. I. 179.

<sup>e</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog.

<sup>f</sup> Three XVth Cent Chron. p. 150.

<sup>g</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog.

<sup>h</sup> Const. Hist. III. 141.

agents of Suffolk<sup>i</sup>, but modern opinion seems to agree that his death was due to natural causes.

The day after death, his body was viewed by the members of Parliament,<sup>j</sup> and, after being put in a leaden coffin, was taken to St. Albans,<sup>k</sup> and placed in a "fair vault," already prepared for him on the south side of St. Alban's Shrine, on March 4th, 1447.<sup>l</sup> For seven years after Gloucester's death, attempts were made by his friends in Parliament to clear his memory of the charges of treason under which he had died, but it was not till 1455 that a public declaration of his innocence was made.<sup>m</sup>

It is a curious coincidence that his death was followed, within six weeks,<sup>n</sup> by that of his life-long enemy, Cardinal Beaufort. Nor did Suffolk long enjoy undisputed sway over the counsels of the king and queen, for in 1450 he was impeached and banished, and was murdered on the seas within sight of the Kentish coast.<sup>o</sup>

One of the contemporary songs of the day, composed in 1462-3, bears testimony to the popular belief that Gloucester died by foul means :

" Calling to mind the fals engendred treson,  
And myschyefz that were in hys dayes regning,<sup>a\*</sup>  
The good duc of Gloucestre, in the season  
Of the parlement at Bury beyng,  
Was put to death." <sup>p</sup>

While yet another of these songs<sup>q</sup>, written at the time of Suffolk's arrest, emphasises not only the supposed manner of Gloucester's death, but the author of it. In these lines the "Fox" represents Suffolk, and the "Gander" Gloucester :

" Now is the Fox drevin to hole ; hoo to hym, hoo, hoo !  
Ffor and he crepe out, he will you alle undo.

Loke that your hunt blowe welle his chase,  
But he do well is part, I beshrew is face !  
This Fox at Bury slowe ovr grete Gandere,  
Therefore at Tyborne mony monne on hym wondere."

<sup>i</sup> "Henry VI.," Part II. Act ii. Sc. 1.

<sup>j</sup> Const. Hist. III. 140.      <sup>k</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog.

<sup>l</sup> Some writers give the date of his death as 1446, which is right according to the "old style" of computation.

<sup>m</sup> Reg. Abb. Wheat., I. 178-182.

<sup>n</sup> Const. Hist. III. 143.      <sup>o</sup> *Ib.* 154.

<sup>a\*</sup> Henry VI.'s reign.

<sup>p</sup> Polit. Songs, II. 268.      <sup>q</sup> *Ib.* 224.

## II. HIS CONNECTION WITH ST. ALBANS.

Having given a brief survey of the more important facts in Gloucester's life regarded chiefly from a political point of view, we may turn our attention to those incidents in it which connect him, in a very close and personal manner, with the then flourishing Monastery of St. Alban.

These incidents are drawn almost entirely from two volumes of the Monastic Chronicles; one, comprising the years 1422-1431, is by an unknown author; the other, ascribed to "Johannes Amundesham," includes the year 1421-1440. The Abbot, for the whole of this period, is John Whethamstede, whose rule forms one of the most picturesque epochs in the history of the community, and who bore a reputation for learning and courtesy which attracted to the Abbey many of the greatest personages of the day.

Among the most frequent of these visitors was Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and the first time the Chronicle mentions his arrival was in 1423, when he and his first wife, here called "Jacoba, Duchess of Holland," spent Christmas in the Abbey,<sup>8</sup> attended by no fewer than 300 followers, many of them countrymen of the lady. At that particular moment, Abbot John was absent on a mission to the Council of Pavia, and the visitors were received by the Prior, who initiated a solemn procession, to greet them on Christmas Eve.

It is not, perhaps, surprising that among this crowd of ducal retainers, there were many wild spirits, whose eagerness for sport found vent in remorselessly killing the deer and rabbits in Eywode (probably on the ascent from the Ver to St. Stephen's).<sup>4</sup> One of the delinquents, being captured, was placed in the stocks. The Duke showed his sense of the enormity of the offence by breaking the head of his luckless follower with his own hands, by means of a mattress-beater ("petilione matrass,") while the man's greyhound, his innocent accomplice, was ordered to be hanged. So did the Duke, remarks the chronicler, "set at rest the evil appetite for hunting on part of his servants."

<sup>8</sup> *Annales Mon. S. Albani, Amund.* Ed. Riley. I. 4. *t* *lb.* I. 5.

Before they left St. Alban's, Humphrey and Jacqueline were both received into the fraternity of the Abbey, in acknowledgement of which they presented two pipes of good red wine to the Convent." Later on, in 1431, Gloucester's second wife, Eleanor, is mentioned as being enrolled in full chapter." This practice of admitting persons of both sexes, of high rank, into the fraternity, was an old one, revived by Whethamstede, in order to increase the funds of the community. "This admission . . ." says Dr. Nicholson, "imposed no monastic severities, nor gave any new civil privileges; but it was a token of esteem and honour of religion, and those admitted were allowed to vote in Chapter."

At a date which is not quite certain (but probably before 1425, when Humphrey finally deserted her), Jacqueline passed through the courtyard of the Abbey on her way to visit Queen Johanna (Henry IV.'s widow) at Langley, and two days later her husband followed her on the same route."

In March, 1426, the Duke again passed through St. Alban's,<sup>z</sup> on his way to Barnet from Leicester (where the "Parliament of Batts," already referred to, had just been prorogued for a month), and the inhabitants of the Abbey sallied forth in solemn procession to accompany him partly on his way.

During their absence, a fire broke out in the "Abbot's Lesser Chamber" (where, no doubt, the royal traveller had received refreshment), and the "dorsals," or wall-hangings, were, unfortunately, destroyed.

In April, on his way back to the Parliament at Leicester,<sup>y</sup> Gloucester stayed three days in the Abbey; and in 1427, having recovered from an illness, we find him making an offering at the High Altar of the Abbey.<sup>z</sup>

That same year (1427) the town was much excited and distressed through the depredations of a daring bandit, William Wawe, whose chief delight was in robbing the religious bodies whenever he had the chance.

<sup>z</sup> *Annales Mon. S. Albani*, Amund. Ed. Riley. I. 66.

<sup>y</sup> "St. Albans Cathedral," Page and Nicholson, p. 76; and Nero D. 7. Cott. MS.

<sup>w</sup> *Annales* I. 8.      <sup>x</sup> *Ib.* I. 8-9.

<sup>y</sup> *Ib.* I. 9.      <sup>z</sup> *Ib.* I. 13.

One of his crimes was a dastardly night attack on the Nunnery of Sopwell.<sup>a</sup> Finally, he was captured and hanged in London,<sup>b</sup> his case being important enough to demand the personal attention of the Protector, who came from Norwich to London and held a council to determine, among other things, on the destruction of the Lollards, and of William Wawe.<sup>c</sup>

At Norwich, Gloucester had been occupied with a sensational "murder case" of the day.<sup>d</sup> A certain William Grys, with his son and servant, had been done to death there, with terrible attendant circumstances, a few years previously. In this year (1427) the six murderers were brought before the Protector and two other judges, and most deservedly hanged.

At the close of 1427, the Duke again spent Christmas at St. Albans, "in splendid style," thence passing on to stay at Ashridge.<sup>e</sup> About this time an incident occurs in Gloucester's life which shows that his base treatment of Jacqueline had aroused an honest indignation in some minds. At the Parliament of 1427-28, a number of respectably dressed London women from the "Stokkes" (that is, the Stocks Market, on the site of the present Mansion House), appeared, and presented a letter complaining of Duke Humphrey's conduct towards his wife, whom he had allowed to remain in captivity to the Duke of Burgundy.<sup>f</sup> In the Chronicle, the insertion of the word "Vacat" before this passage is probably intended to cancel it as a piece of scandal against one who held such a high place in the estimation of the Abbey.<sup>g</sup> A quarrel that took place in 1428 between the Earl of Huntingdon and the Duke of Norfolk nearly led to a battle between them, at some place in the county of Bedford. The Protector hastened to the spot to try and set matters right, and on his way to and from Bedfordshire he stayed at St. Albans, being received, as usual, with a procession.<sup>h</sup>

A hint has already been given as to Gloucester's feelings towards the Lollards, respecting which the poet Lydgate writes,—

"That in this land no Lollard dare abide."

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<sup>a</sup> Annales I. 11.      <sup>b</sup> *Ib.* I. 17.      <sup>c</sup> *Ib.* I. 16.      <sup>d</sup> *Ib.* I. 16.  
<sup>e</sup> *Ib.* I. 19.      <sup>f</sup> *Ib.* I., Introd., xxxiii. and *Ib.* I. 20.  
<sup>g</sup> *Ib.* I., Introd xxxiv.      <sup>h</sup> *Ib.* I. 25.

Our chronicler specially mentions the Duke's presence, in 1431, at the burning of "an aged priest, unsound in mind," at "Smethefelde," while many others, "of either sex, assembled there to see this miserable sight."<sup>i</sup>

For the history of another Lollard, I will quote Mr. Riley's translations of the words of the Chronicle itself:<sup>j</sup>—

"About this time (1431) a certain rogue, tainted with Lollardy, and bearing three names—that is, William Maundvyle, William Perkyns, and John Scharpe, of Wygmoreland, created a certain commotion among the people by throwing about and dispersing written papers in London, Coventry, Oxford, and other towns, against the religious who held possessions. Upon whose iniquitous proceedings becoming known, the Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the realm, striving against this most iniquitous prest, hastened from Grenewych to Habyndone to have this insurgent taken; who, by the aid of God, was taken, at Oxford, about the Feast of Pentecost, together with the writers of his papers, and several others, seven in number. Which persons were drawn and hanged, and their master, John Scharpe, beheaded; whose head, being placed upon a stake on London Bridge, afforded a lamentable warning to all his followers."

One of the papers which Scharpe presented to the Duke of Gloucester sets forth his desire that the King should resume the temporalities of the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries, Bishops, Abbots and Priors, endowing in their place a certain number of Earls, Knights, Esquires, and almshouses, "who will spend the large yearly income thus provided for them in a manner more conformable to the general interests of the community."<sup>k</sup> Towards colleges, cathedrals, friars, canons and the lesser fry of monks and nuns he seems to have borne no grudge, and singular as the proposal sounds, it is both clearly expressed and earnest in intention. It is not uninteresting to note that, a hundred years later, when the monasteries were disendowed, some such scheme was actually put forward in order to win over popular feeling to the measure.<sup>l</sup>

In 1431, Abbot Whethamstede, who is famed for his litigiousness, was engaged in one of his many disputes on the question of the exemption of the Abbey and its Cells from episcopal jurisdiction. In this case, the Prior and monks of the Cell of Bynham, in Norfolk, had

<sup>i</sup> Annales I. 61.

<sup>j</sup> *Ib.* I. Introd. liii.

<sup>k</sup> *Ib.* I. 143, and *Ib.* I. Introd. liv.

<sup>l</sup> *Ib.* I. Introd. liv., note 4.

refused to receive the Bishop of Norwich within their walls.<sup>m</sup> To revenge himself, the prelate appointed the prior a collector for the half-tenth" (a tax lately granted by the clergy to the King). The prior pleaded exemption, but to no purpose; and the Abbot of St. Alban's, after interposing vainly in his behalf, persuaded his friend the Duke of Gloucester to intercede,<sup>o</sup> but again with no effect, though Humphrey went to the length of doffing his cap to the irate bishop<sup>p</sup>. Even the Duke of Bedford's pleadings were of no avail, and the case was brought before the Court of Exchequer, and later before the Convocation. Finally, our Abbot came off victorious (though the actual judgment is not recorded in the Chronicle) and "departs in triumph."<sup>q</sup>

In 1440, Whethamstede determined to resign the Abbacy, alleging several causes, such as his health and his bashfulness; but the true, though secret reason, probably was the decline in power of his friend and patron, the Duke of Gloucester.<sup>r</sup> Possibly, though it is not historically known, the favour in which he stood with the late Protector, may have turned the enmity of Cardinal Beaufort on himself.<sup>s</sup> This much is certain, that, in 1451, four years after death had removed both these political rivals, Whethamstede saw fit to resume the Abbacy, which he held till his death in 1464. On his retirement in 1440, he was succeeded by John Stoke, and in 1442 we read of disputes between the new Abbot and his predecessor on the score of the latter's maintenance out of the Abbey revenues.<sup>t</sup> Duke Humphrey was called in to arbitrate, and not unnaturally, the verdict went in favour of his old friend, whose pension in consequence included a house and a goodly share of the monastic plate. The award of Gloucester in this dispute between Stoke and Whethamstede is dated from his manor of "Plesauns" at "Grenewiche."<sup>u</sup>

Before concluding this narration of the Duke's personal relations with the Abbey, I will refer to a few items in the Monastic accounts which throw some interesting side-lights on the manners, and occasionally the morals, of the age.

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<sup>m</sup> Annales I. 300.      <sup>n</sup> *Ib.* I. 302.      <sup>o</sup> *Ib.* I. 307.  
<sup>p</sup> *Ib.* I. 308.      <sup>q</sup> *Ib.* I. 363.      <sup>r</sup> *Ib.* II. 234.      <sup>s</sup> *Ib.* II. Introd. liv.  
<sup>t</sup> *Ib.* 278-290.      <sup>u</sup> *Ib.* II. 289.

In 1439, Whethamstede wished to "take stock" of the acquisitions he had made to the Abbey property," which, in the Scriptural language adopted by Amundesham, he regarded as the "pounds" in the parable, given to him to make increase of them. He seems to have managed this by cleverly evading the Mortmain laws (enacted in 1279 to "check the bestowal of estates on religious foundations,") and in one case at least, when Gloucester bestowed on him the Priory of St. Nicholas, Pembroke, the Duke was not above aiding the Abbot in his artifices."

Besides these acquisitions, Whethamstede makes a list of the benefactions granted to the Abbey by several persons of high degree, and first among these is a long array of gifts presented to the Abbey Church by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.<sup>z</sup> Many of these consist of Church ornaments, and vestments of great magnificence, for among others,<sup>y</sup> we read of an "altar-cloth and a superfrontal," having "different images interwoven with precious pearls, fitly disposed"; and also of "six cloth of gold vestments, of Cyprus gold, on a red ground, powdered with spreading branches and green foliage, together with golden lions."<sup>z</sup>

In an Appendix to Riley's edition of Amundesham is given a list of Whethamstede's expenses during his first Abbacy.<sup>a</sup> These include a large silver-gilt cup, given to the Lady Alianor, Duchess of Gloucester.<sup>b</sup> A more interesting item is that of a "Cato, with Glosses," given to the Duke of Gloucester, and also two other books of the Abbot's own compilation.<sup>c</sup> Mr. Riley thinks the Cato may be the "Cato Commentatus," which Humphrey presented to the University of Oxford in 1443.<sup>d</sup> It is also his opinion that the two other books may be two parts of Whethamstede's work called "Granarium de Viris Illustribus" (which he had dedicated to the Duke), and that these two are possibly identical with two out of the three volumes of the Granarium, also presented to Oxford by Humphrey in the same year.

<sup>v</sup> Annales II. 159.

<sup>w</sup> *Ib.* II. Introd. li.; Handbook Eng. Pol. His., Acland and Ransome, p. 38-9; Dict. Nat. Biog., and Registrum Abb. Wheat. I. 92.

<sup>x</sup> Annales II. 187.      <sup>y</sup> *Ib.* II. 188.      <sup>z</sup> *Ib.* II. 189.  
<sup>a</sup> *Ib.* II. 255.    <sup>b</sup> *Ib.* II. 255.    <sup>c</sup> *Ib.* II. 256.    <sup>d</sup> II. Introd. lxiii.

One account which hardly bears the scrutiny of a modern eye, includes some paltry sums, unblushingly entered as being given to the Duke and his household, for aiding the Abbey in obtaining a renewal of its Charter of Liberties in 1440.<sup>e</sup> The bribe which the Duke accepted on this occasion amounted to a palfrey and a book; while gowns and various odd sums are given to his chaplains and esquires.<sup>f</sup>

In Chauncey's History of Hertfordshire<sup>g</sup> is mentioned the presentation of vestments by Gloucester to Whethamstede. (He) "by his great wisdom persuaded Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to give a suit of vestments, with 3,000 marks, with the Manor of Pembroke, in South Wales, that the monks should pray for his soul." This refers to the acquisition of the Cell, or Priory, of "Pembrok,"<sup>h</sup> to which allusion has already been made.<sup>i</sup>

In 1453, another Earl of Pembroke, Jasper Tudor, Henry VI.'s half-brother, tried to obtain in Parliament a grant of the Priory of St. Nicholas, at Pembroke, but through the agency of John Skelton, a former esquire of Gloucester's, a proviso was inserted in the bill, saving the rights over the Priory of the Abbey of St. Albans to whom it had previously been granted by the Duke.<sup>j</sup> After recording due thanks for the timely intervention of Skelton, the Chronicle concludes the incident with a quaint reference to the verification of an ancient proverb about the advantage of having a "friend at court."<sup>k</sup>

And again, in 1456,<sup>l</sup> the Abbey seemed once more on the point of losing this Priory. A bill had come before Parliament to suggest that the King, in order to replenish his decreased revenues, should assume certain gifts and grants, the Priory of Pembroke among them; and Whethamstede had to procure Letters Patent under the Great Seal, in order to obtain the desired exemption.

Mr. Page considers that one of the shields on the cornice of the Ramryge Chantry in the Abbey (No. 2 on the north face), contains the arms of Pembroke Priory;

<sup>e</sup> Annales II. 294. <sup>f</sup> *Ib.* II. 295

<sup>g</sup> Chauncey's Hist. Antiq. of Herts, II. 277.

<sup>h</sup> Annales II. 185, and Reg. Abb. Whet. I. 45-6.

<sup>i</sup> It must be remembered that one of the titles of Humphrey was Earl of Pembroke.

<sup>j</sup> Reg. Abb. Whet. I. 92-94. <sup>k</sup> *Ib.* I. 94. <sup>l</sup> *Ib.* I. 250-272.

the lion rampant representing Wales, and "the orle of daisies" (his badge) referring to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, donor of the priory to St. Albans."

### III.—HIS LITERARY INTERESTS.

We have now considered Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, from the two points of view of his public career and of his relations with the Abbey of St. Albans—these last, with some exceptions, not being connected with matters known to general history.

There is another side to his life, which has to do with his character and actions as a private individual, which has left to posterity an enduring monument of itself, while his political ambitions and quarrels are largely forgotten. I refer, of course, to that interest of Duke Humphrey in literature of which the outcome was the founding of the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Not only was he a patron of literary men: he was also a student and collector of books himself." His reading embraced the Italian poets of his day; works of poetry, oratory, medicine and astronomy, in Latin; and also the ancient Greek writers—these, of course, in a Latin version (the effects of the revival of Greek on the Continent not having as yet penetrated to England), the only Greek book in his possession being a vocabulary.

His patronage of men of letters strongly resembled that extended to them by the influential Italian nobles of the Renaissance; indeed, several Italian writers who found their way over to England were kindly received by Gloucester.<sup>m</sup> Such, among others, were Titus Livius, and Leonard Aretino, who translated Aristotle's "Politics" into Latin, at his request.<sup>n</sup> Among English men of letters he numbered as his friends Whethamstede, Lydgate, Pocock the unorthodox Bishop of Chichester, and his own Chancellor, Bishop Beckington.

Leland, writing about a hundred years later, and referring to the great learning of Gloucester and his frequent visits to St. Albans, says that he employed

<sup>m</sup> Guide to St. Albans Abbey, p. 36.

<sup>n</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog. *o* *Ib.*

<sup>p</sup> Vita Henry V., pp. 1, 2; Ed Hearne.

Whethamstede as his librarian, or adviser on books (*"tanquam bibliothecario"*). Capgrave, a contemporary, and an Austin friar of Lynn, calls him "the most lettered prince in the world."

It was a pity that, with a Duke Humphrey to foster learning, his should have been an age of decadent literature in England. The days of Chaucer were past, those of the printing press were yet to come, and of English writers of distinction none at the moment existed. Grateful as we may be for those facts relating to St. Alban's Abbey which we have drawn from "Amundesham" and the other Chroniclers, no competent critic considers their efforts pieces of literary art; he would more probably agree with J. R. Green in calling them the "jejune monastic annals of St. Albans."<sup>q</sup>

Nevertheless, at that date there was certainly a more popular interest in books—the result of the rise of the Chantry Schools—as is shown by the numerous compendiums and volumes of extracts from earlier writers, and by the largely increased numbers of copies which were made. This extended demand for books among all classes certainly made the spread of printing, when it was introduced into England in 1476, a much easier matter than it would have been a hundred years earlier.

General education seems also to have interested Gloucester.<sup>r</sup> To Eton College, founded by Henry VI., he gave during his lifetime the endowments of some alien priories; and on his death the College came into possession of some of the ecclesiastical ornaments which he had been in the habit of collecting. One may draw a parallel between Humphrey and those noble patrons of learning of the eighteenth century with whom we are probably more familiar, in respect to the demands which their *protégés* made upon their purses. On one occasion Lydgate, being in want of money, addressed a poetical plaint to Gloucester, each stanza winding up (as the custom then was) with the melancholy refrain—

"Only for lack of plate and of coynage."

"*L'Envoie*" of the poem, however, shows a more

<sup>q</sup> Short History, p. 288.

<sup>r</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog., and Reg. Abb. Whet.: I. 266.

hopeful spirit, which, it is believed, was not doomed to disappointment :—

“O sely bille, why artow not ashamed,  
 So malapert to show out thy constraynt,  
 But povert hath so nygh thy toune attained,  
 That ‘nichil habet’ is cause of thy compleynt,  
 A dry tysik makith old men ful feynt;  
 Rediest way to renew theyr corage  
 Is a fresh dragge, of no spices meynt,  
 But of bright plate empynted with coyngnage.”<sup>s</sup>

Gloucester's interest in Oxford would naturally be accounted for by his education at Balliol, and indeed he was only twenty when he presented the University with his first donation of books.<sup>t</sup> In later life he gave to it 129 volumes, for which the masters thanked him, and ordained his Commemoration as one of their greatest benefactors, and his name still commences that list of benefactors whose names are solemnly recited at Commemoration.<sup>u</sup> Further gifts of books from him made the University resolve on building a new Library, which was to form an upper story to the Divinity School, commenced in 1426. Gloucester was offered the title of “Founder” by the masters, and promised to contribute £100 to it and the remainder of his books,<sup>v</sup> but as he died intestate, it was with difficulty that the legacy was obtained. J. R. Green says that the books forming the basis of the Library which Gloucester presented to Oxford were seized from the Louvre, the habit of forming libraries having already become a fashion in the royal house of France.<sup>w</sup> What is now called “Duke Humphrey's Library,” that is, the building which forms the centre portion of the Bodleian Reading Room, was finished by Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1454.<sup>x</sup> Unfortunately, in the days of Edward VI. the collection was broken up as being “Popish,” and in the Bodleian itself, only three volumes remain of Duke Humphrey's gift, of which fortunately the “Epistles of Pliny” contains his autograph;<sup>y</sup> others are in the possession of different colleges at Oxford, and six are in the British Museum.

<sup>s</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog. and T. Wright's “Political Songs,” vol. II.

<sup>t</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog.      <sup>u</sup> “Oxford and its Colleges,” by J. Wells.

<sup>v</sup> Macray's Ann. Bod. Lib. p. 7, 2nd Edit.      <sup>w</sup> Sht. Hist. p. 292.

<sup>x</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog.      <sup>y</sup> “Oxford and its Colleges.”

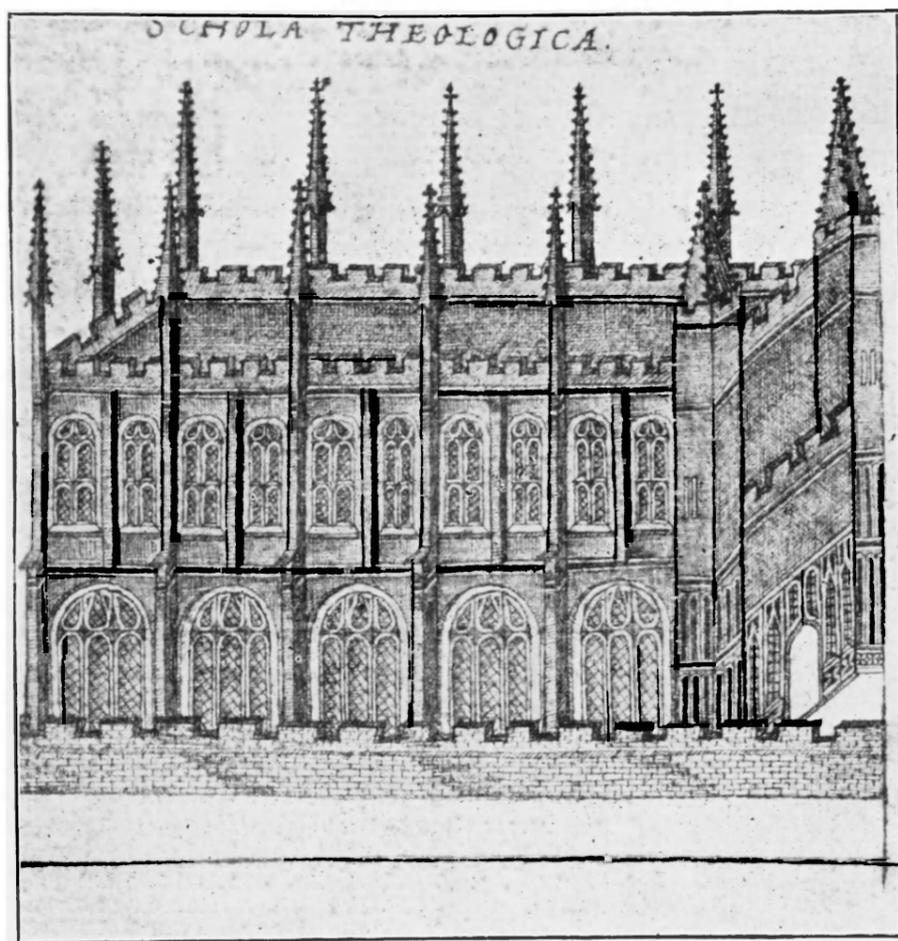


FIG. 27.—DUKE HUMPHREY'S LIBRARY AND THE DIVINITY SCHOOL IN 1566.  
From John Bereblocke's Drawing in MS. Bodley 15.

The present name of the University Library is derived from Sir Thomas Bodley, who died in 1612, and bequeathed his fortune for its support and increase, having already, during his life-time, taken the deepest personal interest in its welfare.<sup>z</sup>

In the library belonging to Earl Fitzwilliam, at Wentworth Woodhouse, Rotherham, Yorkshire, is the manuscript of an English translation of Palladius, and in the twelfth and thirteenth stanzas there is a notice of Gloucester and his library at Oxford:—

“ At Oxenford thys lord his bookis fell (*i.e.* many)  
Hath eu'y clerk at work . . . . . ”

Then follows a list of their studies, and a remark that

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<sup>z</sup> Maunder's "Treasury of Biog."

it is hard to bring forward anything which to him (*i.e.* to Gloucester) is a novelty :—

“Ytt Whethamstede and also Pers de Mounte  
Titus and Anthony and y (*i.e.* “I”) last ofre.”<sup>a</sup>

This MS. is bound in leather, and on the front of it there is stamped or inlaid on black calf, “Jaqueline, Dutchess of Bavaria, Countess of Holland, Zealand and Henault, Wife to Humfrey, Duke of Glocester, 1427,” and on the front cover is “an enamel of a woman with good, but somewhat heavy features.”

In the British Museum is a manuscript copy of Matthew Paris’ “Lesser History.”<sup>b</sup> The inscription in the MS. is at present illegible unless chemicals are used, but in the preface to Sir J. Madden’s edition of it (p. 39) he gives it as: “Ceste livre est a moy, Homffrey, Duc de Glowcestre.” There are apparently five other manuscripts which belonged to Gloucester still in existence.

#### IV.—HIS CHARACTER AND PORTRAITS.

##### A.—CHARACTER.

Perhaps, during the course of this paper, some people may have been haunted by two familiar phrases, on neither of which I have yet touched. One of them is that of “Good Duke Humphrey.” Where is that noble character? I am afraid he is not known to history, and that I cannot find him for you. The term seems to have originated partly in his interest in letters and his founding of the Bodleian, neither of which seems sufficient to prove his claim to it; and partly to the popularity he enjoyed among the lower orders, due to his active opposition to any proposals of peace with France.

After events showed that the peace policy was the only one capable of being carried out, but it was natural that the English nation at large should dislike owning themselves beaten, and should wish to prolong the struggle, even though it was a perfectly useless one. It is true, too, that from his contemporaries one can find little but praise of Gloucester; and it has been left to the more scientifically critical judgment of modern historians to

<sup>a</sup> Article in “Athenæum,” 17th Nov., 1888, by H. J. Moule.

<sup>b</sup> Roy MS. 14, C. vii.

condemn him. To take, first, the opinions of his own day. From his friend Whethamstede we look for unstinted eulogy, nor are we disappointed. Surely, these two lines sum up all we should expect from the chivalrous prince of mediæval romance:—

“Fidior in regno regi duce non fuit isto,  
Plusve fide stabilis, aut major amator honoris.”

(“Was none in the realm more faithful to the king than this same duke, more steadfast in loyalty, to honour more devoted.”)

Leland, quoting from “Pakinton’s Chronicle,” says:°

“The Duke was a noble man, a good clerk, and well alway rulid the realme to the king’s behofe. The treuth is, that such as then rulid about the king supposing that he would have let the deliverance of Aungeo and Mayne, and so made him away.”

But Shakespeare is, no doubt, mainly responsible for the longevity of the title. We find Salisbury addressing his son thus:

“Warwick, my son, the comfort of my age,  
Thy deeds, thy plainness, and thy housekeeping  
Hath won the greatest favour of the Commons,  
Excepting none but good Duke Humphrey.”<sup>d</sup>

And, again, Cardinal Beaufort is made to say, with, of course, much spiteful jealousy:

“What though the common people favour him,  
Calling him—‘Humphrey, the good Duke of Gloster,’  
Clapping their hands, and crying with loud voice,  
‘Jesu maintain your royal excellence!’  
With—‘God preserve the good Duke Humphrey.’  
I fear me, lords for all this flattering gloss,  
He will be found a dangerous protector.”<sup>e</sup>

As to Gloucester’s real character, as judged from actual history, if my short record of his political career may not have put it in a clear light, the opinions of two modern historians are sufficiently convincing. Stubbs is comparing him with his father and grandfather. “Humphrey,” he says,<sup>f</sup> “has all the adventurous spirit, the popular manners, the self-seeking and ambition, that marked Henry IV.” And, later: “Gloucester has all the popular characteristics (*i.e.*, of Henry V.), without any of his greatness. (Bedford) was thoroughly trusted by Henry V.; (Gloucester) only so far as it was necessary.”

<sup>c</sup> Leland’s Collection II. 494.

<sup>d</sup> Henry VI., Part II. Act ii. Scene 1.

<sup>e</sup> Henry VI., Part II. Act i. Scene 1.

<sup>f</sup> “Const. Hist.” III. 97.

And again, "Gloucester was the evil genius of his family; his selfish ambition abroad broke up the Burgundian alliance, his selfish ambition at home broke up the unity of the Lancastrian power. He lived long enough to ruin his nephew, not long enough to show whether he had the will or the power to save him."

J. R. Green's verdict is shorter and still more to the point: "The Duke of Gloucester, whose love of letters was shown in the noble library he collected, was the most selfish and profligate prince of his day."<sup>g</sup>

The other phrase with which I expect you are very familiar is that of "dining with Duke Humphrey."

It seems to have originated thus.<sup>h</sup> In the old St. Paul's Cathedral in London was the tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, brother of that Earl of Warwick who was one of the "Lords Appellant" in the time of Richard II. There seems to have been an erroneous impression that Humphrey was buried in this tomb, and the walk near was consequently called "Duke Humphrey's Walk." This was frequented by loiterers, either dinnerless, or hoping to pick up an invitation to dinner. Hence arose the well-known proverb.

Stow, writing at the end of the 16th century, himself perfectly aware that "the good duke of Gloucester lyeth honourably buried at St. Alban's in Hertfordshire," describes how "some men, of late times, have made a solemn meeting at his tombe (that is, Beauchamp's) upon Saint Andrew's day in the morning, and concluded on a breakfast or dinner, as assuring themselves to be servants, and to hold diversity of offices, under the good Duke Humfrey." Stow's continuator refers to another and similar festival held on May-day, and remarks: "There can be no doubt that this mock solemnity on May-day and the feast of St. Andrew, on pretence of attending a festival in Paul's, on the invitation of a dead nobleman in another place, gave rise to the saying concerning 'dining with Duke Humphrey.' It is still used respecting persons who inquire 'Where shall I dine?' or who have lost, or are afraid of losing, their dinners."

<sup>g</sup> "Short History," p. 268.

<sup>h</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog. and "Guide to St. Alban's Abbey," p. 32.

<sup>i</sup> Hone's "Every Day Book," 1827.

In Dugdale's "History of St. Paul's Cathedral"<sup>j</sup> (1658), this Chantry Tomb of Sir John Beauchamp is fully described and beautifully portrayed. It stood at the south-west end of the Cathedral, between the nave and the aisle. Dugdale makes no mention of the popular supposition about Gloucester; and Weaver,<sup>k</sup> writing about the same date, refers to his tomb and epitaph in St. Alban's Abbey, showing how perfectly men of learning were aware of the Duke's true resting-place. Moreover, in 1672, we find Elias Ashmole, when giving the history of Sir John Beauchamp, mentioning incidentally that his monument in St. Paul's "vulgarly (but falsely) was called Duke Humfrey's Tomb."

It may be noted that it was during the course of the construction of the new St. Paul's (between 1675 and 1710) that Gloucester's coffin was discovered (in 1703) in our Abbey, so that the idlers of Queen Anne's day had no excuse for recovering either their promenade or their dinners.

#### B.—PORTRAITS.

Following a description of a man's character should surely be that of his features, and with this end in view I propose giving a list of several known portraits extant of Gloucester, though I do not, of course, pretend it is an exhaustive one.

By the kindness of the Dean, who is allowing it to be placed on the table for inspection later on, I am enabled to show you a photograph of a portrait of Gloucester in a collection at Arras. The photograph was sent to the Dean by Mr. Jackson, of the Bodleian, who makes the following remarks about it:—

"The Arras portrait is not pleasing, but it seems to be accepted as perhaps the only authoritative likeness, and such a view is confirmed by the evidence, whatever it may amount to, of the small and slight portraits of the Duke contained in two Oxford manuscripts, one in the Bodleian, one at Oriel."

Mr. Jackson adds some further notes on the Arras portrait, from a work by M. Bouchot on the collection in which it occurs. M. Bouchot, he says, "deals with MS. No. 266 in the Bibliothèque de la ville d'Arras, in

<sup>j</sup> p. 36.

<sup>k</sup> Ant. Fun. Monuments.

which the portrait of Duke Humphrey is No. 33, fol. 7. The MS. contains 289 portraits in crayon or sanguine (by which Mr. Kitton thinks is meant a kind of red chalk). The persons represented are chiefly seigneurs of Flanders and of the Court of the Dukes of Burgundy, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. There is much to indicate that the portraits were taken from ancient windows and votive pictures in churches. A certain Jacques Le Boucq may perhaps have been the original collector and artist too, though the present form of the Album may be the work rather of Guillaume de White, a monk of St. Berthin." A photographic copy of the Arras portrait (with nine others from the same collection) is also to be found in our National Portrait Gallery (Room I.); and a replica of this can also be inspected later on.

Arras is in the north of France, in the Pas de Calais; and, though there is nothing positive to connect this portrait with the Congress of Ambassadors at Arras, in 1435, for discussing the terms of peace with France, yet perhaps a possible coincidence may be noted in passing.

I am glad also to be able to show you two other portraits, which the St. Albans Archæological Society have kindly had reproduced for the purposes of this paper. These portraits are the two mentioned by Mr. Jackson as existing at Oxford at the present time.

One of them is a photographic reproduction of the portrait in a MS. at Oriel College of a "Commentary on Genesis," by Capgrave, the Austin friar of Lynn, and belongs to the year 1437. The spectacle of the diminutive monk of cherubic aspect presenting his book to the large and severe-looking Duke his patron, both figures contained within the initial letter to the MS., is a curious one to our modern eyes, both as regards mediæval art and portraiture. This portrait is also to be found engraved in Doyle's "Official Baronage."

As regards the other Oxford portrait I have to show, this does not appear so conclusively to bear the stamp of mediævalism, and it has a somewhat complicated history. It is taken from a Bodleian Catalogue of MSS. by Edward Bernard, published in 1697, and when

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1 "Doyle's Official Baronage" II. 22.

I wrote to ask the Controller of the Oxford University Press to be so good as to have a photograph taken of it, he replied by sending me a print made from the original copper-plate in his possession, from which the print



FIG. 28.—PORTRAIT OF DUKE HUMPHREY FROM MS. IN LIBRARY OF OBIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

in the Catalogue mentioned was struck off, the copper-plate being by Michael Burghers, and about the date 1697. On its own merits, therefore, this engraving has



FIG. 29.—ENGRAVED PORTRAIT FROM BODLEIAN. Catalogue of MSS. 1697.

an interest and value of its own. As regards its subject, it will be noticed that it is taken from a window in

Greenwich Church. That was *old* Greenwich Church, dedicated to St. Alphege, of which H. B. Richardson,<sup>m</sup> writing in 1834, says that "having become ruinous, the roof fell in about four o'clock in the morning of 29th November, 1710. In this church was a portrait on glass of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester." But he does not tell us the fate of this window, which must have perished either at the time of the disaster or during the building of the new church. It will be remembered that Gloucester owned the manor of "Pleasans," or Greenwich, which after his death reverted to the Crown until the days of the Commonwealth.

On my referring to Mr. F. Madan (Sub-Librarian to the Bodleian) for some information respecting this engraving, he was kind enough to supply me with the following facts.

The copperplate is apparently a "composition," of which the details are really separate. A pencil drawing of the figure and helmet occurs in a letter among the Bodleian MSS. (Tanner 24, fol. 107), together with a statement that the window was a south one, near the belfry. The figure was in itself a copy of another drawing or engraving taken by, or for, one of the two Sir Henry St. Georges of the seventeenth century, from the original window.

Again, in another MS.,<sup>n</sup> which was copied by Elias Ashmole from a Hatton MS. belonging to Sir Henry St. George (who died in 1644), occurs a drawing of the arms and crest-on-chapeau, with the following statement:—

"These following Armes of the 3 Estrich feathers stand in the glass windowes of Greenewich church with supporters, and set up by Humf: Duke of Glouc. . . . In another window of the same church are his owne Armes, impaled with his wife's, without any supporters. [His crest was "on a chapeau gules, a lion."<sup>o</sup>] In which window also was his Crest upon a chapew, Helmet, and mantle, supported with the Antelop seiant."

Here it is distinctly stated that Humphrey himself set up one coat of arms on glass in this church (though not the arms represented in the copperplate), and Mr. Madan says he sees "no reason against the

<sup>m</sup> "Greenwich, its History, etc."

<sup>n</sup> Bodleian MS. Ashm., 1121, p. 228.

<sup>o</sup> "Doyle's Official Baronage."

presumption that the rest was also set up by him." These drawings Michael Burghers had doubtless before him when he engraved the plate for the 1697 catalogue.

The arms impaled with those of Gloucester are those of his second wife, Eleanor Cobham of Sterborough (gules on a chevron or, three estoiles sable).<sup>p</sup> I reserve

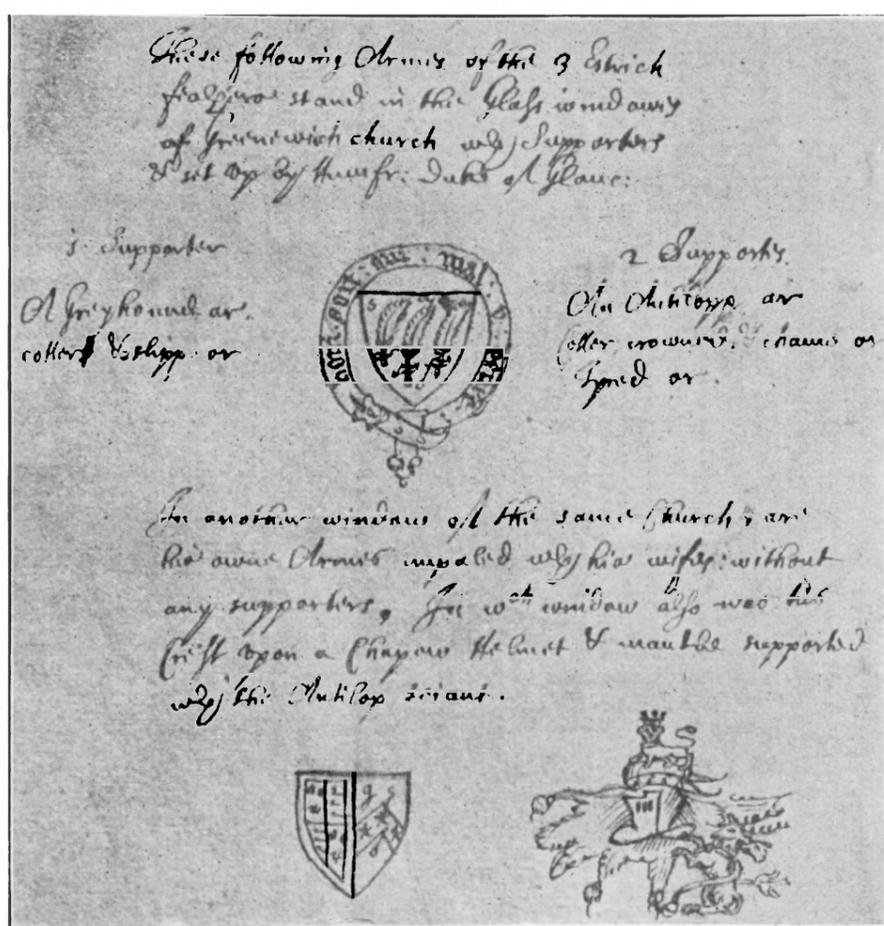


FIG. 30.—ARMORIAL BEARINGS.  
 From the Bodleian MS. Ashm., 1121, p. 228.

the subject of Humphrey's own heraldic bearings generally till I come to the description of his Chantry Tomb.

The fourth and last portrait I have to show is peculiarly interesting to us in St. Albans, as it is taken from that MS. in the British Museum which contains the Catalogue of Benefactors and all admitted into full fraternity of the Monastery of St. Alban up to 1463.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Burke's "General Armoury."      <sup>q</sup> MS. Nero D. 7, p. 154.

Gloucester is portrayed in the illumination from which this photograph is taken, as accompanied by his wife "Alienora," whose admission to the fraternity (to which allusion has already been made) is recorded in this MS. The church which Humphrey bears in his hand may



FIG. 32.—PORTRAITS OF DUKE HUMPHREY AND ELEANOR COBHAM.  
From the St. Albans Book of Benefactors, M.S. Nero D. 7, p. 154; in the  
British Museum.

represent, Mr. Page thinks, the priory of Pembroke, which he presented to the Abbey, as has already been said.

There are several other portraits which I have either seen or of which I have read descriptions. Two of these occur in paintings belonging to the Duke of Sutherland, and were shown in the "Monarchs of Great Britain and Ireland" Exhibition held at the New Gallery this year (1902). Both of them formerly belonged to Horace Walpole, and were among his

collection of works of art at Strawberry Hill. One of them is mentioned in his own catalogue of Strawberry Hill, whence one is referred for a further description to "Anecdotes of Painting in England," collected by Mr. George Vertue (a well-known engraver), digested and published by Mr. Horace Walpole. "In my possession is a remarkable piece," Walpole says, and after a description of it as a representation of the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou, he continues, "I imagine it was painted after his death. Behind the King, in a robe of state, stands the Duke of Gloucester, and seems reproving a nobleman whom I take for the Marquis of Suffolk." An engraving of this picture can be seen in the "Anecdotes of Painting." The original was placed over the chimney piece in the library of Strawberry Hill.

Of the other picture exhibited in the New Gallery, Walpole, in his own catalogue,<sup>r</sup> gives this description:—"Four pannels that came out of the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury, and were doors to an altar-piece, . . . on the outside pannels are Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of Winchester, and John Kempe, Archbishop of Canterbury. On one of the insides is Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, praying, and behind him a saint holding the Duke's Cap of Estate in one hand, and a golden chalice in the other. All the men have rude dishevelled hair. . . . The house of Lancaster were great benefactors to the Abbey, two princes of which family, afterwards so memorable for their enmity, are here represented. The portraits of the Archbishop and Duke agree remarkably with those of the same persons in the marriage of Henry VI. in the library, especially the Duke, who has the same bald head and furred mantle. . . . The Duke is painted in a style very superior to that age." This altar-piece was placed in the Chapel at Strawberry Hill.

Yet another portrait of Gloucester is mentioned by Walpole. The picture in which it occurs is also engraved in the "Anecdotes of Painting," and is thus described by him:—"A curious picture of Henry V. and his family—in the collection of James West, Esq., Secretary of the Treasury. It was an altar-piece at

<sup>r</sup> Vol. I. 1762.

<sup>s</sup> "Description of Strawberry Hill," p. 81.

<sup>t</sup> Vol. I.

Shene." Walpole considers it was probably painted by Henry VII.'s orders, for the chapel in his palace there. Henry V. is represented with his three brothers, Clarence, Bedford and Gloucester, kneeling in a row behind him, all wearing golden coronets; Gloucester appears as quite a youth. Walpole<sup>u</sup> further makes this remarkable statement: "Of that indiscreet but amiable and unfortunate prince, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, I know no memorial," and then proceeds to a vigorous white-washing both of his character and of Eleanor Cobham's. Of the present fate of this picture I have no knowledge.

#### V. HIS MONUMENT AND VAULT.

*The Chantry Tomb* of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, is to be found on the south side of the Saint's Chapel in St. Alban's Abbey. It is supposed to have been built by his friend, Abbot Whethamstede, during the Duke's own lifetime. Sandford calls it a "stately arched monument of freestone,"<sup>v</sup> though Mr. Page points out this should be clunch, or Totternhoe stone. It is of Perpendicular construction, and on the cornices on both sides are Humphrey's arms, that is to say<sup>w</sup> the royal arms bordered argent, and supporters, antelopes gorged and chained. These latter are much mutilated, and only one of the antelopes, on the south side, seems intact. These arms are surmounted alternately by helmets mantled, with a cap of maintenance, and by coronets; and they are repeated, though many are missing, in the quatrefoils on the lower part of the tomb.<sup>x</sup> Boutell says he "differenced 'England' with a plain silver bordure, as a mark of cadency"; and these arms appear on his seal of 1426.<sup>xx</sup>

On all parts of the tomb, and also encircling the coronets, is to be found a most curious decoration, consisting of a cup filled with what are apparently

<sup>u</sup> "Anecdotes of Painting," Vol. I. p. 32.

<sup>v</sup> Sandford's "Genealog. Hist.," p. 318.

<sup>w</sup> "Boutell's Heraldry," p. 185.

<sup>x</sup> "Guide to St. Alban's Abbey," p. 32-3.

<sup>xx</sup> "Eng. Heraldry," p. 185; "Doyle's Official Baronage," p. 23.



FIG. 31.—S. SIDE DUKE HUMPHREY'S TOMB, ST. ALBAN'S CATHEDRAL.  
*By Miss M. Helen Green.*



leaves of some kind. The whole certainly forms one of Gloucester's badges, and Mr. Page considers the foliage as "probably intended for daisy-flowers."<sup>y</sup>

By the courtesy of Rouge Dragon I have been enabled to view, at the Heralds' College, several folios in which this badge is portrayed. One of these, of about Charles I.'s time, represents the cup with a single upright branch standing in it, and below is this legend: "Humfry, Duke of Gloucester, bare this cup w<sup>t</sup>s a Laurell branch in the respect he bore to Learninge."<sup>z</sup>

In a copy made about 1510<sup>a</sup> from St. George's, Windsor, the cup is given as filled with a quantity of small leaves, on stems which may not impossibly be laurel leaves, but are not at all like the petals in the cup on Gloucester's Tomb. The cup badge occurs also in another folio at the Heralds' College, but this one throws no fresh light on the subject.<sup>b</sup>

The daisy was also the badge of Margaret of Anjou, who was on anything but cordial terms with Gloucester; so it seems improbable he bore it in her honour.

The other badges known to have been used by Gloucester were an "ostrich feather, the quill studded with fleurs de lys,"<sup>c</sup> and also a swan, worn, I imagine, in right of his mother, Mary de Bohun, whose family badge this was;<sup>d</sup> but neither of these appears on his tomb. Eighteenth-century writers had theories of their own on the meaning of the contents of the cup-badge. Gough<sup>e</sup> imagines the whole device to be the rebus of Whethamstede, the architect, and to consist of "wheatears in vases or pedestals," while Sandford<sup>f</sup> fancifully credits the cup with containing "Angels Heads and Wings!" It may be mentioned here that Cussans gives the "livery-colour" of Gloucester as blue, quoting these lines from Shakespeare, Henry VI., Part I., Act i., Scene 3.

<sup>y</sup> Guide to St. Alban's Abbey, p. 33.      <sup>z</sup> "Miscellania Curiosa," pt. I. p. 105.

<sup>a</sup> The Garter Stalls, Hen. VII. and VIII., folio 1.

<sup>b</sup> Vincent's "Knights of the Garter," folio 104.

<sup>c</sup> Doyle's "Official Baronage," p. 23.

<sup>d</sup> Cussan's Handbook of Heraldry, pp. 138 and 222.

<sup>e</sup> Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, Vol. II. pt. ii. p. 146; 1746.

<sup>f</sup> "Genealog. Hist.," p. 318.

“ Draw, men, for all this privileged place ;  
Blue coats to tawny coats.

Thou I'll chase hence, thou wolf in sheep's array,  
Out, tawny coats ! ”

The “ tawny coats ” were worn by Cardinal Beaufort's serving-men. The word tawny is the same as the heraldic term “ tenné,” a deep orange colour.

Both sides of the tomb, above the cornice, are adorned with niches, but only those on the south side (facing the south aisle) are filled with figures of kings, and even these are mutilated. Sandford<sup>g</sup> draws attention to the foreshortened squatness as peculiar, and considers them ruder in workmanship than the rest of the monument. Among them one, holding a church in his hands, is probably Offa,<sup>h</sup> founder of the Abbey, and the whole number most likely represent the royal benefactors to the Abbey. By the kindness of Miss M. Helen Green, who has made a sepia painting specially for this paper, I am enabled to give an illustration of a section of the south side of the tomb. Owing to difficulties of position and light, Miss Green is anxious that her work should not be considered more than as a sketch made chiefly to reproduce the armorial details. The grille<sup>i</sup> before the tomb on its south side is of older construction, dating from about the time of Edward I., and is said to be unique in England.<sup>j</sup>

*The Vault*, containing the remains of Gloucester, lies immediately below the monument. It was only discovered in the reign of Queen Anne (1703), when workmen were engaged in making a grave on this spot for Mr. John Gape.

Gough (writing in 1746)<sup>k</sup> says the Duke's remains were found “ lying in pickle in a leaden and wooden coffin,” but that owing to the irreverent handling of them by inquisitive persons, “ only the broken skeleton (the skull without teeth) remains.” He also mentions that “ at the feet, on the wall, at the east end (*i.e.*, of the vault) is painted a crucifix, the blood of the wounds received in chalices, a hand holding to it a label inscribed

<sup>g</sup> “ Genealog. Hist.,” p. 318.

<sup>h</sup> “ Guide to St. Alban's Abbey,” p. 32.    <sup>i</sup> *Ib.* p. 31.    <sup>j</sup> *Ib.* p. 32.

<sup>k</sup> “ Sepulchral Monuments,” vol. II, part ii., p. 142.

in capitals, 'Blessed Lord, have mercy on me!'" We are all familiar with the highly coloured picture in the Saint's Chapel representing the coffin as it was when the vault was opened, together with the wall-painting over it. It is probable it was from this picture that Gough describes the wall-painting in the vault, as his account conforms almost entirely with it, but does not tally with the actual painting, as will shortly be seen.

Early this year (1902) the Dean was kind enough to take me down into the vault, as I wished to be able to record its appearance at the present day. The vault is about ten feet by six, and is constructed of large stones. An oblong wooden box contains all that is left of the skeleton; only the skull and seven bones (five large and two small ones) are now to be seen, together with some of the leaden wrappings. The skull has a very brown and polished appearance.

The painting on the east wall of the vault certainly differs from the picture above. The reality is very faint in colouring, and the Dean thinks the outlines, at some time, have been deepened with pencil. The cross and Sacred Figure are distinguishable, as are also the four chalices. The only trace of colouring is a faint brickish red tinge along the Arms and above the four chalices. There is no inscription on the scroll across the top of the cross. The label at the side bears no inscription whatever; there is a trace of something beyond, but much too vague to be distinguished as a hand.

There are many names of visitors scratched on the side of the vault, not a few bearing dates within forty years of its discovery. It is, of course, greatly to be deplored that lack of reverence for the past, and for the sacredness of the dead, should have permitted the disappearance of so many of the Duke's bones in that so-called "Augustan age."

Clutterbuck, whose History of Hertfordshire dates from 1815, *à propos* of the vault, says that it was "opened to the view of the public, and, a trap-door being placed over it, became a mine of wealth to the Parish Clerk for a long series of years; till, at length, the embalming liquor became exhausted by exposure to the air of the atmosphere, and all the bones of the

skeleton were either mouldered into dust or carried away."

This statement, if the bones now existing be Gloucester's at all, is either not strictly accurate, or else throws grave doubts on their authenticity—doubts which I suppose no living person can set at rest.

Clutterbuck' gives the following inscription to Gloucester's memory. "High on the wall that closes the South aisle, just before the Shrine, and above it," he says, "are the Duke's arms, surmounted by a coronet."

"Piæ Memorïæ V. Opt.

Sacrum

Serotinum

Hic jacet Humphredus, dux ille Glocestrius olim,  
Henrici sexti protector, fraudus ineptæ  
Detector, dum ficta notat miracula cœci.  
Lumen erat Patriæ; columen venerabile regni.  
Pacis amans, musiq: favens melioribus, unde  
Gratum opus Oxoniæ, quæ nunc schola sacra refulget.  
Invida sed mulier regno, regi, sibi nequam,  
Abstulit hunc humili, vix hoc dignata sepulchro  
Invidiâ rumpenti tanem, post funera vivet."

By the kindness of Mr. Charles Johnson, who translated this inscription for me, I am able to give you an English version of it:—

"Here lies Humphrey, sometime Duke of Gloucester,  
Protector of Henry VI., discoverer of a silly imposture,  
In that he proves the blind man's miracle a sham.  
The glory of his country, the revered stay of the realm.  
A lover of peace, a patron of the nobler Muses,  
witness the delight of Oxford, the present glorious  
Divinity School. But a wicked woman, who hated the realm,  
the King, and herself, destroyed him,  
thinking him barely worthy of this humble tomb.  
But while hate consumed *her*, he lives after death."

The imposture alluded to in this inscription is the one mentioned by Shakespeare (Henry VI., Part II., Act ii., Scene 1), where a man, who pretends to be lame, and also to have been recently cured at St. Alban's Shrine of blindness from birth, is brought before the king at St. Albans, and unmasked by Gloucester, who beguiles him into an accurate description of certain colours, and summarily disposes of his lameness by setting the beadle on to whip him.

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l "History of Herts," vol. I. p. 73.

I have come across no foundation for this story in contemporary history, though it possibly may be true, as it is also recorded by Sir Thomas More,<sup>m</sup> from whom Shakespeare may have derived it. The second part of "Henry VI." is taken from an older play of 1594 (in which Shakespeare had no hand) in which this story also occurs. Mr. Payne Collier thinks this play most certainly derives it from the Chronicles. This may be so, but Sir Thomas More's own words point to an oral tradition, for in a "Dialogue, fyrst Boke" (chap. xiv.<sup>o</sup> p. 134) he says: "As I remember me I have heard my father tell of a beggar that in King Henry his days the sixth, came with his wife to Saint Albons," and then proceeds with the tale.

The epitaph to Gloucester exists no longer. The wall on which it was placed formerly blocked up the western arch of the south aisle, separating it from the ante-chapel, at the time when the right-of-way passed through the latter. This wall was pulled down in February, 1872,<sup>p</sup> and of course the inscription was destroyed as well. Clutterbuck<sup>q</sup> thinks it was written by John Westerman, Head Master of St. Alban's Grammar School in 1625, who wrote the inscription in Latin verse to a former master (John Thomas Hylocomius) on the monumental slab in the south aisle of the presbytery.<sup>r</sup>

The Dean has been kind enough to lend me a photograph of the wall and inscription (taken while the former was in process of demolition) which can be inspected later on.

Before concluding this paper, it may be interesting to quote some items from a MS. in the British Museum,<sup>s</sup> containing a "Schedule of the Charges of the Monastery of St. Alban's for making the Tomb of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and for perpetual Masses," etc. It is printed in Clutterbuck's History of Hertfordshire, from which my quotations are taken.

<sup>m</sup> "City of St. Alban," etc., by C. H. Ashdown, p. 33.

<sup>n</sup> "Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, etc.," 1858, p. 30, note 10.

<sup>o</sup> Works of Sir Thomas More, 1557, p. 134.

<sup>p</sup> Paper by John Chapple in "Herts Advertiser," Dec. 24, 1881, page 6, col. 2.

<sup>q</sup> "Hist. of Herts," Index, Vol. I.

<sup>r</sup> "St. Albans Grammar School," A. E. Gibbs, p. 37.

<sup>s</sup> Claudius A. 8. fo. 195; Guide to St. Alban's Abbey, p. 90.

The abbot and convent of the said monastery paid "for making the tumbe and place of sepulture of the seid Duke, within the seid Monasteri, above the sune of £cccc xxx iiii, vis, viiid."

Another entry is that "two monks, prests, daily saying messe at the autur of sepulture of the said prince, were to have each by the day 6d. ; sum by the whole year £xviii vs."

The day of Gloucester's death, as it came round, was to be kept with due solemnity at the Chantry Tomb, and for this more expenditure is required. "The Abbot, prior, forty monks, priests, eight monks not priests, two anchoresses at St. Peter's Church and another at St. Michael's" were allotted a certain sum "yearly the day of anniversary of said prince."

There was also to be a distribution to "pore people," and for "xiii pore men bearing torches saide day about the said sepulture."

Our imaginations can possibly fill up the outlines of the picture here presented ; there is little likelihood of our over-painting the magnificence with which the community of St. Alban kept green the memory of their patron. It would certainly have surprised Whethamstede could he have foreseen that the "perpetual masses" with which he sought to commemorate his friend would last for a period little more than ninety years in duration.