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His com of the Porton Littus was prouted by Si John Fern, the chita, to the Row. Robert Potton (1721-1804) the Leadworth of Scamig School, Laboth, at translation of Scamig School, Laboth, at translation of Discharged and other Such writers. Ferris artrogale isniftin is an the bar of the help-title.









To the Reverend Robert Potter These Volumes, of a Tribute of Respect and Friendship are presented Brigingt Feffers,

The Editor

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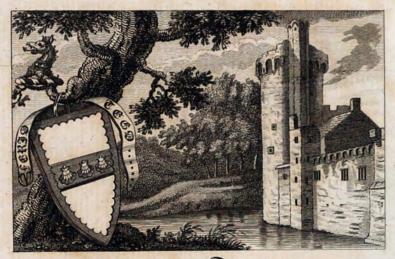
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CAISTER TOMER.

LORDOR, Printed for G. G: J. and J. Robinson, in Pater-noster-Row, 1787.





ORIGINAL LETTERS,

Written during the REIGNS of

HENRY VI. EDWARD IV.

By various Perfons of RANK or CONSEQUENCE;

CONTAINING

Many curious ANECDOTES, relative to that turbulent and bloody, but hitherto dark, PERIOD of our HISTORY;

AND

Elucidating, not only PUBLIC MATTERS of STATE, but likewife the PRIVATE MANNERS of the AGE:

Digested in CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;

WITH

NOTES, Hiftorical and Explanatory;

AND

Authenticated by Engravings of AUTOGRAPHS, PAPER MARKS, and SEALS,

By JOHN FENN, Efq. M.A. and F.A.S.

" Tempora mutantur."

" Litera fcripta manet."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N, Printed for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, in Pater-noster-Row. MDCCLXXXVII.

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VOL. I.

NOT NOI

Printed for G. C. J. and J. Rottweps, in Pater-noffer-Row.

DEDICOATION

THE KING.

jecks entertained of His most fecret Actions. A Permission to dedicate to fuch a RING, is an Honour to highly flattering, that it will ever be remembered with the utmost Gratitude. Condescend, Most GRACIOUS SOVEREICN, to accept this humble Testimony of profound

SIR,

THE Honour of laying my Book at the foot of Majesty constitutes the smallest part of my pleasure, on receiving YOUR ROYAL PERMISSION for this Address.

I glory in the confcious fatisfaction of dedicating it, to the Munificent Encourager of Knowledge in general; to the Avowed Patron of that particular Branch of it, the Antiquities of These Kingdoms; to a Prince, Who has no cause to blush at the Idea, that Posterity

may

Refocer, from !!

DEDICATION.

may read, in the private Letters of the prefent Age, the undifguifed Opinion which His Subjects entertained of His most fecret Actions.

A Permission to dedicate to fuch a KING, is an Honour fo highly flattering, that it will ever be remembered with the utmost Gratitude.

Condescend, MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN, to accept this humble Testimony of profound Respect, from

YOUR MAJESTY'S

YOUR ROYAL

VEIN

HE Honour of laving my Book at the

Moft loyal Subject,

PERMISSION

And most dutiful Servant, cating it, to the Munificent Encourager of Knowledge in general; to the Avowed Patron East Dereham. November 23, 1786. to a Idea, that Pofferity

EFAC

I. The civil contentions between the houfes of York

. II. The flaughter of our nobility and gentry in th field, and on the fouffold.

This, as at first fight it appears to favour universal

R

A LL civilized Nations have ever been anxious to Nations A preferve every authentic record of their former Records. transactions, both public and private; and with the greatest reason, fince the proof of their very existence, as a nation of confequence (in the effimation of the real historian, who pays no attention to fabulous narratives) entirely depends upon fuch undoubted memorials.

Whenever, therefore, any particular period of a great Defective nation is imperfectly known, from the want of real and fupplied. authentic records; every one, who wifhes to fee an unbroken chain of national events, will, with the greateft eagernefs, feize any information of undoubted authority, which may prefent itfelf; and from which either new matter may arife, or accounts now exifting may, if true, be confirmed, and afcertained on fure grounds.

That our own kingdom has fewer authentic records Few Records of the transactions, during the reigns of Henry VI. of Hen. VI. Edward IV. and Richard III. than of any other later period Rich. III. of our Hiftory, is a truth known to, and lamented by, every man of historical knowledge.

This deficiency of information in the above period The Reafons. arifes from the following caufes.

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I. The

I. The civil contentions between the houfes of York and Lancaster.

II. The flaughter of our nobility and gentry in the field, and on the fcaffold.

III. The unfettled ftate of property.

IV. The invention of printing at the time.

This, as at first fight it appears to favour universal knowledge, is certainly an affertion which requires a few words of explanation.

Employment of our early Printers.

Dafaire all of Solissif

At the beginning of the art of printing, those who practifed it, were folicitous to perpetuate things already committed to writing, relative to past times and past occurrences; not regarding recent transactions as of equal confequence. Advolute doub noque abroad al al antes

This art likewife probably prevented the writers of manufcripts from multiplying their copies; they forefeeing that the new invention would, in time, fupply a fufficient number at a much lefs price, by which means the value of their manual labour would be greatly diminished : and the early printers being bufy in preparing for the prefs old Hiftories, Legends, Dicts and Sayings of Philosophers, Translations, &c. &c. could not find time for printing the then modern hiftory, which being preferved by few, the manufcripts containing it were eafily loft, or deftroyed, and fo never came down to us. The Destruction which overwhelmed our manufcripts and records at the Reformation, is not here confidered; as that affected all the preceding ages, equally with that which is now under our confideration.

Reformation ravage not confidered.

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Some historic manufcripts, however, were without Historie doubt locked up amongft family writings, where they preferved. remained unregarded and ufelefs for centuries; the poffeffors, if they knew they had fuch papers, confidering them as of no confequence; and if ever they were afterwards looked at, the examiner perhaps caft them afide as illegible.

Would the ancient nobility and gentry of this Search for ancient kingdom, and the prefent owners of manors and writings. eftates, formerly belonging to religious focieties, or to old and refpectable families, permit their wormeaten writings and mouldy papers to be carefully perufed by those whose education and purfuits have given them knowledge and tafle to do it, it might' not even now be too late to difcover, and bring to light, many curious and valuable manufcripts, which probably would afford us fresh information in various arts and fciences, confirm doubtful Facts, and fix on fure foundations many events in our own hiltory, even from very early periods down to the Reformation, now unknown or uncertain.

Thefe letters, which are now prefented to the pub- Thefe letters lic, are a convincing proof, both of the prefervation of an example. fuch papers, and of the neglect which attends them; for though they were in the pofferfion of different antiquaries for above a century, they have lain by totally neglected, and perhaps forgotten.

It is a truth greatly to be lamented, that almost all Faults of general general collectors are too apt to become fo very atten- collectors. tive VOL. I.

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tive to the prefent purfuit of the day, as to let that engrofs their whole attention; whereas, would they follow one fpecies of collecting only; and, having acquired a fufficient fund of materials relative to that particular purfuit, then use the fame industry in arranging and digefting those materials, as they before. employed merely in collecting them, and when thus, put into order, give them to the public, how much good would they do to fociety, and to themfelves; inftead of which, as foon as a fufficient quantity of matter is amaffed for their originally intended plan, the whole is laid afide, and a new purfuit takes place: thus, wandering from one fpecies of collecting to another, their life wears away; they become old men, and pass to their grave without having benefited their contemporaries by any ufeful or curious publication; too often, it is to be feared, with ruined, or at leaft. wafted eftates, their collections are then difperfed by public fale, perhaps for the fame purpofe as before collected --- to be looked at, laid afide, and forgotten!

Foregoing remarks exemplified,

Thefe obfervations occurred from the editor's particular acquaintance with a great collector, poffeffed of found abilities, and whofe judgment in points of antiquarian knowledge was extensive; who frequently made refolutions, that *next year* he would digeft his various collections, and form fome of them for public infpection: but he wanted perfeverance; he grew old; he died in his chair, at the advanced age of feventyfour years, without ever having completed any literary underundertaking, and in circumftances from which his children felt the effects of his indifcretions.

To the honour, however, of the prefent age, we have Prefent age feveral learned antiquaries and collectors, who have writers. already published, and are still preparing for the prefs, works, which now place them amongst the first writers, and will convey their names to future ages with due credit to themfelves, and honour to their country.

Would collectors in general follow fuch examples, They thould and each contribute his flock to the public fund of to others. learning, how many ufeful and ingenious publications would come abroad ! the rage for collections, acquired with lofs of fortune, would be in a great measure ftopped; and those already prudently made, would remain in the refpective families of the original collector, as marks of his tafte and learning.

What a pleafure would it be to a perfon fond of Reflections examining into the events of past ages, to be able to converse with those who lived in the times, and were prefent at the events themfelves! as this cannot be, will not the next degree of pleafure arife from reading what those very perfons, at the very time when the events happened, wrote to their contemporaries ?

This may here be done, by a perufal of their letters; of the letters which they really wrote, and not fuch as are too often delivered down to us by hiftorians, where the fentiments, the ftyle, and the language, are generally those of the historian himself, and not of

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the perfon; few real and original letters of remote times, being now in existence.

Letters of remote ages afford pleafure Even the private letters of private men, who have lived in ages paft, afford much pleafure to a fludious and contemplative mind; we feem to fee the man, to converfe with him, and in his familiar effusions to penetrate his thoughts.

But when the private letters of great men, men of eminence in the flate, whofe lives and actions fill the page of hiftory, are preferved and brought to light, how enthufiaftically do the antiquary and hiftorian pore over their contents; and examine with eager curiofity the ftyle, the language, and even the handwriting; deducing, from all, inferences favourable to learning and hiftory, in tracing the gleams of tafte and genius, in elucidating events already imperfectly known, and in difcovering others hitherto unknown. Will not every reader receive greater pleafure from the fpeeches of princes, warriors, and flatefmen, in our great Shakspeare's Drama, when he has feen their hand-writing, when he has perufed their letters, when he has only not converfed with the men themfelves? the events happened, waste to their

to every reader;

particularly to the antiquary and historian.

Dark period of hiftory. Norfolk, Suffolk and Haftings? From the reign of king Stephen, there is no period fo flightly illustrated by records, and authentic docu-

own minds, almost contemporaries with York and

Canterbury, Salifbury and Warwick, Buckingham and

Will not the antiquary and historian become, in their

ments,

REFACE. P

ments, as the turbulent and diffracted years, which paffed from the latter part of Henry VI's reign, to the acceffion of Henry VII. almost the only registers preferved were written in characters of blood : battles and executions alone mark out to the historian his path, from one fcene of confusion to another; and his most trufty guide is the genealogist, who, recording the years in which fuch or fuch of the great nobility were beheaded, afcertains the dates of the various revolutions.

Whatever, therefore, tends to throw a gleam of light on fo clouded an horizon, muft be a grateful prefent to those, who would investigate their country's ftory; and when we have defpaired of recovering any material monuments of those difastrous times, the flightest relics of fo obfcure a feafon may feem almost as precious as the better preferved remains of periods fully illuftrated. of his chemies.

The blafted flock of a tree, a heap of flones, is a welcome land-mark to a traveller, who fearches for a road amidft a level and dreary defert.

In a dearth of information, how grateful a treasure Collection of must we esteem a collection of private letters, written ters. during the combustions occasioned by the quarrels between the two Rofes !

Any confidential effusions between relations and friends, in those fad and dangerous moments, when conveyance was difficult, when families were divided into different factions, and difaffection to either triumphant 5

umphant party was perilous, were little likely to be hazarded, and lefs likely to be preferved. At a more recent æra of fimilar complexion, though

lefs fanguinary (from 1640 to the Reftoration), how

few private letters have appeared; and confequently how few have probably reached the prefent hour, when the tafte of the public for hiftoric anecdotes is

In the heat of civil difcord, familiar correspondence

Charles himfelf, perhaps, added to the number of

ravage the country, the most intimate friends are

those who were determined on his destruction, by the

awake, and would have invited publication ?

cautious of trufting their fentiments to paper.

Civil wars from 1610 to 1660.

Correspondence dangerous in times is undoubtedly circumfpect; and when hoftile parties of civil diffenfions.

difcovery of fome intentions of his trufted to a letter, which he fent to the Queen in, as he thought, the most guarded manner, but which fell into the hands of his enemies.

Civil wars between the two Rofes.

From a remoter and far more barbarous age, we could little expect to attain notices of public occurrences, or details of domeftic life; and when we know fo little of the interior of that great theatre, to which curiofity and intereft are most attentive, the court; when the councils and measures of Henry VI. or rather of his courageous queen and her favourites, of Edward IV. and of Richard III. have been fo imperfectly unravelled; was it probable, that a large intercourfe between refpectable perfons, not ill informed in that dark feafon, should have been treasured up;

up; and after fo long an interval, be laid before the public!

Such a valuable deposit did actually exist, and is now Original prefented to the reader in the following pages.

Every criterion of authenticity accompanies the Authenticity of them. original documents; no novel or fufpicious anecdote will ftagger credulity; no new hypothefis is to be eftablished, or even proposed; no inveterate faith in received hiftory is to be fhaken; no eccentric genius is to appear, and call for admiration of talents, that exceeded his means of improving or difplaying them.

The artlefs writers of thefe letters here communicate their private affairs, or relate the reports of the day; they tell their tale in the plain and uncouth phrafe of the time; "aim not at fhining by art or eloquence; and bespeak credit by total careleffness of correction and ornament.

The principal fatisfaction of the reader will arife Sources of from two fources. He will hear the events of the the reader. moment from perfons living at the time; and will fee the manners and usages of that age, painted in the most familiar language, undifguised and unadorned.

The actors, as in Shakfpeare's hiftoric plays, will be, by turns, the victorious prince, the martial peers, the defeated and facrificed ministers, or perfons of inferior rank.

The meek and religious Henry, the reftlefs Warwick, the loyal Beauforts, will attract attention, whether they become victorious or fink in defeat; Edward himfelf will

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will now force battle upon his foes, now haften to his coronation, now post to the North to refift new foes ; and each letter, like a change of decoration, will prefent him in a different scene.

The politic Richard will take every bold meafure to fecure that crown, which, confcience tells him, totters' on his head.

We fhall not learn many new exploits, but we fhall feem to fee thefe princes and their peers, acting the details of their own times; and though the details are fometimes curfory and meager, it is a queftion whether, being thus brought under the eye, they will not intereft us more than the barren and doubtful narrations, which we already poffers of those reigns?

Henry VI.

Henry VI. will here appear the mild and ductile image of a king; this day, guided by the active and undaunted fpirit of his queen; to-morrow, acting under the direction of the haughty and ambitious Warwick; weak in mind, and indolent in body, this prince might have been comfortable in the peaceful walk of private life; in the exalted rank of fovereignty he must at all times have been miserable; without a will, or even a wifh, to act for himfelf, he lived a puppet, and he died a victim, to the ambition of others.

Edward IV. Edward IV. as foon as profperity and pleafure had fatisfied and enervated his ambition, funk into the arms of luxurious indolence; and his activity, as fovereign magistrate,

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magistrate, awaked only to rapid starts of cruelty, as often as his repofe was diffurbed by contradiction. and bod animals aid hous a automore orbitan

The purfuit of his right to the crown excepted, there was as little justice as mercy in his proceedings; the axe intimated his difpleafure, and his obdurate heart fpared a brother no more than a Lancastrian ; he married his wife becaufe fhe would not be his mistrefs; and took another man's wife for his mistrefs. who was willing to be fo.

Obliged to conquer his fubjects before he could be their King, he difcovered neither fpirit nor policy in dealing with foreign enemies; and yet, perhaps, there was more fenfe in his conduct than in that of moft other heroes : Edward acquired becaufe he wished to enjoy; had he fucceeded peaceably to the crown, and could have enjoyed without acquiring, he perhaps would never have fought to make an acquifition.

He preferred being paid for his own tranquillity by Louis XI. to facrificing his tranquillity, his treafure, and the blood of his people, in purfuit of glory, at the rifk of his repofe : he did little for fame, and fame has done as little for him; the fuperficial memorials of his vigour contained in the following fheets, will therefore be the more acceptable.

We gain fcarcely any fresh lights respecting the Richard III reign of that ambitious but doubtful hero Richard III. except that in his difpute with his brother, Clarence was the aggreffor.

VOL, I.

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As

As fovereign, his own proclamation, and the letters of his favourite Norfolk fhew us, he was making every warlike preparation against his enemies, and stimulating his fubjects to their loyalty by an appeal to them.

Those who think best of him, must ever condemn his cruel and illegal conduct in beheading Hastyngs, Rivers, Vaughan, and Gray, however the ferociouspolicy of the times may palliate fome of his actions.

Had his path to the throne been ftrait, he might have fhone in hiftory as a good prince; for he certainly underftood the duty of a king better than his predeceffor.

His genius was enterprifing, and his temper liberal; if his conduct in the day of battle did not point him out as a confummate general, it exhibited him as a courageous foldier; for when he found all was loft, he fought his competitor, and braved death by acts of heroifm.

General remark.

Reflections on our own bleffings. The fufferings of warriors, the diffreffes of private life, occafioned by fo tempeftuous a feafon, and the concife rapidity of the narratives, will prefent a truer picture of that turbulent period than could be exhibited by the artful pencil of a fedate hiftorian.

May we, who live in a time of national tranquillity, under a form of government defined and limited, with a prince upon the throne, whofe public and private virtues claim every mark of our loyalty and refpect, be truly fenfible of our own happinefs !

May the prefent bleffings, which we experience, contrafted by the dreadful calamities pourtrayed in the diftracted

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diffracted period of history here prefented to our view. make us humbly thankful to the great Difpofer of all human events, and infpire us with fuch a becoming moderation in the enjoyment of these bleffings, that we may merit a continuance of them to ourfelves, and to our posterity!

IT will now be neceffary to fatisfy the reader of the Authenticity authenticity of the letters here laid before him, by of the letters. prefenting him with a pedigree of their defcent, and a defcription of each, accompanied with fuch obfervations as have arifen in the mind of the editor, from an accurate examination of every one of them.

Thefe letters were most of them written by, or to Pedigree of particular perfons of the family of * Pafton, in Nor- the letters. folk (who lived in the reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. and Richard III.) were carefully preferved in that family for feveral defcents, and were finally in the poffeffion of the earl of Yarmouth; they then became the property of that great collector and antiquary Peter t le Neve, efquire, Norroy; from him they devolved

* For an account of this family the reader is referred to the Pedigree.

+ Peter le Neve, esquire, a great collector and antiquary, was born 21ft of January, 1661, made Rouge-croix purfuivant, 17th of January, 1689, Richmond herald 5th of April, 1704, and Norroy king of arms, the 25th of May following.

He was the first prefident of the Antiquary Society, on its revival in the beginning of this century, which office he refigned in 1724, and died on the 24th of September, 1729, æt. 68. He

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to Mr. * Martin, by his marriage with Mrs. le Neve, and were a part of his collections purchafed by Mr. † Worth, from whom in 1774, they came to the editor. The ‡ paper on which they are written, is of different degrees of finenefs; fome fheets being rough, and.

He inherited a confiderable effate at Whitchingham, and other towns in the county of Norfolk, which, after his decease, and a long and expensive contest at law, was decreed by the house of lords to be the effate of John Norris, esquire, whose grandfather had purchased the reversion of a Le Neve.

* Thomas Martin, gent. of Palgrave, in Suffolk, was born at Thetford, on the 9th of March, 1696-7, was admitted a fellow of the Antiquary Society, in 1718, and died fuddenly in his chair on the 7th of March, 1771, having very nearly completed his 74th year.

He may be faid to have been born an antiquary, for from his very infancy a fondness for antiquities commenced, and he became a collector of books, &c. &c. almost as soon as he could read.

In matters of antiquarian refearch, his indefatigable and perfevering induftry, aflifted by a ftrong and retentive memory, overcame all difficulties, and, without the advantage of a learned education, he acquired a fund of knowledge, which, though he did not turn it to his own pecuniary benefit, he very willingly and with great clearnefs communicated to any who applied to him for information in the various branches of antiquarian invefligation.

His collections were large and various, and what remained of them at his deceafe, were fold by his administratrix to Mr. Worth, for 6301.

+ Mr. John Worth, an apothecary and chemist, at Difs, in Norfolk, purchafed Mr. Martin's collections, with an intention of arranging, and then felling them to the best advantage.

He was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1771, and, before he had completed the fale of his collections, died fuddenly, on the 8th of December, 1774.

[‡] In a ftanza of the Proeme to "Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum," printed by Wynken de Worde, about 1495, wherein he recalls John Caxton to our remembrance, is the following curious memorial of our first paper-maker:

- " And John Tate the yonger, Joye mote hem broke,
- " Whiche late hathe in England doo make this paper thynne.

" That now, in our Englysh, this boke is prynted inne,"

XX

Paper.

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and, what we now call, very coarfe, while others are perfectly fmooth, and of a much finer texture; thefe different forts, however, must have been all of foreign manufacture, fince the art of paper-making was not introduced into England before the reign of Henry VII.

The * paper marks are various, and are always Paper marks. expressed as authenticating the age of the paper; and the reafon why feveral of the letters have no paper mark, is the following : the portion of a fheet of paper what was no more than was required to contain the writing, as the paper is always cut off from the fheet at the end of the letter; fhort letters therefore are often without any paper mark, and others have it out through, fo that only a part of it remains on the letter.

The fize of the whole fheets of paper varies from Size of the ten to twelve inches in length, as the writing runs, paper. and from about fixteen to feventeen, or eighteen inches in depth. do to broadle to liozonas ai noisticible

The various fizes of the letters themfelves, are from Size of the letters. ten to twelve inches in length, to three, fix, eight, ten, or twelve inches, or more in depth, according

His paper-mill, is likewife recorded to have been in the town of Hartford, and the mark on his paper is a ftar of eight points, or rays within a double circle, it is engraved on plate XIII. Nº 6.

* The paper-marks are those figures formed by wires, on the fieve at the bottom of the mould in which the paper-is made, and are imprefied on it in its pulpy ftate.

From these marks the different forts of modern paper are named, and the time and place of its manufacture alcertained. and assess to a box adapted and

They are often called the water-marks. They are showed but noge bushing

to

to the quantity of the matter written; and each letter has its fize here fpecified at the end of it, in inches and parts of inches. The inches may word, and increased

Form, and fastening of the letters.

Seals.

Moft of the letters have been neatly folded up in different fhapes, from three to four inches in length, and from one and an half to three inches in breadth, having, either a hole cut by a knife, and a piece of paper put through it; or threads drawn through by a needle, and brought under the feal, by which they were fastened.

Many of the feals are fo far perfect as to difcover the imprefiions of arms, crefts, letters, heads, or fome other devices; all of which will be mentioned in the notes to the letters on which they appear; fome of them have likewife a braid of ftring, or ftraw twifted round the impreffion, and fixed when the wax was warm. * Such of the feals as remain perfect, or nearly fo, are engraved on a plate by themfelves, of which a defcription is annexed at the end of the work.

> The hand-writing in fome of the letters is, though black and thick, very true and legible; in others, the decyphering of it has been attended with much trouble and difficulty.

> The ink in general ftands well, but where any dampnefs has reached it, is become yellow, and in fome places the colour is quite gone.

> * This plate would have been referred to, in the fame manner as those of the autographs and paper marks, but the engraving of the feals was not determined upon till the work was nearly printed off.

Ink.

Handwriting.

XXII

The

The method obferved, in preparing these letters Method for public infpection, is the following.

The contractions, dialects, modes of fpelling and Contractions, pointing, used in the original letters are exactly follow- &c. continued. ed in the copy; and wherever capitals appear in the one, they are continued in the other.

The thought of transcribing each letter, according Transcripts to the rules of modern orthography and punctuation, orthograarofe from a hint which the editor received from an antiquary, respectable for his knowledge and publications; whose opinion was, that many would be indueed to read these letters, for the fake of the various matter they contain, for their ftyle, and for their curiosity, who, not having paid attention to ancient modes of writing and abbreviations, would be deterred from attempting fuch a task, by their uncouth appearance in their original garb.

Some readers perhaps may think, that a felect number only of the original letters, printed in their antique drefs, would have fufficed as fpecimens to have gratified the tafte of the antiquary. Let fuch however confider, that a faithful delineation of our language, during a period of almost half a century, in an age too, famous for little besides its barbarity and civil diffensions, is a matter not only of much curiosity, but of some use; and though this method of printing the letters has been attended both with additional trouble and expence, yet it is hoped that the purchaser will not think that too high a price has been fet upon these

these volumes, as the editor affures him that if he be paid by the fale for his trouble and expences attending the publication, he shall be fatisfied.

In the transcribed letters, except in the spelling and pointing, as little alteration is made as was possible; the turn of expression and phraseology of the original, even where the grammar is defective, being preferved. The editor is confcious, however, that even in the transcribed letters a word will sometimes be found in the old form, arising from that familiarity with the old language, which suffered it not only to escape his pen in writing, but likewise to pass unnoticed in correcting the states.

It ought to be obferved here, that in many places the fenfe of the original appeared on the first reading defective, and feemed to require an infertion of words to complete it; but, on a more attentive perufal, and the proper placing of a stop, the seeming difficulty often vanished, and, allowing for the mode of expression then in use, acquitted the writer of any ambiguity.

Obfolete words explained.

Sharty

The obfolete words are continued, but the fenfe is expressed by modern words or phrases, in Italics between parentheses.

How well the editor has fucceeded in this plan, he leaves to the judgment of antiquaries to determine; he can only affure his readers, that he has endeavoured to be as correct, as gloffaries, dictionaries, &c. &c. would permit him.

XXIV

The

The original letters are often without either ftops Stops, &c. or breaks; this confuses the fense, and renders it obfcure to many, particularly to those who are not converfant in ancient writing; in the transcribed letters these defects are endeavoured to be amended.

The dates are fometimes, though feldom, fully ex- Dates defective. preffed in the letters, except in fome of those of particular writers, as fir John Faftolf, and fir John Pafton; the day of the month only, or the faint's name, to whom the day is dedicated, being generally all the date they have.

The editor has taken fome trouble to fupply thefe Endeavours defects, and to fix the exact dates of the letters from tain them. calendars, from fome fact mentioned, or other data in the letters themfelves, and by thefe means to place the different letters in chronological order. In this, his fuccefs has in a great meafure anfwered his own expectations, and he hopes those of his readers will not be difappointed; fince they may not be aware how much time and trouble the afcertaining of the date of a fingle letter has fometimes coft him.

It is proper here to obferve, that the date of the Year comyear is always fuppofed to commence on the 25th the 25th of day of March; and that the full dates are always placed at the end of the transcribed letters; where, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the editor, fome ftill remain uncertain as to the exact year, &c.

If any reader of this book fhould be able to afcertain thefe, or to correct any other miftakes or inaccu-VOL. I. racies,

ufed to afcer-

mences on March.

racies, he will confer an obligation on the editor by communicating his remarks.

Spelling unfettled. There appears to have been no general rule for fpelling at this time; but it feems, as if found and the humour of the writer alone directed it.

In a letter of fir John Pafton to his brother, dated 29th of September, 1471, 11 E. IV. (p. 80, vol. ii.) the word ground is fpelt three different ways in the fpace of two lines: "what hyght the arche is to "the gronde off the ilde and how hye the grounde "off the qwyr is hyer then the grownde of ye ilde."

Neither do the fpelling, the ftyle, nor the pronunciation (if we may judge of that from the fpelling) differ fo much from those of the present time, as might be reasonably expected; and the spelling alone of those letters, written by perfons who had been educated by the religious, or in the families of the great, would have given sufficient reason for the supposition, that the ingenious poems, published a few years ago under the name of Rowley, were spurious, if at this time any doubt remained concerning them.

Anecdotes before known. Some of thefe letters may be thought to contain no anecdotes worth preferving, or only fuch as are already known; the latter it is acknowledged will be often the cafe; but then we fhall become acquainted with the epiftolary and familiar ftyle of an age, of which no fpecimens of this kind were known to exift; and from the contents often form a better judgment of the character

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character and abilities of the writer, than from any accounts our historians have given of him.

The editor is likewife confcious, though in many Different reaof the letters there may be fome one anecdote worthy different fenof curiofity, yet that the reader may confider the remainder as of no confequence; this may fometimes be the cafe with that particular reader, when others from the fame letter may receive fuch information relative to the manners, &c. of the times, as will not only pleafe, but fatisfy them.

Others of these letters, containing no particular flate National anecdotes, may by many be confidered as not of manners. fufficient confequence for publication; the editor however will hope, that thefe very letters may have their value, as containing fome traces of national manners, more characteriftic of this unenlightened period than pages of historical declamation.

Some of them are inferted as differing in flyle, in fpelling, &c. from others of the fame reign; and many of them will give us a better opinion of the mode of education then practifed than we have been taught to conceive, or are willing to allow.

The editor has fometimes found great difficulty in Editor's judging what letter or part of a letter to omit, when difficulty. he has thought it of no confequence, either as being historical, or as delineating any feature of the times; confidering, that though it might not appear to him to convey any information, yet that it might be ufeful to other antiquaries in their particular inveftigations.

C 2

When

ders have timents.

XXVII

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When any letter or any part of a letter, therefore, appears trifling, he hopes this confession will entitle him to the reader's indulgence.

Specimens of poetry. The editor has likewife inferted in this collection two pieces of poetry of the times here treated of; the firft is a letter in verfe to Sir John Pafton (Letter * LXXVII. vol. ii. p. 234); the other contains verfes by a lady to an abfent nobleman, who had gained her affections. (Appendix, VII. vol. ii. p. 304.) Neither of thefe are given as having either matter or information of much confequence, but merely as fpecimens of epiftolary verfes; they have each however fome merit, and deferve a place in a work of this kind.

Historical information.

Whenever the accounts in thefe letters agree with our hiftory, they confirm the truth of it; where they differ, they certainly give the report of the time; and if the relator be, either from his fituation or connexions, likely to have authentic intelligence, deferve our credit.

How far they fhall command it, every reader is left to judge for himfelf.

They contain many private anecdotes of perfons, places, and things, then perhaps beneath the dignity of hiftory to transmit to posterity, as common occurrences of the times; but with these, the taste, which at prefent prevails for every information concerning the transactions of former ages, will not be displeased.

Scenes of private life, accounts of private perfons, and what the cuftoms of the age then made familiar, are

Private anecdotes. are now become, by the lapfe of time, matters of curiofity, and claim our attention.

The letters of the nobles are generally written by Noblemen's their fecretaries, and figned only by the peer himfelf, ten by fethough in feveral the conclusion, and a fentence or cretaries; two at the end, are added by the pen of the nobleman.

The fpelling and ftyle of thefe letters vary ftill lefs who were from the modern than those of others of the fame education. period; from which we may conclude, that thefe fecretaries were perfons of education, trained up in the families of the great, or brought up by the churchmen; many of them doubtlefs being churchmen themfelves, or belonging to fome religious fociety.

The hand-writing likewife of these fecretaries is generally fair and good.

Perhaps fome of the readers of this book may ob- Authorities. ject to the omiffion of authorities, refpecting the the notes notes which are given to the letters.

The editor acknowledges the omiffion; but as he fuppofes that most of those, who will read his book, will be fuch as are already converfant in the Hiftory of England; the conftant repetition of Hollingshed, Stowe, Speed, Rapin, &c. &c. to fuch, would be difgufting, especially as the notes contain chiefly matters of fact; neceffary to explain the text; but, when hinted, familiar to every perfon who has made hiftory his fludy: Blome field's The fame reafon will acquit the editor to the genealogift, refpecting births, marriages, and deaths. But

letters writ-

respecting omitted, and why ..

DOD:1

XXIX

But where at any time he has had occasion to differ, either from the historian or genealogist, he has quoted his author, &c.

Notes, &c. fhort. The editor could eafily have both multiplied and lengthened his notes, if he had fuppofed it would have been agreeable; but, as he wifhed in matters of doubt to leave the folution to the judgment of his readers rather than obtrude his own opinion, he has often been cautious of advancing it; and has therefore made his obfervations as concife as poffible, his intention conflantly being, only to remind the antiquary and hiftorian as to the fact, perfon, &c. and to fhew thofe who are not fo well verfed in hiftorical reading, that fuch tranfactions have happened, and that fuch perfons have lived, &c. by which means, if they have any curiofity for farther information, they may fatisfy it by recurring to our beft hiftorians.

The notes fometimes mention the fame perfon more than once, but, as they are generally very fhort, this was thought better than referring the reader from page to page, and from letter to letter.

Paston Pagdiree.

Aussering

Blomefield's Norfolk. The pedigree of the Pafton family will exhibit fuch an account of the feveral perfons, who are either the writers, or the receivers, &c. of any of the letters here inferted, that a reference to that will always fhew the connexions of the particular perfon, of whom any information may be required. And if the reader be defirous of receiving fuller accounts than what are here given, of fuch perfons mentioned in the following work,

work, as are defcended from families which have flourished in the county of Norfolk, he is referred to " Blomefield's Effay towards a Topographical Hiftory of the county of Norfolk," in five volumes folio.

The editor hopes that the care and expence em- Autographs, ployed in having all the autographs, * paper-marks, and feals and feals engraved, will be more than compensated engraved. by the fatisfaction the reader will receive, from viewing an exact fac fimile of the various hand-writings of the different perfons, whofe correspondence forms the enfuing volumes, and from feeing not only the marks which authenticate the age of the paper on which the letters are written, but likewife the feals of the writers themfelves.

The autographs and paper-marks are to be found References to throughout the book, by examining the plate and find them. number referred to in the notes, &c.

A lift of the plates and numbers, referring back to Lift. the feveral letters, whofe autographs and paper-marks are engraved, is likewife added.

This lift is preceded by a catalogue, wherein all Catalogue. the letters, with their dates, autographs, and papermarks are chronologically arranged.

On Plate v1. Nº 31, the editor has given a fpecimen Arabic of the Arabic figures then in use; and likewife at Nº 32, the points or ftops which he has observed, in Points.

· The engraving and defcribing of the paper-marks may be a means of afcertaining the dates of many old writings, by comparing the marks on the paper with those here given.

many

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many of the different letters, fometimes used, though with no great precision: the first is used as a comma; the second and third for a longer pause; and the other four, by different writers, as periods.

Editor's apology.

The reader is defired to keep in mind the difadvantages arifing to the editor from his diftance, not only from the public libraries of this kingdom, but likewife from any confiderable private collection of books. His refearches have been confined almost entirely to fuch books and MSS. as his own library has furnished him with; had he refided in a place, where accefs to the well furnished shelves of either public focieties, or private collectors had been within his reach, he could most undoubtedly have illustrated fome of the following letters more to his own fatisfaction, and to that of his reader. He affures the latter, however, that no acquisitions within his power have been neglected; and he is willing to hope, that though the antiquary and historian may doubt his abilities, they may still commend that industry and application which he has ufed, in endeavouring to make these curious letters more worthy their inspection.

Thanks returned.

CINCE C

Having now given the reader every neceffary information, it only remains for the editor to return thanks, in this public manner, for the affiftance, which he has received from the honourable HORACE WALPOLE, the reverend fir JOHN * CULLUM, bart.

* The editor fincerely laments that thefe thanks now remain only as a teftimony of refpect, to the memory of his late learned and ingenious friend, who died on Sunday the 9th day of October, 1785. Æt. 53.

and

XXXII

and EDWARD KING, efq. men who are fo well known in the world of literature, that their names (whenever they are permitted to be ufed) will ftamp a value upon any work, which they may honour with their approbation.

Should therefore these volumes, thus bonoured, Conclusion. meet with any degree of public favour, the editor will think himself most amply repaid for the care and attention, which he has cheerfully employed in preparing them for the prefs.

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CON-

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