

the Col de Tenda was from 1388 (when the county of Nice came to Savoy) till 1860 (when the same county passed to France) the direct 'All Savoy' route from Cuneo to Nice, thus serving, like the Argentière, to connect Piedmont with one of its outlying possessions beyond the Alps. Note that in 1860 the upper and the middle reaches of the Roja valley became French, but *not* the lower portion of that valley—a political state of things which has greatly influenced the commercial geography of the lower Roja valley.

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*The Date and Authorship of Redmayne's 'Life of Henry V'*

IN the *Memorials of Henry V* published in the Rolls Series in 1858 there is a Latin *Life of Henry V*, by one Robert Redmayne, which is often quoted as of independent authority among the sixteenth-century chronicles of English history in the fifteenth century. The editor, Mr. C. A. Cole, in the Preface<sup>1</sup> was unable to give any information about the author except that which is contained in the dedication, which begins, 'Honoratissimo et illustrissimo domino Hastings, Huntingtoniæ Comiti, domino suo optimo, Robertus Redmannus εὐπάρτευν,' and is signed at the end, 'Robert Redmayne.' To the identity of this earl of Huntingdon we have but one clue—the sentences in which Redmayne explains why he has dedicated the book to him.

'Impius essem', he writes,<sup>2</sup>

si apud me grati animi fidelis memoria non valeret, cum divina tua beneficentia, ac singularis quaedam nec unquam laudata satis benevolentia, tanta promerita in patrem meum contulerit; quem multis negotiis praeiecisti, dum in septentrionali regionis parte gubernacula tractares, et communione sanguinis mihi coniunctissimos per te ampliores esse voluisti. Hoc humanitatis tuae fuit, consulere eorum commodis et utilitati salutique communi servire.

From this Mr. Cole thinks<sup>3</sup> that

the conclusion may be safely arrived at that George Hastings, third Baron Hastings and [first] Earl of Huntingdon, is the person meant; and that allusion is made to the fact that in the year 1536 the Earl had held an appointment in the royal army as one of the King's Lieutenants against the Northern rebels, on the occasion of the formidable insurrection which attended the suppression of the monasteries. As, moreover, the Earl is recorded to have died in the year 1544, the writer may with equal safety be pronounced to have flourished towards the close of the reign of

<sup>1</sup> p. ix.

<sup>2</sup> p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> pp. ix-x.

Henry VIII and his work to have been composed between 1536, the period of the Earl's tenure of office in the north, and 1544, the year of that nobleman's death.

He also suggests in a footnote<sup>4</sup> that 'it is within the limits of possibility that this writer may have been the same Robert Redman who printed the Primer in English and Latin, in the year 1537,' better known, perhaps, as the printer of law books. Could this identification be made 'with safety', it would not only fix the date of the *Life*, since Robert Redman the printer died in 1540,<sup>5</sup> but it would also enhance its historical value; for although Hall's *Chronicle* was not published till 1542,<sup>6</sup> the form in which Redmayne relates the story of Prince Henry and the chief justice<sup>7</sup> and sets forth the arrangements made for the defence of the northern marches during the campaign of 1415 agrees almost verbally with Hall's.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, he embellishes his work quite in Hall's manner, with erudite speeches, full of allusions to Greek and Roman history and of misquotations or adaptations from the Latin poets, such as those attributed to Archbishop Chichele and the duke of Exeter during the alleged debate on the French war in 1414.<sup>9</sup> So close, indeed, is the resemblance between Redmayne's *Life* and Hall's *Chronicle* in these points that Mr. Kingsford,<sup>10</sup> in criticizing the *Life* as a literary curiosity of no value as history, expressly states that for the story of the prince and the chief justice, and the pretended debate, the writer was probably indebted to Elyot and Hall, thereby giving the priority of date to Hall. In this case, the printer could not be the writer of the *Life*, which would have to be assigned to the months between the appearance of Hall's *Chronicle*, in 1542, and the death of the first earl of Huntingdon, in 1544.

This date, however, depends on the identification of Redmayne's patron with the first earl of Huntingdon; and it may be asked whether his connexion with the government of the north was really such as could be described as *in septentrionali regionis parte gubernacula tractans*. It began in the first week of October 1536, when the duke of Suffolk was sent as the king's lieutenant against the commons of Lincolnshire, who had risen in rebellion on 30 September, and the earls of Shrewsbury, Rutland, and Huntingdon, and other lords and gentlemen having land thereabouts, were appointed to assist him.<sup>11</sup> The three earls were still at Nottingham waiting for the levies of the midland shires to

<sup>4</sup> p. ix.

<sup>5</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s. v.

<sup>6</sup> Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 281 n.

<sup>7</sup> p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> pp. 37-8; cf. Hall, p. 59. The chief difference lies in the addition of reviling of the Scots, such as would be natural in a north-country man.

<sup>9</sup> pp. 25 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>11</sup> *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xi, no. 651.

join them, when the king ordered them (15 October) to go into Yorkshire to aid Lord Darcy against the rising which had begun there on 30 September.<sup>12</sup> Three days later (18 October), Darcy being closely besieged in Pontefract, the duke of Norfolk was made the king's lieutenant in the north, with Shrewsbury, Rutland, and Huntingdon as his assistants.<sup>13</sup> At Doncaster, however, Norfolk found his passage barred by 40,000 men, who were prevented from overwhelming his force of 8,000 men only by the swollen state of the river making even the fords impassable. Norfolk gladly used the chance thus afforded him to treat with the rebels on 26 October; and four days later he was back at Grantham with his army and the men chosen by the northern lords and commons to lay their demands before the king himself.<sup>14</sup> Huntingdon of course accompanied his superior officer, and by 26 November he was at his own house at Ashby-de-la-Zouche.<sup>15</sup> Norfolk returned to the north in December to meet the rebels again at Doncaster and accept their terms in the king's name, and again in January 1537 he went to York to govern the north as the king's lieutenant with the help of the king's council in the north, but on neither occasion did any of the earls who had been with him in October accompany him.<sup>16</sup> Huntingdon, therefore, was in Yorkshire for not more than a fortnight, and during this time he was never north of Doncaster. Moreover, he was never the king's lieutenant, but merely an officer on the general's staff, and not the most important officer, for his name always ranks after those of Shrewsbury and Rutland in official letters. Clearly, in *septentrionali regionis parte gubernacula tractans* cannot describe the part played by the first earl of Huntingdon in the north.

It would, however, be a perfectly proper way of describing the position of his grandson, Henry Hastings, third earl of Huntingdon, who, as lord president of the council in the north from August 1572 to his death in December 1595,<sup>17</sup> had supreme authority, administrative and judicial, beyond the Trent for nearly a quarter of a century. As such, he was really in a position to entrust many affairs to Redmayne's father and to consult the interests of his kinsmen while serving the state. Equally appropriate to a noted puritan, whose care it was to stamp out recusancy and to further the cause of true religion, is the sentence preceding those already quoted from the dedication

*Te nihil vulgare unquam delectavit, cuius curae cogitationes evigilarunt, ne opinionum inanitas verae pietatis cultum deleteret, aut improborum scelus republicam, in cuius administratione praeclare te gesseris, dissiperet.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 715.<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 766.<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 909, 921.<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1171.<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1410; xii, pt. 2, no. 202 (2).<sup>17</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, Dom., Add. 1566-79, p. 424; Lansdowne MS., 79, no. 40.

Nor are there wanting indications in the *Life* itself that it was written, not in the last years of Henry VIII's reign, but in the second half of Elizabeth's. Mr. Cole himself remarked on the use of the word *Papistae* (p. 18), and pointed out that 'the mode in which it is employed—*greges Papistarum*—bears strong testimony, were any wanting, to the anti-romanist tendency of Redmayne's convictions'. That tendency, in fact, comes out very clearly in the treatment of Oldcastle's story,<sup>18</sup> in narrating which Redmayne, unlike Hall but like Foxe, shows admiration of the Lollards and hatred of those *nefarii et perditii homines*, the priests who brought him to his death. A man would not have been so bold as to write, so rash as to accept, a book upholding the Lollard leader who resisted all his sovereign's efforts to change his opinions, in the very years when the Statute of Six Articles was being enforced against all who would not accept the king as the keeper of their consciences. Things were different when Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*<sup>19</sup> had made Oldcastle a hero of the protestant cause, and the Elizabethan settlement had made it safe to avow anti-romanist views. It is also noteworthy that if the writer derived the story of Prince Henry and the chief justice from Elyot's *Governour*, the pretended debate on the French war and the arrangements for the defence of the northern marches from Hall's *Chronicle*, and his conception of Oldcastle from Foxe's *Martyrs*, he almost certainly derived from Walsingham, whose *Historia Anglicana* was first printed by Archbishop Parker in 1574,<sup>20</sup> his accounts of the storm at Henry V's coronation<sup>21</sup> and of the special charge brought against Oldcastle at St. Albans, of contempt for the Virgin and the Saints.<sup>22</sup>

The relationship of Redmayne's *Life* to these works, and notably to Walsingham's *Historia*, gives us 1574 as the year before which it could not have been written. In the same way the author's statement that his purpose was to rescue from oblivion and silence the fame of Henry V, which was then growing old, makes it unlikely that he began his work after the appearance of Holinshed's *Chronicle* in 1578.<sup>23</sup> Thus we are brought to 1574–8 as the time within which this *Life* was most likely written, the later date being more probable than the earlier, since Redmayne writes of Huntingdon's government of the north in a way that suggests that his presidency had already lasted for several years when the dedication was written.

The author, whoever he was, in spite of his erudition, was neither an antiquary nor a professed historian. Rather he was

<sup>18</sup> pp. 15 ff.

<sup>19</sup> First published in English in 1563.

<sup>21</sup> p. 12; cf. Walsingham *Hist. Anglic.* (Rolls Series), ii. 290.

<sup>23</sup> pp. 17–18; cf. Walsingham, ii. 326.

<sup>20</sup> Kingsford, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>22</sup> Kingsford, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

a man of affairs who found that 'the most honorable delight of leisure, when the mind is at rest from the wrangling of courts and the press of civic business, is to journey through all antiquity by reading'.<sup>24</sup> None, he thought, should be held worthy of praise who go to and fro in their own land as though wandering in a foreign country, ignorant of the great things that their ancestors have done at home and abroad.<sup>25</sup> For him history was an art rather than a science; and although he took pains to discover and record the facts, he would not have appreciated Stow's maxim: 'In histories the chief thing that is to be desired is truth.' Hence his work is, as Mr. Kingsford says, a literary curiosity rather than a history, nineteen, or nearly half, of its forty pages being given to speeches supposed to have been delivered on different occasions by Henry V, Oldcastle, Chichele, and others, all of which are obviously the work of the author himself, who displays in them his own scholarship, elegant and comparatively pure use of Latin, and wide acquaintance with the poets and philosophers of antiquity. It may have been that, as he says, he wished to rescue the fame of Henry V from oblivion and silence, but he also wished to prove himself a scholar, at once learned and elegant, worthy of the favour of an influential nobleman. In short, his *Life of Henry V* was probably just one of those compositions by which young and ambitious men then sought to gain the patronage of great nobles and men of affairs. It was by similar means that Sir John Ferne, secretary to the council in the north (1595-1609), first commended himself to the notice of Lord Sheffield,<sup>26</sup> and through him to that of the Cecils, whose protégé he became;<sup>27</sup> and it is most likely that Robert Redmayne, having finished the course of study required for the career he had chosen, whether the church or the bar, wrote this *Life of Henry V* to show how well he had profited by it, and dedicated it to the lord president of the north, who had already shown favour to his father and kinsmen by employing them in public affairs there. If he thus sought advancement, he must have been either a common lawyer or a civilian, for it was only in connexion with the work of the council in the north as a court that the lord president now had any profitable offices to bestow.<sup>28</sup>

Was there, then, contemporary with the third earl of Huntingdon a Robert Redmayne with northern connexions whose university and legal training might justify him in hoping for employment in the north? There certainly was. Robert Redmayne, LL.D., commissary for the archdeaconry of Suffolk,

<sup>24</sup> p. 3.<sup>25</sup> p. 4.<sup>26</sup> By *The Blazon of Gentry*, 1578; Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, III. ii. 85.<sup>27</sup> State Papers, Dom., Eliz., ccliii, no. 80; *Hatfield Cal.* ix. 228-9.<sup>28</sup> State Papers, Dom., Add. Eliz., xxiii, no. 59; State Papers, Dom., Jac. I., cl, no. 28.

1586-8, and chancellor of Norwich, 1588-1625, belonged to a branch of the Redmans of Levens and Harewood that had settled in Lancashire, perhaps at Gressingham, or it may be at Ireby.<sup>29</sup> The Redmans, both of Yorkshire and of Lancashire, had played a part in the government of the north for over two hundred years; and at this very time at least three men connected with the Gressingham branch of the family were active in northern administration: John Redman of Fulford,<sup>30</sup> who as a justice of peace in the East Riding was often employed by the lord president in administrative work; his brother-in-law, William Robinson, who was Lord Mayor of York in 1581 and 1594;<sup>31</sup> and his cousin, Sir John Gibson, D.C.L., of Ireby, commissary to the chancellor of York, a judge of the prerogative court, and the civilian member of the council in the north, 1574-1613.<sup>32</sup> The little that we know of the chancellor tends to support the suggestion that he was the writer of the *Life*. His epitaph describes him in terms equally applicable to the author of the *Life*:

Nulli sui ordinis fuit secundus, omnium ornamentum; qua prudentiam, qua pietatem, eruditionis omnimodae varietatem, memoriae felicitatem, iudicii maturitatem, morum suavitatem, vitae integritatem, et in omni re gerenda mirandam dexteritatem, vir fuit spectatissimus.<sup>33</sup>

Again, it is, as Mr. Cole points out, 'remarkable that Redmayne is found, though a protestant, speaking in terms of reprobation rather than otherwise of the confiscation of ecclesiastical revenues proposed by the lollards in 1414.'<sup>34</sup> Yet approval of protestant doctrines and disapproval of the confiscation of ecclesiastical property would be equally natural in a civil lawyer with an ecclesiastical practice such as Dr. Redmayne must have had. Lastly, we have the evidence of the Latin motto with which the *Life* ends, *Sine sanguine nulla trophaea*, which is simply a translation of the motto of the Redmans of Harewood, *Sans sang nul victorie*, a translation, moreover, that the chancellor used as his

<sup>29</sup> Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, iii. 634, 638; cf. *The Genealogist*, xiii. 136. Redmayne's arms were, 1 and 4, Gules, 3 cushions ermine, tasselled or (Redman); 2, gules, a lion rampant arg. (Aldeburgh); 3, azure, a fess between 3 martlets (Aslaby; or perhaps Franke: see no. 44 on plate of arms in Harewood Church, facing p. 127 of W. Greenwood's *Redmans of Levens and Harewood*).

<sup>30</sup> Son and heir of Richard Redman of Gressingham, who died 12 June 1579. John's eldest son Matthew was born in 1578: Greenwood, *op. cit.*

<sup>31</sup> William Robinson, who died 1610, aged 82, married Isabel Redman, daughter of Richard Redman of Gressingham: *The Genealogist*, xxii. 176.

<sup>32</sup> State Papers, Dom., Add. Eliz., xxiii, no. 59; Pat. 7 Jac. I, p. 2. Sir John Gibson was the son of Thomas Gibson of Ireby and the daughter of — Redman of Gressingham. As Sir John's eldest son was born in 1575, his mother was probably Richard Redman's sister: *The Genealogist*, xxii. 36.

<sup>33</sup> Blomefield, *op. cit.*, x. 310.

<sup>34</sup> pp. xx, 25.

own motto.<sup>35</sup> It can hardly be believed that there were living at the same time two men of the same name with the same tastes and opinions and using the same motto.

This identification also agrees well enough with the date we have suggested for the *Life* (1574-8); for the chancellor was 74 when he died in 1625,<sup>36</sup> and so was twenty-three at the earliest possible date for the composition of the book, twenty-seven at the latest. It may be noticed in favour of the later date that Thomas Eynns, secretary to the council in the north from 1550 to 1578, died in August 1578,<sup>37</sup> and it may well have been with the hope of obtaining his place that Redmayne wrote the *Life*. If so, he was disappointed; for Eynns's successor was George Blythe, who had been acting as his deputy since 1574,<sup>38</sup> and as a matter of fact no Robert Redmayne ever held any office under the council in the north.

In connexion with this possible disappointment of the author's hopes of preferment at York, we may note that there is no evidence that the *Life* was ever printed, nor even that the manuscript was ever presented to the earl of Huntingdon. Certainly the only existing copy, now part of the Gale Collection of Manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, cannot have been intended for presentation to a patron. Mr. Cole describes<sup>39</sup> the manuscript, which is written in a hand of the close of the sixteenth or first quarter of the seventeenth century and very carelessly punctuated, as

a paper small octavo, sewed on parchment slips, and bound in a calf binding of the early part of the seventeenth century. It contains one hundred and thirty leaves, the first thirty-six of which are closely written upon both sides; at the end of which, there is an hiatus in the volume, some leaves which had been written upon having been torn out; and the marginal remains of the writing disclose a style of penmanship altogether different in character from that in the manuscript itself. The remainder of the leaves are blank.

There are also, although the manuscript does not reveal it, two gaps in the text itself, which passes abruptly from the midst of the siege of Harfleur to the field of Agincourt on the eve of the battle (p. 43), and from Henry V's marriage-treaty in 1420 to his dying speech in 1422 (p. 58). If the handwriting is not the author's, the gaps may be due to the copyist. If it is—a point that might be determined by comparison with authentic letters of his—the existence of these gaps, taken with the succinct treatment of the few facts narrated after 1415—the last six years of the reign

<sup>35</sup> Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii. 634; Greenwood, *op. cit.*, Plate of Harewood arms.

<sup>36</sup> Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii. 634.

<sup>37</sup> Pat. 4 Ed. VI, p. 5; Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 496; Harl. MS. 1088 fo. 29.

<sup>38</sup> Lansdowne MS. 18 fo. 196.

<sup>39</sup> pp. xxvii-xxviii.



being compressed into ten pages, of which three are given up to rhetorical speeches—suggests that Redmayne, when less than half-way through his task, gave it up, and contented himself with linking on to the part already finished the elegant speeches that he had prepared and was reluctant to destroy. In other words, the Trinity College manuscript may be, not a late copy of a lost original as Mr. Cole supposed, but the original itself.

The point is, however, of small importance, for if the *Life* was written so late as 1574–8, and in the circumstances here suggested, it is clearly of no value as a source for the history of England in the fifteenth century, in spite of its unique account of Sigismund's reception at Calais (p. 49),<sup>40</sup> and it should no longer be quoted as an authority, albeit a poor one, for the reign of Henry V. Nevertheless, it has a value of its own for students of later Tudor history, not only as an illustration of an educated Elizabethan's estimate of Henry V and Sir John Oldcastle twenty years before Shakespeare's genius fixed popular opinion, but also as an interesting attempt to reconcile the claims of the persecutor and the persecuted to equal admiration, since the one was becoming the hero of England's military greatness and the other was already the martyr of her earliest striving after religious freedom.

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### *The Privy Council Registers*

IN a short note on the *Lords' Journals* and the Privy Council Register, published in the April number of this Review, Professor Pollard suggested that the series of volumes of the Privy Council Register which Sir John Dasent printed are not originals, but merely copies from some lost original. This suggestion he based on the discovery in the *Lords' Journals* of entries of appearances before the privy council made on 11 and 12 October 1597; these two entries he supposes to be the only fragment preserved of the lost original, which, as he points out, could not have consisted merely of the rough notes of the clerks, for the appearances in the *Lords' Journals* distinctly state that they are 'here entered in the Register of Council'. What Mr. Pollard, then, would seem to imply is that the Privy Council Minutes passed through three stages before they reached the state in which we now possess them: first in the clerk's rough notes,

<sup>40</sup> It is not impossible that Redmayne may have derived this story partly from Walsingham's account of the coming of Henry and Sigismund to Calais after the latter's visit to England, and partly from the same source as he derived his statement that Henry V offered 1,000 marks of gold for Oldcastle's capture (p. 17) and his suggestion that he escaped from the Tower by bribing his guards (*ibid.*)—that is, his own imagination.