

The RICARDIAN HERALD

Connecting our global community



The magazine for the worldwide branches and groups of the Richard III Society



Photo: Stephan Potts

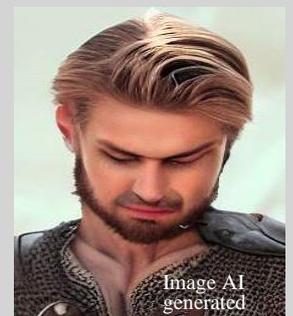
'Richard's finest moment'

When the Scottish Branch was founded in 1999 by Philippa Langley, research on the events of 1482 in Scotland began almost immediately.

The research is now online on the Richard III Society website. It is a culmination of work done by members of the Scottish Branch of the Richard III Society over several years. Scottish Branch researchers have challenged the traditional story of the 1482 invasion being an expensive failure. Story Pages 8 - 9



The American Branch has awarded major funding towards the study of a document related to Edward IV. Pages 3, 4.



Richard of Shrewsbury was who he said he was, argues NZ member Annette Parry. Pages 10 - 21

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MOVIE MAGIC

The American branch gained 34 new members, thanks to a major marketing drive in tandem with the release of *The Lost King*

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HENRY HAD A POINT!

Some monasteries were far from saintly

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OUT AND ABOUT

Branch & Group events for next quarter



Middleham Festival soon! Pages 6, 37 - 39

Coronation comments about Richard dismay

By Jane Trump

A warm welcome to the May edition of *The Ricardian Herald*! As I type I am still thinking of King Charles III's coronation last weekend.

What a day that was! I am sure many of you watched it and would agree that it was a day of real contrasts – superb pageantry and spectacle plus the solemnity and really moving moments in the coronation service itself. From Charles' face, you could see that it was all so important to him, as a man of faith and it was obvious that he took his Coronation Oath extremely seriously. This made me make think of Richard III and his coronation. We know that it was very well attended by nearly all the nobility and we can only guess at the pageantry and spectacle the Londoners would have enjoyed that day but also we know that Richard was a man of great faith who took his Coronation Oath extremely seriously – indeed he was the first king to take the oath in English so that everyone understood exactly what he was promising to God and his subjects. However, not everyone is happy to make this comparison. I watched the coronation proceedings on ITV and was dismayed by Tom Bradby's comment when talking with Adjoa Andoh, the actress and director, about her new production of Shakespeare's *Richard III*. He said: 'Let's not make comparison...', implying (to me at least) that it would be inappropriate to compare King Charles' coronation with that of the wicked Richard III. I was also expecting Adjoa to make some comment back in Richard's favour but very sadly she didn't. Unfortunately it would seem that we still have a lot of work to do to educate people about the real



Richard. Summer is nearly here for some of us (although, given the weather in the UK, you could be forgiven for doubting it) and for others the winter is drawing in. Both have their merits.

Time to get out and go on all those trips which are so informative but can also be so much fun and for those approaching winter, time to meet up together or to share Zoom meetings. Whatever you are planning, do please share photos with the community via *The Herald*. We would love to get an 'album' going! Looking ahead to 2024, I know it isn't always easy thinking of ways to celebrate on 6 July (or at other times of next year if you are thinking about more celebrations) so please do use *The Herald* for sharing ideas or asking for ideas. It is a great vehicle for the community to communicate and support each other.

I hope you enjoy this May Edition. Sue and I are delighted to include research articles in this second edition. So much valuable research has been and continues to be carried out by members of the B&G community and we are keen for it to be shared with the wider community. Please do share any current research you may be conducting or dig out past articles. We would love to continue sharing them in future editions!

Jane Trump is Branches and Groups Liaison Officer

Grants awarded for innovative Edward IV Roll project.



The top of E201

The Richard III Society-American Branch is excited to announce that it has provided \$3,000 in funding to scholars at the University of Pennsylvania for the first phase of a multi-phase project to transcribe, translate, and digitally map the text of Free Library of Philadelphia Lewis MS E201, a 19-foot propaganda genealogy of Edward IV lavishly illustrated with portraits, roundels, heraldic banners, and the iconography of the principal lines of Yorkist descent.

Rolls such as E201 were a critical part of the Wars of the Roses as they were created to justify a hereditary claim to the English throne. Richard III surely would have been aware of them. This project is a continuation of the work on this manuscript funded

by the Branch in the late 1990s to conserve and prepare it for display at a 2001 exhibition, "Leaves of Gold: Treasures of Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Libraries." Because E201 is unique among the many propaganda genealogies of the Wars of the Roses for its wealth of iconography and its unconventional presentation, it can provide insights on how the Yorkist faction wished to present the validity of its claim to the throne and its marshaling of documentary (and mythological) evidence to support it. It can also shed new light on the networks of support, real or imagined, for the Yorkist cause. The project will be of considerable scholarly importance and can spark additional research, while at the same time making the document accessible and intelligible to the layperson as it will offer an English translation of its abbreviated Medieval Latin calligraphy. Using the Digital Mappa software, E201 will be divided into sections highlighting its major components and allowing users to access links to background information or to similar manuscripts. Excitingly, this will enable

anyone to compare this roll to other medieval rolls, as well as to learn more about the people, the images, and the text in it. The initial phase of the work will be supervised by Dr. Emily Steiner, Professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania who is a medieval specialist and trustee of the New Chaucer Society and Director of the International *Piers Plowman* Society. Three graduate students will transcribe and translate the manuscript. Dot Porter, Curator of Digital Research Services in the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies, will do the digital mapping. She will be assisted by members of the American Branch, including its former board member Laura Blanchard.

To learn more about Digital Mappa, go to this link: <https://schoenberginstitute.org/dm-tools-for-digital-annotation-and-linking/>

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The Lost King membership drive finds 34 new Ricardians

By Wayne Ingalls

From late March to early April 2023, *The Lost King* movie was scheduled through IFC Films to be shown in numerous theaters, both large and small, across the United States. Our board decided to take advantage of the publicity surrounding the movie with the goal of attracting new members and keeping our current members energized. Our TixPix (“ticket picture”) campaign was primarily conducted via our Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/r3dotorg> We also notified our members of the campaign by an email blast (as we recognize not all of our members are on Facebook).

Our pre-campaign began with a Facebook post on March 1 announcing that *The Lost King* would be showing in theaters much more widely than we expected, and the post included a link to the website Fandango.com. That website enables individuals to search in their own areas for theaters, dates and times of movie screenings. We “boosted” that post for \$19 over seven days. “Boosting” is the Facebook term for an ad campaign, with our Facebook post being the ad shown. This pre-campaign seemed to generate interest, reaching more than 1,800 individuals (some more than once), appearing nearly 2,500 times overall (termed post “impressions”). Post “engagement” was 177, meaning 177 people did something with the post (such as “clicked” on it).

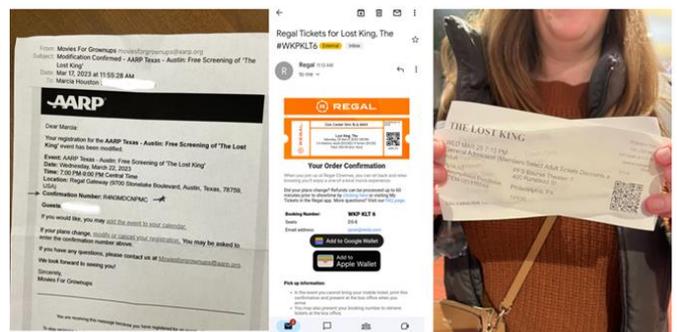
Our actual TixPix Campaign started a few days before the movie was in theaters and ran until a week after the movie was out of theaters. We “boosted” this post for \$35, netting 9,260 post impressions, a post reach of 8,406, with a post engagement of 877. The post also generated 120 “likes” or “loves” and more than 100 comments. Here is a link to our Facebook post announcing the campaign: <https://tinyurl.com/22epcst9>.

The TixPix Campaign offered an opportunity to win a free annual membership in the American Branch (which includes membership in the Richard III Society, CLG in the UK). Entrants were instructed to post a picture of their theater ticket to that Facebook post in order to enter into the drawing. Current members could do the same in order to win a free one-year extension to their membership. All non-member entrants could also attend one of two “members only” Zoom talks – the first by Sally Keil - *Archaeological Discovery and Reinterment of the Remains of King Richard III of England* in the midst of the campaign (March 26), or the upcoming Zoom talk by Dr. Compton Reeves *Labor & Leisure in Medieval Old Age* scheduled for June 25. We had 77 entrants, split about evenly between members and non-members. The campaign ended on Friday, April 7. On Monday, April 10, we selected the winners of the TixPix campaign by a random drawing. We awarded two free new memberships - Melissa Klick and Marcia Houston - and extended one current membership - Janet O’Donnell- for an additional year.

We followed up the TixPix Campaign with a free Zoom talk led by our Chair, Susan Troxell: *You’ve Seen The Lost King. Now What? Is There Really Such a Thing as the Richard III Society?* Spoiler alert: Yes, there really is such



Enthusiastic American Ricardians attend a screening in Philadelphia, March 2023. American Branch Chair Susan Troxell is pictured second from right.



Movie tickets that won new memberships for Marcia Houston, left, and Melissa Klick, right. Janet O’Donnell’s ticket, centre, won her a year’s extension to her current membership.

a thing! We announced this Zoom talk via our Facebook page and also “boosted” that post. We had about 70 people registered to attend via Zoom, but only 40 or so attended on the day of the talk. A lesson-learned is to send out a reminder email for those who registered. The

talk lasted about 90 minutes, and is now posted to our new YouTube channel <https://www.youtube.com/@RichardIIISocietyAmericanBranch> - yes, there is no "h" on the end as apparently there is a limit to the number of characters for a YouTube channel name - as a publicly available video. We have Sally Keil's Zoom talk as well as talks from our 2022 American Branch GMM posted on the YouTube channel as "unlisted" videos available only to American Branch members via a link visible in the members section of our website (R3.org).



Eventual TixPix winner, Melissa Klick, right, celebrates with member Deb Troxell, left, and Julia De Mello.

We think the results of the American Branch TixPix Campaign have been quite impressive. Since our first boosted Facebook post, membership has grown by 9.5%, an increase of 34 new members (of course, two of those are non-paying members for their first year). The cost of the advertising via Facebook was \$98.99.

Now that *The Lost King* is streaming - for a purchase price - in the United States, we are considering ways to continue the "buzz." One idea we are considering is having a "watch party" when the movie is available to both rent and buy on the streaming market. We are also considering writing a series of blog posts on our website or Facebook posts on our page with subjects such as: *Yes We're Real: What does the Richard III Society Actually Do?*

Overall, the TixPix Campaign has brought a significant amount of excitement and energy to the American Branch.

Wayne Ingalls is American Branch Membership Chair and Public Relations Officer

LIVING HISTORY

The Middleham Amicorum Living History Group will feature at the upcoming Middleham Festival, in July. Turn to Pages 37, 38 and 39 for more information.



Possible future Ricardian honoured

Fifteen-year-old Jamie White from Guiseley West Yorkshire was the under-18 winner of the Harry Gratton History Prize - held by the Yorkshire Society Heritage Guardians - and was presented with his Certificate and Prize by Professor Tim Thornton, University of Huddersfield, at the Yorkshire Heritage Event on the May 18. Jamie's winning essay was concerned with the Romans in Yorkshire, but as he has an avid interest in all aspects of history Dr Alison Harrop – Yorkshire Branch *Blanc Sanglier* Editor & Harry Gratton History Prize Judge - invited him to the Yorkshire Branch of the Richard III Society stall, where author Alex Marchant presented him with a signed copy of the first two volumes of her *Order of the Boar* tetralogy. Dr Alison Harrop also presented Jamie with two copies of *Blanc Sanglier* and a Yorkshire Branch application form. Jamie wants to read History at university eventually so we may have a future academic - and possible Ricardian! - in the making.



Author Alex Marchant presented Jamie White with a signed copy of the first two volumes of her *Order of the Boar* tetralogy.

Richard shines at UNESCO event

Yorkshire Branch treasurer Graham Mitchell and Yorkshire Branch *Blanc Sanglier* and newsletter editor Dr Alison Harrop are pictured at a Yorkshire Branch stall. The event was the Yorkshire Society Heritage Guardians' Day at the UNESCO World Heritage Site, in Saltaire, West Yorkshire, in May.

Photo by Alex Marchant.



Evidence is always partial. Facts are not truth, though they are part of it – information is not knowledge. And history is not the past – it is the method we have evolved of organising our ignorance of the past. It's the record of what's left on the record. (Hilary Mantel 2017)

'Richard's finest hour'



Blackness Castle in the Firth of Forth. In June 1481, John Howard commanded the naval attack on the Firth of Forth when the larger ships in the Scottish fleet at Kinghorn and Leith were captured and the smaller ships at Blackness were burnt. Photo: Stephan Potts.

By Sandra Pendlington

The 1482 invasion of Scotland by an English army led by Richard, duke of Gloucester, is a good example of what Mantel was talking about. There are scraps of contemporary evidence. Stitching those scraps together to make a coherent story that fits the terrain and considers what else was happening at the time is not easy. How do we 'fill in the gaps' in the evidence? When the Scottish

To access the full research article:
<https://richardiii.net/.../the-anglo-scottish-war-1482/>

Branch was founded in 1999 by Philippa Langley, research on the events of 1482 began almost immediately. The research is now online on the Richard III Society website. It is a culmination of work done by members of the Scottish Branch of the Richard III Society over several years. The late Patricia Payne, who lived in the 1482 invasion area,



Lennoxlove House. In 1482 it was Lethington Castle. In July 1482, Richard and his army camped at Lethington Castle after crossing the Lammermuir Hills. Negotiations with the Scottish nobles took place here before the entry into Edinburgh. Photo: Mhairi Macleod

and myself, who lives in Dumfriesshire where the large 1482 raid took place, led the research and other members contributed to it. As far as we know, it is the first detailed account that deals solely with the war and differs significantly from the accounts given in histories and biographies of Richard III in some important ways, including a different timeline. There is a paucity of contemporary records and even fewer exact timings, therefore interpretation has been needed to achieve a complete account. Patricia and Sandra's knowledge of the terrain was important when deciding what was feasible. As Ricardians we are used to Richard's actions being portrayed as Machiavellian. Our reassessment of records, such as Hall's Chronicle and the lists of knighting ceremonies, has shown that there are omissions and misinterpretations including incorrect dating and descriptions of the routes the armies took. Scottish Branch researchers have challenged the traditional story of the 1482 invasion being an expensive failure. The story, and the hand drawn maps, show that Richard did not order his men to use a 'scorched earth' policy in the invasion, something he is also accused of.

SCOTTISH BRANCH RESEARCHERS HAVE CHALLENGED THE TRADITIONAL STORY OF THE 1482 INVASION BEING AN EXPENSIVE FAILURE. THE STORY, AND THE HAND DRAWN MAPS, SHOW THAT RICHARD DID NOT ORDER HIS MEN TO USE A 'SCORCHED EARTH' POLICY IN THE INVASION, SOMETHING HE IS ALSO ACCUSED OF.

It could even be said that his leadership of the 1482 invasion was Richard's finest hour.

He was 'the one'

Annette Parry argues that 'Perkin Warbeck' was exactly who he said he was: Richard of Shrewsbury, the younger of the princes in the Tower.

This article will be in three parts, one about Richard of Shrewsbury, one about Perkin Warbeck and the last blending these together. Well, that's the idea. The talk isn't a "what happened to the so-called princes" - murder or natural death or both; neither was murdered but they were split up for safety or Edward V dying at Stoke - that's another talk on its own – this is just about Richard of Shrewsbury.

Richard, the second son of Edward IV and Elizabeth Wydville, was born at the Dominican Friary, Shrewsbury on (Alison Weir says 'probably') August 17, 1473. He was created Duke of York on May 8 or 28, 1474, a knight of the Bath April 18, 1475, and a knight of the Garter on May 15, 1475 along with the Prince of Wales. He was also Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1479, reinvested for 12 years from 1480, and held the Mowbray titles. More about this later. He lost all titles after his family's bastardization due to an Act of Parliament June 26, 1483. He was granted lands in 1475, formerly belonging to the Willoughby and Wells families, and under Edward IV's 1475 will, the king wanted to create an appendage based on the duchy of York with the lordship of Fotheringhay, Stamford and Grantham. Some former duchy of Lancaster properties were to



Image AI generated

be added, but taking over the Norfolk lands gave the king a better opportunity to provide for Richard without alienating "crown" lands. He married Anne Mowbray, Duchess of Norfolk at St Stephen chapel, Westminster palace, on January 14, 1478; James Goldwell, Bishop of Norwich officiated. The papal dispensation, granted by Sixtus IV on May 12, 1477 was needed as they were both too young to consent, and were related within the 3rd and 4th degree - Cecily, Duchess of York, was Richard's grandmother and her sister was Catherine, Duchess of Norfolk, Anne's great-grandmother. Both were also descended from Edward I, Richard from his first queen, and Anne from his second. Twenty-four knights of the Bath were created on January 18, and a series of jousts and tournaments were held over the next few days. Elizabeth Talbot, Anne's mother,

made two demands of the king to agree to the marriage of her daughter with the Duke – an adequate dower and the disinheritance of William, Lord Berkley, who had opposed the Talbots over the Lisle barony (Wilkinson). Berkley surrendered his rights with his debts of £34,000 all paid and a viscounty. John Howard received nothing for his disinheritance. The January 1478 Parliament gave the Duke of York a life interest in his wife's estates, even if she were to die childless.

John Mowbray was Duke and Earl of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, Earl of Warenne and Surrey, Earl of Nottingham, Baron Mowbray and Baron Seagrave. In default of a direct male heir, (Wilkinson says that) any title above Baron reverted to the Crown so the titles of Duke of Norfolk and Earls Marshall, Surrey, Warenne and Nottingham were in abeyance until the king decide to grant them again. Which he did: to the Duke of York who became Earl of Nottingham on June 12, 1476, then Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Warenne on February 7, 1477, in anticipation of the wedding, confirmed by Parliament in January 1478. Edward IV confirmed his life interest after Anne's death in a second Act of Parliament in 1483. Richard, Duke of York, was Duke of Norfolk of the second creation.

Edward IV was just following precedent in creating an appropriate landed income for a younger son without alienating Crown lands – for instance John of Gaunt to Blanche of Lancaster, Thomas of Woodstock to Eleanor de Bohun and Clarence and Gloucester's marriages to the Warwick heiresses.

The difference was that Edward insisted that his son would have a life interest in her lands even after Anne Mowbray's death without a child. This does not give John Howard the motive to murder Richard and his older brother. As her mother and grandmother still had dowry rights, Howard's share in 1483 was only 45 manors and not the title of Duke – Anne was heir to the baronies, but the dukedom and earldoms were in abeyance until the king regranted them, as he did to his son (Crawford). Richard's granting the Norfolk title to John Howard, the Surrey/Warenne title to his son and the Nottingham title to Berkley on June 28, 1483 did not assume that the previous holder was dead, just that the king had decided to regrant them, just as on July 19 he granted the title of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for three years to his son (Petre).



Image of Richard, Duke of York, at Canterbury Cathedral. The only 15th century image of the young Duke of York. Image courtesy johnashdownhill.com

We don't know much about Richard! Snippets of his life: We know that in 1480, Richard Duke of Norfolk founded a priory dedicated to St Pancras at Lewis, Sussex, on behalf of his Duchess. A Portuguese ambassador, meeting him in 1482, later described him as a "very noble little boy" who "sang very well" and was "very pretty and the most beautiful creature that" the ambassador had ever seen. The ambassador also saw the duke "playing very well with sticks and with a two-handed sword". He was the most important nobleman at the christening of Princess Bridget (when he was seven), on November 11, 1480, where he attended without his Duchess (Weir). He lived with his parents and sisters as part of the royal household. He would have met

his aunt the Duchess of Burgundy when she visited England in 1480. Edward IV granted Richard his own apartment (heated with 20 “shides” of tall wood, 8 faggots and 4 bundles of coal) and a grant of arms, and his badge was the Yorkist Falcon and Fetterlock but with the lock slightly open. The queen might have followed the daily regimen for the Duke as her brother was following for the Prince of Wales. In the 20th year of Edward IV’s reign (4/3/1480-3/3/1481), he received 1 ¼ yards of velvet and green cloth of gold to cover a saddle (April 28), 5 yards of black satin for a gown and 5 yards of purple velvet to line it, 5 yards of green satin for a gown and 2 yards of black silk to line it (June 2). He also received a mantle of blue velvet lined with white damask, and a sash of blue silk with gold buttons, and enough material for gowns of purple velvet, green velvet, green damask and white cloth on his 7th birthday.

John Ashdown-Hill’s blog talks about the images in Canterbury Cathedral, the Royal Window. There are other portraits of Edward V but this is supposed to be the only 15th century image of the young Duke of York. The window dates from about 1480 in its original form but it was mostly destroyed on December 13, 1643 by the iconoclast minister, Richard Culmer, wielding a pike “on the top of the citie ladder, near sixty steps high”, as he enthusiastically described the damage in Canterbury Cathedral’s *Newes* in 1644. In the 18th century, much of the stained glass in Canterbury Cathedral was moved around and the surviving glass showing Edward IV and his family was moved from the bottom of the window to a more central position, and more restoration was done from the 19th to the mid-20th centuries. John explains why the image of the sons of Edward IV are modern – the faces are made of modern glass and they are wearing closed crowns, which are worn by reigning monarchs, not princes, and they are of an 18th century style, not medieval.

Richard accompanied his mother and sisters into sanctuary at Westminster Abbey, after the failed Wydville coup, on May 1, 1483, and he joined Edward V in the Tower on June 16, and was seen with

him “shooting and playing in the gardens” in Mayor Shaa’s mayoralty, so between 1483 and 1484. They either ‘were withdrawn into the inner apartments of the Tower proper’, apartments located within the inmost Ward (Mancini) or they were initially in the king’s lodgings, after the Hastings affair, to be held more closely (*the Great Chronicle*). *The Great Chronicle* was written in the early 1500’s and is the source saying the boys were seen shooting and playing in the garden of the Tower. This garden has often been associated with the Bloody Tower, which had a garden adjacent and was known as the Garden Tower until at least 1532, but as it also was the entrance to the Tower’s Inner Ward it was a place of heavy traffic where it would be difficult to keep the boys watched closely. So, a better choice might be the Lanthorn Tower, which was a part of the royal residence at that time so is consistent with the statement that the boys were held within the King’s Lodging. This would have provided a very secure location, well away from the main flow of traffic in and out of the Tower, with a garden where a privileged few could still have seen them playing. (Maurer).

More says Richard was sick while in sanctuary so the queen used this as a reason not to let him join Edward V, but this could just be a ruse to emphasise Gloucester’s evil intentions, removing an ill child from his mother. John Wylie points out that the sweating sickness occurred in London from late 1485 (so was associated with Tudor’s invasion) but it was present in the north before that – Stanley excused himself from joining Richard as he thought he might have contracted it – so did Richard or Anne or their entourage bring it to London and pass it on to their nephews? That could be another reason as to why Richard was so cagey in dealing with rumours of the boys’ deaths – if he caused their illnesses. Rumours of York’s death are only in conjunction with that of his brother, and the hushed-up events of 1483, when Richard III was on progress, so could easily refer to a plot or a plan to remove the boys to a place of safety. Perkin’s story seems to back up a plot to kill the boys but what would a nine-year-old know, apart from

what he was told? and an adult would need to protect those still alive.

Now, Matthew Lewis explains clearly the meaning of “pretender” as applied to Lambert Simnel, Perkin Warbeck and even James III/VII and his son Bonnie Prince Charlie. **We** understand a “pretender” as someone “pretending”, playing a part. But in Henry VII’s time, the word, deriving from the French “pretender”, meaning “to claim” meant a claimant. Not an imposter. So, the Old Pretender, in the 18th century, meant James was a claimant, there were no implications that he wasn’t the son of James II. So “the blanket use of the term pretender for those who sought to depose Henry VII should therefore be taken in the same context. It does not imply they were not whom they claimed to be”, Matthew Lewis said.

Ian Arthurson gives a really clear version of Perkin’s backstory. He was born in the parish of St Jehan des Cauffours, on the east bank of the River Scheldt, in the city of Tournai. His grandfather Derek de Warbeck emigrated to Tournai from Bearne les Oudenaarde, and was a boat-builder, and he became a burgess of Tournai in 1429. His widow married the dean of the guild of boatmen after Derek’s death in 1474. Derek had three children – Noel, Jehanne and Jehan (Perkin’s father). Jehan inherited the title of burgess in 1474 and was later Comptroller of Tournai. Jehan had two illegitimate children and at least four children with his wife Nicaise– Thiroyan and Jehanne (who died of plague) and Perkin and another Jehanne. This sister and her husband were alive as late as 1517. When the widowed Nicaise sold her house in 1498, it was bought by a wealthy merchant, and her will was 60cm wide and 1m long when she died in 1513, so these people weren’t some sort of nobody. Perkin’s grandmother’s second marriage was to a receiver of Tournai; his mother married a comptroller of the city. Her dad was a minor civic official – keeper of the gates of St John. Perkin wasn’t a simple boatman’s son. He and his sister had tutors – Peter Flan and Adrien Carlier.

The confession, that Henry VII had distributed all over Europe, gives Perkin saying that his father was Jehan Osbeck. Maybe Henry thought “Osbeck” was close enough to “Warbeck” for people not to care, but surely the detail-loving Henry would be aware that the names were different. Did he really not care

We know of the people who knew Perkin well in Portugal: two royal household officers, two king’s councillors and the king himself

because he knew that the confession was a load of rubbish anyway? And if York did actually sign the confession, and we don’t know if he did because we don’t have a copy, was it just that he signed whatever he had to, so why would he care if neither name was correct anyway? The confession refers to Perkin’s mother as Catherine de Faro, rather than Nicaise, so again details were not the strong suit of those who wrote out the confession. Or maybe, York came up with the story, hoping it was seen as untrue, and using the name “Osbeck” was a pointer to the fact that it was a pack of lies.

Perkin was born around 1472-74. He was sent to Antwerp in Dec 1484, to learn Flemish, and stayed only six months due to the dreadful wars in the Low Counties – the Arthurson book goes into some detail – then went home for a year then back to Antwerp around June 1486. Before this, he boarded with his aunt and uncle Jehanne and Jehan Stalyn, maybe to learn the cloth trade. He fell ill in Antwerp, and recovered in October 1486, maybe ill of the plague that killed his siblings in Tournai. He missed several of the big cloth markets, due to his illness, but was sent to Bergen-op-Zoom and then to Middleburg to “learn the language” and boarded with another merchant, John Strewe, from Christmas ‘86 until May ‘87, when he was known to be with the Portuguese court. He had sailed to Portugal at Easter 1487, with Lady Brampton.

Sir Edward Brampton, whom Richard had sent to Portugal to negotiate the double marriage after Anne's death, had moved to Bruges in 1486 and was organising the payment of the last part of Infanta Leonora's dowry by King Joao (John) of Portugal to Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor, the father of Maximilian. So he was that well connected, not just some "Portuguese Jew" that Edward IV just happened to befriend.

We know of the people who knew Perkin well in Portugal: two royal household officers, two king's councillors and the king himself. He lived there a year and transferred his service from Vaz da Cunha (5th son of the Tristan da Cunha who explored the east coast of Africa in 1506) to that of Pregent Meno. His "confession" said that he wanted to see other countries and Meno traded a lot between Portugal and Flanders. He traded in silk, according to the confession, but the major Breton exports to Ireland were wine, iron and salt, and Ireland exported wool and hides, and some cloth. In Dec 1491, Meno and Warbeck docked in Cork.

The confession said that Warbeck modelled the silk, to attract customers. It goes on to say that a group "of the town" recognised him as Edward Earl of Warwick (they'd seen him in Dublin in 1487 at his coronation) but he denied this, swearing on the Gospel and the Cross in front of the mayor and others. Then a group, led by John Atwater, a former mayor, arrived and said that Perkin was Richard III's illegitimate son. Ian Arthurson's book is called *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy* and his whole thesis is how people set up to use Warbeck against Henry VII, so it gets very technical who these people were and how they were related politically and by family ties. So, he says that

maybe Meno had been conscripted, or set up his unsuspecting apprentice to arrive at Cork. There is evidence that Meno had contacts in Ireland (Henry VII made him constable of Carrickfergus castle and granted him £300 and customs rebates). I shall quote: "Warbeck denied Atwater's suggestion that he was Richard III's bastard, and took oaths on the Holy Evangelist and the Cross, again, that he was not a Plantagenet. Still, he was pursued and told not to be afraid but to take on the role; to take it upon him boldly. To persuade him to adopt the persona of Richard, Duke of York, Atwater and others told him that if he did so they would make rebellion against the King of England, and that they would have aid from the most powerful in Ireland: the Earls of Desmond and Kildare. At this point Warbeck gave in, and his imposture began. But it is one thing to act a role for a three-month rebellion, quite another to act the same role for eight years. How was this possible?"

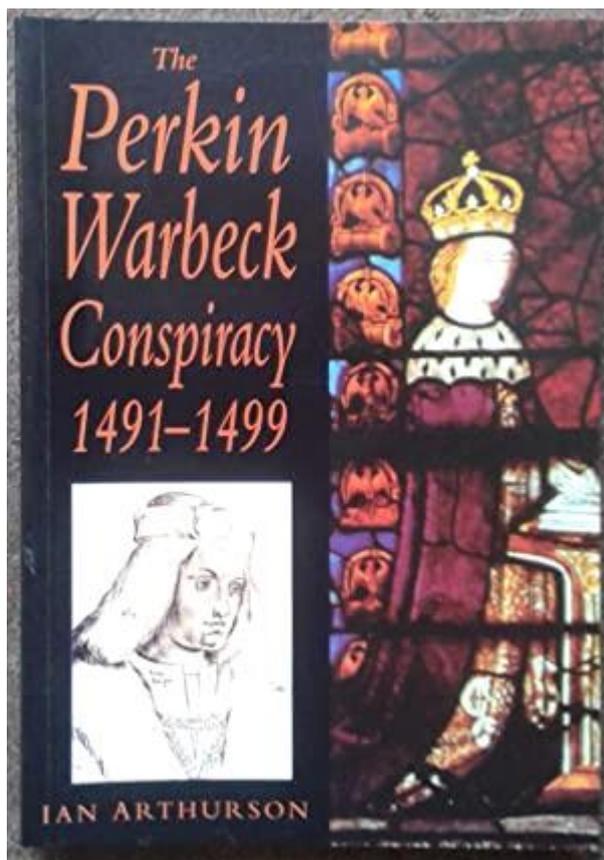


Image courtesy Abe Books

Because he was who he said he was! The book explains the rebellion in Ireland against Henry VII, and why they wanted a figurehead, but really – I think he answered his own question – this multilingual youth actually was who he said he was, not Edward Warwick or John Gloucester.

York spent Christmas 1491 in Munster, and sent out letters to Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy and James IV, explaining how he had escaped (this is from Margaret to Isabella of Castille in 1493)

"I myself, then nearly nine years of age, was also delivered to a certain lord to be killed but it pleased Divine Clemency, that that lord, having compassion on my innocence, preserved me alive and in safety; first, however, causing me to swear on the Holy Sacrament that to no one should I disclose my name, origin, or family, until a certain number of

years had passed. He then sent me abroad, with two persons, who should watch over and take charge of me; and thus I, an orphan, bereaved of my royal father and brother, an exile from my kingdom, and deprived of my country, inheritance and fortune, a fugitive and in the midst of extreme peril, led my miserable life, in fear, and weeping, and grief, and for the space of nearly eight years lay hid in divers promises. At length, one of those who had charge of me being dead, and the other returned to his country, and never afterwards seen, scarcely had I emerged from childhood alone and without means, I remained for a time in the kingdom of Portugal, and thence sailed to Ireland, where being recognised by the illustrious lords, the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, my cousins, as also by other noblemen of the island, I was received with great honour and joy”.

He was met in Ireland by Louis Lucas, one of Charles VIII's best naval commanders, to escort him to France. Lucas had dropped off Stephen Fryon, who had served the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, spying for Burgundy in England in the 1480's, and (if you believe Arthurson) turned Warbeck into York. York was greeted at Harfleur by Berault Stuart, Charles's chamberlain, and Charles was intending to use the duke as a bargaining chip against Henry to prevent Henry interfering in wars to keep Brittany independent. England and France were messily diplomatic, but under their Treaty of Etaples, in 1492, Charles agreed not to harbor rebels against Henry. One source from Paris said that it was feared that Charles would go further and hand York over to Henry, so York and his whole company duped the guard and fled to Flanders, arriving in Malines before December 12, 1492. So *Maximillian* had the chance to use York against Henry. Before April 1493, rumours at the French court were that Maximillian was intending to make York king of England, to marry him to Margaret of Austria and to make perpetual war on France. The signatories to Etaples were concerned that in mid-1493, an invasion on behalf of York was likely, first against England, then, later, France.

Margaret and Maximillian both believed that York was who he said he was, and that he had survived the Tower. She wrote to Isabella of Castile that she recognised him “not by one or two signs...but by so many particular signs that one man who has clues of this kind would scarcely be found among 10,000 individuals. Then I knew him from private conversations and acts which had taken place.” Margaret gave him a personal guard of 30 retainers in murrey and blue, and called him the White Rose, the Prince of England, and the Flemish nobility accepted her recognising him. This resurrected debate in England about Henry's right to the throne. Polydore Vergil says that this was due to a faction at court of diehard Yorkists feeling hard done by, but Ian Arthurson says it was also part of late medieval belief in a leader's coming back from the dead (like King Arthur, Edward II and, oddly, Edward VI – who was impersonated as late as 1581 then it was believed that he became king of Denmark and supplied corn to England, Wales and Ireland as famine relief). Henry believed that the situation was as serious as that in 1487 at Stoke. He prepared militarily as well as diplomatically by sending an embassy to Flanders. Philip the Fair was to be told that it was beyond doubt that Richard had perished along with his brother because it would have been stupid for King Richard to kill the older boy and spare the younger, who could rightfully claim the kingdom. Philip was also to be told who Perkin Warbeck was and to be reminded that Henry had helped him against the French-backed troops in the recent civil war. Warham, chosen for his oratory, then went further and insulted the Duchess of Burgundy by saying she regularly discovered nephews, pretending a few years before that Lambert Simnel was the son of the Duke of Clarence. Edmund Hall, later in Tudor times, alleged that the speech was even more insulting (saying that Perkin was her son by a bishop). Philip's council tried to avoid offending either Henry or Margaret, saying that Flanders wouldn't support York but that Margaret could do what she liked in her lands, including Dendermonde Castle, where her nephew was living. Henry imposed a trade embargo, which eventually lasted for three years. Arthurson

said that due to Henry's over-reacting to Charles, he caused Warbeck's being accepted as a legitimate duke in Flanders and caused Margaret to internationalise the situation and involve most crowned European heads, including the Pope. He uses the image of an imprudent gardener, pruning a branch and that causes more vigorous growth when that wasn't intended! He points out that, due to this, Henry brought the threat of civil war back in 1494-95 "a state caused by Henry's ever-harsher attempt to defeat its by-products: an aging dowager, a group of political zealots and the belief that peace was finally possible because Richard, Duke of York had survived the Tower of London". As history is written by the winners, we really have learnt to dismiss York, with his silly name "Perkin Warbeck" rather than see him as the threat that Henry certainly did. If Richard had won Bosworth, Henry Richmond would be even more of a footnote in history than York is to us.

The Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick III, died on August 19, 1493, and the Emperor-elect, his son Maximilian, invited York to attend the very public funeral in December, calling him King Edward's son. Maximilian believed that York was who he said he was, and York became a favoured courtier once they met in Vienna, acting as a go-between for the emperor and his new wife Bianca Maria Sforza, and likely to have been at their wedding. Maximilian also considered York as a husband for Margaret of Austria, after she was sent home from France after Charles VIII chose to marry Anne of Brittany. Maybe European leaders were supporting him for their own reasons, but they must have believed, like



Richard...laid siege to Waterford but, meeting resistance, fled to Scotland

Maximilian and Margaret, he was who he said he was to treat him as they did. An imposter could not have lasted so long. Henry created his second son Henry as Duke of York on November 1, 1494, to try and focus English loyalty on his house when he became aware of the depth of support for the House of York in England.

York did have support in England, and the fact that the Tudors won and we know what happened in 1499 colours our view. Some of his supporters included Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Montford, Sir Thomas Twaites (ex Chancellor of the exchequer), Sir William Stanley (Lord Chamberlain) and Sir Robert Clifford. Clifford, who had jousting at Richard's wedding to Anne Mowbray, and won one of the prizes, went over to mainland Europe and wrote back to his friends to confirm Warbeck's real identity as Prince Richard. Henry had them arrested and tried. Lord Fitzwater was sent as a prisoner to Calais and later beheaded for trying to bribe his gaolers. The most well-known was William Stanley, executed in January 1495. Clifford was pardoned and rewarded for naming names.

On July 3, 1495, funded by Margaret of Burgundy, Warbeck landed at Deal in Kent, hoping for a popular rising. They were confronted by locals loyal to Henry VII and Warbeck's small army was routed and 150 of the pretender's troops were killed without Warbeck even disembarking. He was forced to retreat almost immediately, this time to Ireland. There he found support from the Earl of Desmond, and laid siege to Waterford but, meeting resistance, he fled to Scotland. Henry pardoned Warbeck's Irish supporters, remarking drily that "I suppose they will

crown an ape next". Henry was more worried than he wanted to appear as this invasion was so similar to his own first attempt in October, 1483.

James IV was pleased to have York as his guest, to be able to put pressure on Henry. As Ferdinand and Isabella were negotiating an alliance with Henry VII, James IV knew that Spain would help him in his struggles with England in order to prevent the situation escalating into war with France. York married Lady Catherine Gordon, a daughter of the second Earl of Huntly. Mary Shelley, in the preface to her 1830 historical novel *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck* points out that "No-one would believe that James IV would have bestowed his near kinswoman in marriage to one who did not bear evident signs of being of royal blood". The marriage was celebrated in Edinburgh with a tournament, a bit like York's first wedding celebrations. Some commentators say that this showed that James didn't believe York was who he said he was, as Catherine would not have made a suitable Queen of England, but Joan Neville, similarly born, had become Queen of Scots. But there weren't that many alternative royal brides anyway – Spain and Portugal were marrying each other, France was involved with Brittany, and Maximilian's children had married into Spain.

In September 1496, James IV prepared to invade England. A spy for Henry assured him that the Scots could easily be defeated with a pincer movement. James and York prayed at Holyrood Abbey on September 14, and at St Triuana's Chapel and the Kirk of Our Lady at Restalrig the next day. They crossed the Tweed at Coldstream on September 21. The invasion had expected support from the north of England but received none, and left on the 25th when an English army approached from Newcastle.

The invasion, led by James and York, was supposed to attract English support for the Duke, with proclamations that no harm was meant to England or the English but Richard IV, the true king, was asserting his rights. Richard also explained that he had escaped from the Tower by God's might and was "secretly conveyed over the sea into other diverse countries there remaining certain years as

unknown". Henry VII was described as "our extreme and mortal enemy", who had "imagined, compassed and wrought all the subtle ways and means he could



York was declared Richard IV on Bodmin Moor and his army of 6,000 entered Exeter on September 17 ...

devise to our final destruction" and of "falsely surmised us to be a feigned person giving us nicknames so abusing your minds". Henry was also accused of harassing Richard's supporters to "forsake and leave our right wise quarrel and depart from our service". And Richard's sisters, his cousin Warwick's sister and "divers other ladies of the blood royal" had been forced to marry "kinsmen and friends (of Tudor) of simple and low degree".

When Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, received news of the invasion, on October 21, he wrote to his ambassador in Spain asking Ferdinand and Isabella to make a peace between Scotland and England. As no English uprising occurred to join the Scots, it became a border raid and York appealed to James to stop the rapes, burnings and general pillage that

accompanied a border raid between England and Scotland. James replied that it was a war and the Scots were taking what they considered their due. York, disgusted and shocked, returned to Edinburgh. James continued to support York in spite of his “being a wimp”, but they agreed that it was more appropriate if York could invade England from elsewhere, so, in July 1497, James provided a ship, the *Cuckoo*, and a hired captain and crew to take York and his family back to Ireland.



York laid siege to Waterford again, but fled the country after about 11 days, and landed in Whitesand Bay, just north of Land’s End in Cornwall, on September 7, 1497. The Cornish had risen against Henry about three months before, and York promised that he could stop the taxes Henry was levying to fight the Scottish war. York was declared Richard IV on Bodmin Moor and his army of 6,000 entered Exeter on September 17, which was defended by William Courtenay, Earl of Devon. Married to Catherine “of York”, Devon was Richard’s brother-in-law. The attackers lost about 200 men, withdrew and tried again the next day. Devon was reportedly injured and wrote to Henry that he had granted “Perkin” and his company six hours’ grace to leave on the condition that no-one from Exeter joined them. He justified this as he knew that Henry wanted Richard taken alive and that the city was in no condition to defend itself. So, if Henry knew

Richard...requested sanctuary but was “with the king” the day after Henry’s arrival on October 4...

Richard was a fraud, surely his death wasn’t a problem, and if Devon knew or was uncertain that York was who he said he was, he pulled his punches for his wife’s sake but could make things right with the king but could keep his options open if York succeeded, much as Stanley did at Bosworth. The invaders moved on to Taunton, but two days after arriving there, York panicked and deserted his army when he heard that Henry’s army was on its way, fleeing to Beaulieu Abbey on September 22, requesting sanctuary but was “with the king” the day after Henry’s arrival on October 4, Taunton. The rest of the Cornish army surrendered to him. The rebel leaders were executed and many others faced heavy fines. York was imprisoned in Taunton then taken to the Tower, and, according to

Tudor chroniclers, he was “paraded through the streets on horseback amid much hooting and derision of the citizens”. Maximillian made diplomatic attempts to free him as late as November and Margaret of Burgundy at least until September 1498. (*European Yorkist* 2/22). Richard offered to show three marks on his body that could confirm whom he claimed to be. Fellow Ricardian Lorraine has told me that her husband Ian’s ancestor Peche, married to one of Margaret Beaufort’s many nieces, had a grudge against Edward Brampton – a Portuguese godson of Edward IV - so “determinedly hunted Perkin Warbeck to his doom”. So, apart from the obvious, Henry/Richard IV issue, there are many other reasons why people wanted rid of him - personal grudges are often more of an issue than just “doing what the king wants”. And, of course, relatives in the female line are less noted by historians and often there are connections that we miss.

York confessed to being an imposter, which is the “confession” that we have with his backstory, but this might have been written by Henry’s staff even before he arrived in Cornwall. As his wife was also captured, maybe he was prepared to sign this, hoping to spare her and maybe even to be treated as Simnel was. After his lack of keenness for fighting in both the Scottish invasion and the Cornish “rebellion”, maybe he wasn’t physically brave. Having been beaten up, especially in the face, and then threatened, maybe he was happy to agree to something that wasn’t true in return for his life. How could he learn English well enough to fool Englishmen and the Anglo-Irish if he was “forced” to learn it within six months as per the confession? Richard was also forced to write to Perkin’s mother and, oddly, her name in the confession is Katherine de Faro and in the letter is Catherine Warbecque: Osbeck in the confession is now Warbeque and Piers is now Perkin. Even allowing for odd medieval spellings and the “foreignness” of the names, that’s odd. Almost as if Henry’s staff didn’t care about keeping the story straight even a few days apart, just to discredit “Perkin” but no real care how.

The Missing Princes Project is producing new research. Philippa Langley’s article in the June 2021 *Ricardian Bulletin* gave more examples of Henry’s staff’s more poor editing. Even Polydore Vergil’s account of “Peter Warbeck”, discussing “Peter’s” time in Scotland says “if he were restored to the kingdom”....why “restore” someone who was supposed to be a commoner born in Tournai?

So, Richard was branded as the imposter Perkin. He arrived in London on November 28, 1497, paraded through the streets, and was “accommodated” at court. He was kept under guard and not allowed to sleep with his wife, who was living with her sister-in-law the queen. Maybe the fire at Sheen on December 21, 1497 might have been started on Henry’s instruction to provide a cover for Richard to escape as an excuse to deal with him once and for all (Kleyn). York did try to escape on June 9, 1498, and was away for about three days (Thomas Penn says one day) and was recaptured and placed back in the Tower on June 15. His gaolers, William Smith and

York did try to escape on June 9, 1498, and was away for about three days

James Braybroke, were not punished for his escape. Henry appeared too uninterested to be credible so again it seems that he was being permitted to escape so Henry could punish him “properly”. He was placed in the stocks for several hours on several days. Ferdinand and Isabella did not want their daughter Catherine going to England with a claimant to the throne about. Henry assured them that Richard was imprisoned more securely. But he was still not executed. So, there must have been a reason why Henry pulled his punches there. Maybe Elizabeth was the reason?

In the Tower, he was held in solitary confinement next to his cousin, the earl of Warwick. In 1499, they apparently tried to escape. Again, it looks as if Henry was trying to refocus attention on “plots” so he had an excuse to rid himself of better claimants to his

throne. And there is no evidence that Warwick was subnormal but he had been in the Tower since Bosworth, so was unlikely to be trying this off his own bat. On November 16, 1499, “Perkin” and three others were tried at Westminster, accused of attempting to escape from the Tower. All four were convicted and sentenced to die by hanging, drawing and quartering. Henry commuted Richard’s death to simple hanging, and you have to ask why – maybe thanks to Elizabeth. York, as a commoner “Perkin Warbeck” was drawn from the Tower to Tyburn on November 23 and hanged, after reading out a confession, again not genuine remorse but to protect his wife (and maybe a child?) He was buried in Austin Friars, London, and it is presumed that he is still there, in an unmarked grave at the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, which was bombed in 1940 and rebuilt in the 1950’s. He joined Edward, the son of the Black Prince, John de Vere, 12th Earl of Oxford, his son Aubrey, many of the high-ranking dead after the battle of Barnet and later was joined by the 3rd duke of Buckingham. Warwick was tried by his peers, including Oxford, Buckingham, Northumberland, Kent, Surrey and Essex, and was beheaded at the Tower on November 28, 1499. Catherine of Aragon always thought that her marriage was cursed as it came about through the death of Warwick, the price the Spanish monarchs paid for their daughter’s security as future queen.

I am going to quote from the last page (206) of the Matthew Lewis book. Interestingly, the Spanish might have referred to “Perkin” in public, but de Puebla used a cipher in communicating with Ferdinand and Isabella. The codebook has been found and has one chapter for “the Pope, The Emperor, Kings and other persons of the Blood Royal”. There was an instruction in the chapter that codes for non-royals would be found in other chapters – this was for royalty only. Between the codes for Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy and King Alphonso of Naples is 907, in Roman numerals, for Richard Duke of York, second son of Edward IV. So, the Spanish monarchs and their ambassador, in private correspondence, referred to Richard as Duke of York, believing he was who he said he was.

Lambert Simnel is an odd name, even for the late 15th century. So is Perkin. Henry wrote to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, during the invasion of Cornwall, oddly saying “The Perkin and his company”. Matthew Lewis says that the etymology of “Perkin” is hard to clear – I’d always assumed it was “Peter” – but it might be related to Welsh for “one”, so “the one”. Perkin as a surname might be an Anglicised version of the Welsh “Peregrine, derived from the Latin for “pilgrim”, so a code related to York’s wanderings in Europe.

So, Richard Duke of York disappeared and Perkin Warbeck appeared.

If Richard wasn’t who he said he was, how do you account for:

- **His perfect English?**
- **All the European monarchs accepting his claim except for Henry VII? Maximillian and James never denied him, even when politically there was no advantage to do so. Maximillian stood firm when Henry was being courted to join the Holy League and Richard’s casting off was the price, and under pressure from the Pope and all the others, Maximillian realised that Henry was only trying to play France off against the Holy League, so refused to abandon Perkin.**
- **William Stanley, saying that he would not fight against “Perkin” if he really was who he said he was.**
- **Henry not allowing Elizabeth to meet and deny “Perkin” as her brother. He must have been worried what she would say.**
- **And how his face happened to have been beaten up before he was exposed – both when he was first taken to London in 1497 and when he was in the stocks after his “escape” in 1498.**
- **If the so-called prince was killed on Richard III’s orders, how do you account for the behaviour of Cecily Neville and Margaret of Burgundy?**
- **Elizabeth Wydeville “supporting” Clarence’s son’s rebellion? And not organising requiem**

Masses for her sons – you can't pray for the living as if they were dead but if they were dead, why no requiem? And coming out of sanctuary in 1484?

- **Dr John Argentine, at the Tudor court, not getting to see York and denounce him. And Rotherham, Archbishop of Canterbury crowning Richard after assuring Elizabeth Wydeville of her sons' safety.**

Occam's razor – surely the simplest explanation is the best – I believe he was whom he said he was.

Matthew Lewis then went on to the Leslau theory (Guildford/Dudley and Duchess of Northumberland buried as a "high and mighty princess") and even John Clement could have been "Perkin".

And as fellow branch member Mark Patrick pointed out, if Perkin/Richard was born in Tournai, he was foreign so could not commit treason against Henry VII; if he was guilty of treason, he was Richard, Duke of York.

Henry VII, reluctant bridegroom? He had realised he had opened a can of worms by removing *Titulus Regius*, so maybe he would have preferred to marry someone other than Elizabeth, but also realised she was the bringer of much support for his crown. However, that was why he wanted to be crowned first, so his crown was his and not the crown matrimonial. I almost feel sorry for his dilemma.

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The miracle of Cuthbert's Gospel of St John

By Jane Orwin-Higgs

For a recent Kapiti meeting we were to look at the saints Richard favoured, namely Saints George, Ninian, and Cuthbert, and to bring information on one of them for discussion. I chose the Anglo-Saxon saint, Cuthbert, predominantly because I had once visited the stunning cathedral in Durham and been fortunate enough to visit Cuthbert's shrine along with that of his number one fan, the Venerable Bede.

Although I initially intended to present a short precis of Cuthbert's life, while researching I came across the St Cuthbert Gospel. Although it did not belong to Cuthbert himself, this small book has a fascinating history and, I believe, is as linked to Richard as the saint himself.

The book is an 8th century 'pocket-gospel', of the Book of St John, and written in Latin. It has a finely decorated leather binding (goatskin, dyed red, to be precise), and it reigns supreme as the earliest known Western bookbinding to survive.

The binding and the 94 velum folios between are in outstanding condition for a book of this age. The book itself is very small, measuring a mere 138mm

X 92mm or, in old money, 5.4 inches x 3.6 inches (for comparison the average ball-point pen is 5.5 inches long). The book's Latin script, mostly undecorated, is regarded as a model of elegant simplicity.

After spending most of his life spreading understanding of Christianity to remote villages, Cuthbert died in March 687, and was buried in the Abbey at Lindisfarne, where he had become Bishop.

He had initially wished to be buried on Inner Farne Island, where he had been a hermit, until he was called to the bishopric. However, before his death, he was somehow persuaded to allow his burial at the main monastery on Lindisfarne.

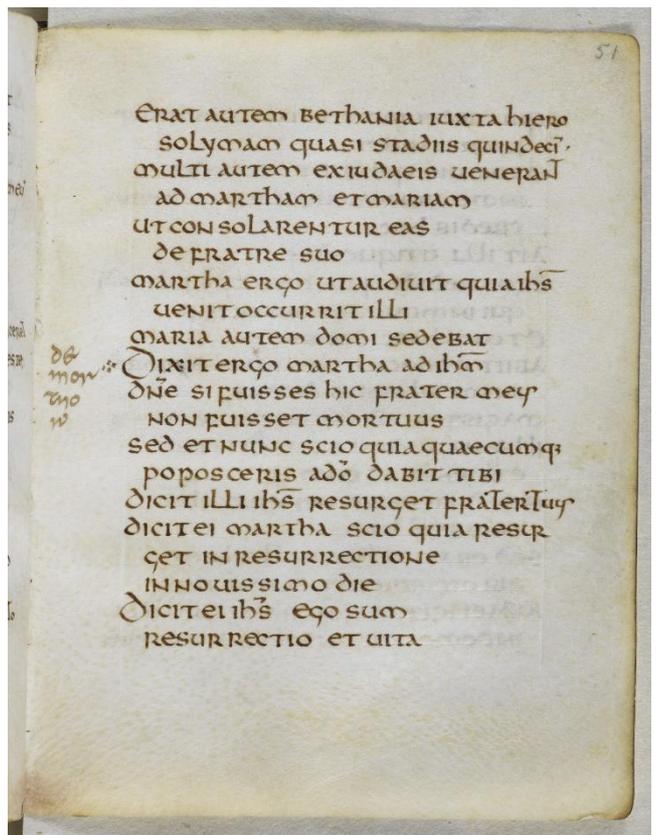
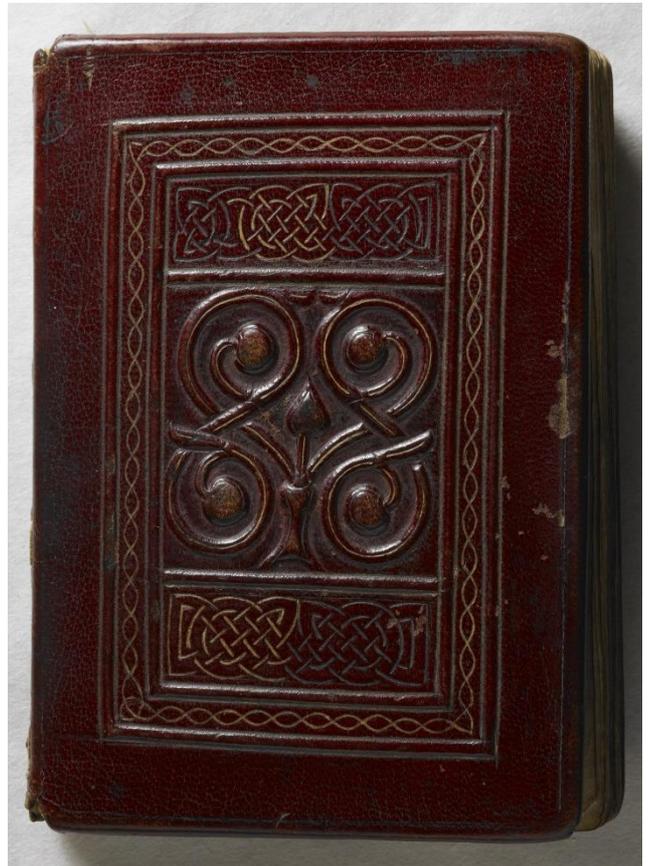
His grave was first disturbed around eleven years after his death, circa 698, when his remains were moved to behind the altar to reflect recognition of his life and achievements and, in a time before the formal process of canonization, as a saint.

The sarcophagus was duly opened, and his body was supposedly found preserved and incorrupt. This 'miracle' led to the growth of a cult for Cuthbert, to the point where he became the most popular saint in Northern England and where, several centuries later, Richard first became aware of St Cuthbert.

It was during this reburial of Cuthbert's remains in 698 that the Gospel was most probably placed inside his coffin.

Recent dating of the book (by way of analysing the script itself) suggests it could have been produced up to 30 years after this reburial, and so historians still debate when exactly the book might have joined Cuthbert inside his coffin.

However, it is agreed the Gospel was likely a gift from the Monkwearmouth-Jarrow Abbey, where it was written, with the intention of placing it inside Cuthbert's coffin. The text is a very careful copy of the single Gospel of Saint John from what is called the 'Italo-Northumbrian' texts. Another well-



known example from Wearmouth- Jarrow is the famous Lindisfarne Gospel. In 793 Lindisfarne was devastated by the first serious raid in England by



St Cuthbert's coffin

the Vikings. Thankfully, Cuthbert's shrine seems to have escaped damage. Then, in 875, the Danish leader Halfden Ragnarsson (Halfdene), who shared leadership of 'The Great Heathen Army' with his brother Ivar the Boneless, and who had conquered much of the south of England, moved north for the winter as a prelude to more conquest and settlement. The Bishop of Lindisfarne, Eardulf, aware of the dangers, made the decision to abandon the monastery. It is possible that at this point an inner shelf was added under the lid of Cuthbert's coffin. Eardulf had decided to take the most important remains and relics of the community with them. It is suggested the Lindisfarne Gospel, along with other surviving manuscripts, were carried inside the coffin on the inserted shelf, accompanying the saint's remains. Many of the books believed to have been rescued in this way now reside at Durham Cathedral.

St Cuthbert's remains, along with the Gospel, headed inland and appear to have spent some months in an unknown location in west Cumberland, near the river Derwent. There, it is possible Eardulf tried to hire a ship to take them to Ireland. For reasons unknown this did not happen, and they remained in Cumberland before eventually heading back eastwards, resting at Craike (now named Crayke) near Easingwold (now in North Yorkshire), and where Cuthbert had previously

founded a monastery after the 7th century king, Egfrid, had granted him the church - which is still dedicated to St Cuthbert. Craike was close to the coast, although well south of Lindisfarne, but a safe distance north of York, and the new Viking kingdom being established there. Over the next hundred years or so, the Vikings of York slowly became Christianized, and Cuthbert's shrine became a focus of worship for these Christians too.

The monks established relations with Guthred (Halfdene's successor), and he gave them land at Chester-le-Street, a short distance north of Durham, where they moved in 883. They stayed there for over a century, building St Cuthbert's Church, and where his shrine was placed. Then, in 995 a new Danish invasion forced the religious community to flee once more. The community ended up some 50 miles south of Ripon (North Yorkshire), St Cuthbert's remains with them. Seemingly, after a few months, it was deemed safe to return to Chester-le-Street, so off they set, carrying their treasured relics and remains. When their wagon became completely stuck in mud close to a tiny settlement named Durham, it was believed that Cuthbert was expressing a wish to stay where he was and wander no more. A new stone church was built, the 'White Church' as it was named, which was the predecessor to Durham Cathedral.

The Gospel itself was 'discovered' in 1104 when, early in the bishopric of Ranulf Flambard, Cuthbert's tomb was opened yet again. His relics were moved to a new shrine behind the main altar of the half-built Norman cathedral. According to the earliest accounts of the event that survive, when the monks opened the inner coffin, which was for the first time in living memory, they saw 'a book of the Gospels lying at the head of the board', that is on a shelf, or inner lid. Another account records that Bishop



Durham Cathedral

Flambard, during his sermon on the day the new shrine received Cuthbert's body, showed the congregation 'a Gospel of Saint John in miraculously perfect condition, which had a satchel-like container of red leather with a badly made sling of silken threads'.

So far as is known, the Gospel remained at Durham until the Dissolution of the Monasteries, although various late medieval records of books and relics do not identify it with certainty. The cathedral library at Durham closed in 1540, but some years later the Gospel was noted by Archbishop Ussher (Church of Ireland Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland, 1625-1656) as being in the library of the Oxford scholar, antiquary and astrologer, Thomas Allen. Yet it does not appear in a catalogue of Allen's library of 1622 and was not in the collection of Allen's manuscripts presented to the Bodleian Library by Sir Kenelm Digby in 1634. The Gospel simply vanishes and does not reappear until the late 1700s when, according to an 18th century Latin inscription (pasted to the inside cover), the Gospel was given by George Lee, the 3rd Earl of Lichfield, to the Jesuit Priest Thomas Philips, who donated it to the Jesuit college at Liège in Belgium, in June 1769.

Note: *While the Catholic Relief Act of 1791 had lifted the ban on Catholic worship in England, this ban had, for 250 years, forced members of the Pre-Reformation Catholic Church (known as recusants) to go underground and seek academic training in Catholic Europe. There, exiled English clergy had set up schools and seminaries for the sons of recusant families, hence the college in Liège, a precursor to Stonyhurst College, Lancashire – still a Catholic College today - where the Gospel was kept up until 2012. While the Earl of Lichfield was an Anglican, he knew that Thomas Philips was chaplain to his neighbour in Oxfordshire, the recusant George Talbot, 14th Earl of Shrewsbury.*

In 2011, an agreement was reached between the Jesuit British Province and the British Library. An appeal was launched to buy the book for some £9 million. During the purchase negotiations, another agreement was reached, involving a partnership between the British Library, Durham Cathedral, and Durham University, that 'the book will be displayed to the public equally in London and the Northeast'. All its pages are now accessible on the British Library website.

This ancient book was over 700 years old when Richard, as Duke of Gloucester and Lord of the North, would have visited the cathedral in Durham. Even at that time, it was a miracle the Gospel had survived, given the transience of the monks and their relics during the Viking attacks. Researching its later history only emphasizes how fortunate we are to be able to view this book today. This is not only because of its turbulent and itinerant early history, but also with the unrest that spread through 18th century Europe, causing the Jesuit school at Liège to flee before the advancing French Revolutionary Army - Catholic Church institutions and foreign entities were both targeted by French revolutionaries during this period. A small party of Jesuits, masters, servants, and 12 boys (known as the 'Twelve Apostles of Stoneyhurst') managed to escape, arriving at Stoneyhurst Hall, in Lancashire, after a difficult journey taking over six weeks. The 16th century hall had been offered as refuge (and school) by Thomas Weld, an Old Boy of the Jesuit college at St Omer and Bruges. Presumably, the Gospel had lain in a pocket of one of the escaping Jesuits, safely hidden until they reached Stoneyhurst.



For me, a direct connection between the Gospel and Richard hinges on one short paragraph in my research. During the Middle Ages, the book was kept as a relic at Durham Cathedral. It lay in three bags of red leather, usually resting on a reliquary. There are various records of it being shown to visitors, the more distinguished of which were allowed to hang it around their neck for a while. According to Reginald of Durham (d c1190), 'anyone approaching it should wash, fast, and dress in an alb (white clerical garb) before touching it'. Books

treated as relics are especially characteristic of Celtic Christianity, with several of the surviving Irish books-shrines worn this way.

Richard, as Duke of Gloucester along with his Duchess, Anne, were frequent visitors to Durham Cathedral in the 1470s. It is unimaginable that Richard did not know about the Gospel, its importance as a relic, and its connection to St Cuthbert. It is even harder to believe that a man, as pious as he, in a position of great power and authority such as he held at that time, would not have been permitted to look upon, or even wear,

the ancient treasure of Saint Cuthbert's Gospel. While St Cuthbert is reputed to have inspired numerous miracles, if there is one proven miracle, it is that this small book has survived at all. Given the trials and tribulations the Gospel endured over the centuries, perhaps the simple fact it was pocket-sized and relatively plain (as

manuscripts go), significantly contributed to its survival.

Sources: Wikipedia: St Cuthbert Gospel, Wikipedia: Catholic Church in England & Wales, durhamcathedral.co.uk, bl.uk/collection-items/st-cuthbert-gospel, stoneyhurst.ac.uk/about-us/timeline, A. Pollard; Richard III and The Princes in the Tower, Wikipedia: Crayke

Photos, unless otherwise stated, taken from: the British Library website, Durham Cathedral website



King Aethelstan presents a copy of St Bede's *Life of Saint Cuthbert* to Cuthbert, whilst wearing a crown similar to those seen on his coins.

By Jane Orwin-Higgs

During the run-up to the coronation, I followed a series of posts on Facebook from Westminster Abbey, looking at some of the more unusual aspects (and disasters) at previous coronations. I am particularly interested in the Anglo-Saxons as well as all things Richard and found this read fascinating as it looked at the Anglo-Saxon elements of the coronation as it exists today. Taken from a blog by the Thegns of Mercia.

Anglo-Saxon elements of the Coronation

The history of the English monarchy is often represented by the crowning of William the Conqueror, at Westminster Abbey, on Christmas Day, 1066. Because of this, it's easy to think that England's deeper history is not represented in the ceremony but there are several parts of the coronation ceremony which reach back to, or reach out in a wider sense, to Anglo-Saxon history.



Edward the Confessor. Bayeux Tapestry.

Westminster Abbey

Anglo-Saxon rites of coronation (or consecration) during the Christian period of history (roughly 650-1066CE) most likely took place in whatever minster enjoyed the predominant royal patronage, in that respective kingdom, at that time. During the Anglo-Saxon period, England was not a united country, and there were several kings, each ruling over a specific region – predominantly, Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria, but there also existed smaller

kingdoms, Essex, Sussex, Kent, and East Anglia. For many of these kings, there is no record of their place of coronation.

During 8th century, when the Kingdom of Mercia was at the height of its powers, consecrations of its monarchs may well have taken place at Repton in Derbyshire or, possibly, Brixworth in Northamptonshire in late 8th-9th centuries.

At the same time, consecrations of West Saxon kings are likely to have taken place in Old Minster, Winchester.



Harold at his coronation, with it spelled out for everyone's benefit that Stigand is the Archbishop presiding. Hence the Normans' suggestion that Harold was not rightful king. Bayeux Tapestry.

In the early 10th century the place for crowning kings of Wessex was Kingston-upon-Thames. These included the first 'rex anglorum' (king of all the English) Æthelstan (925), as well as Æthelred the Unready (978). Other kings connected to Kingston include Edward the Elder (902), Edmund I (939), and several others of 10th century. Very unusually, Cnut was crowned in London, (1016) but after his reign focus shifted back to Wessex and the Old Minster at Winchester, then England's grandest cathedral. This long-gone minster was also probably the place where Edward the Confessor was crowned in 1043. However, Edward recognized the growing importance of London, and began building a grand new church, or minster, at a place besides the Thames which then became known as Westminster. While not completed, it was consecrated in 1065, a week before the king's death. This building features on the Bayeux tapestry, and is likely where Harold was crowned in 1066, and later that year, William the Conqueror. Although almost entirely rebuilt during the reign of Henry III, Westminster Abbey was already established as the site for English coronations by the end of the Anglo-Saxon era

Archbishop of Canterbury

Since mid-Anglo-Saxon times at the latest, it is probable that coronations were presided over by the most senior clergymen available in the kingdom of the individual being crowned. Before the 10th century, it was rarely recorded who presided over these important events. However, at the emergence of a unified Kingdom of England in the early 10th century, this responsibility fell to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Athelm, who crowned King Æthelstan in 924 CE. The Archbishop of Canterbury had held seniority over all others in lowland Britain since at least the mid-7th century. From thereon, it fell to whoever held this office to preside over coronations.

There are some important exceptions. When King Harold and William the Conqueror were crowned in 1066, in Westminster Abbey, the Archbishop of Canterbury of that time, Stigant, who died in 1072, had been excommunicated by the Pope for simultaneously holding the bishopric of Winchester. This meant any coronation undertaken by him

might be seen as illegitimate. Indeed, Norman scholars later claimed it was Stigant who had crowned Harold, thereby reinforcing their claim that Harold's reign was void. This was later disputed by English chroniclers such as William of Malmesbury. However, it appears to be Stigant standing beside Harold on the Norman-biased Bayeux tapestry, while Ealdred, Archbishop of York, crowned William.

If William of Malmesbury is correct, the first two coronations to take place in Westminster Abbey were indeed presided over by Ealdred, Archbishop of York. With the crowning of William II by Lanfranc in 1087, the responsibility for crowning new monarchs returned to the Archbishop of Canterbury and, with few exceptions, has been the norm ever since.

The Crown

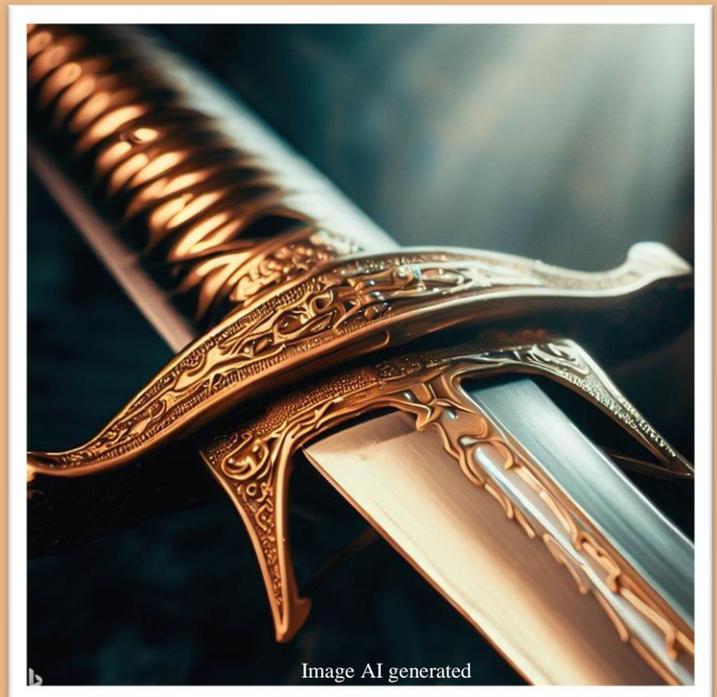
While it is very likely Anglo-Saxon kings would have been bestowed with regalia of some kind, what exactly is uncertain, although the article draws inspiration from artefacts such as the Sutton Hoo burial, and other discoveries.

What is more certain, is that Anglo-Saxon nobility emulated all things Roman – *Romanitus* – and were often depicted wearing circlets or diadems on coins minted during their reign(s). The first depiction of king wearing a crown as we would recognize it, is in the frontispiece of Bede's *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, commissioned for the saint's shrine, King Æthelstan himself presenting a copy of the book to the saint, whilst wearing a crown similar to those seen on his coins.

ine by King Æthelstan in 934 CE. This shows The involvement of both crown and sceptre in the English coronation rite is reportedly first recorded in relation to the coronation of King Edgar the Peaceful (circa 960 CE). In turn, Edward the Confessor is depicted wearing an elaborate crown in the Bayeux Tapestry.

Later records of Westminster Abbey show that King Edward (the Confessor) had left all his regalia to the

abbey to be reused in the coronations of future monarchs. An especially elaborate jewelled crown, known as 'Saint Edward's Crown', decorated with filigree and cloisonne, first recorded as being used for the coronation of Henry III, was claimed to be one of these relics. It continued to be used in coronations (Richard's too!) right up until its unfortunate and utterly barbaric (my words!) destruction during the civil war.



The Sword

There is little doubt that presentation of a sword would have been part of the Anglo-Saxon coronation ceremony. Swords were symbols of warrior and aristocratic status, as well as of kingship. Of particular note, the medieval chronicler William of Malmesbury records that young prince Æthelstan was presented with a 'royal cloak', and a sword and 'golden scabbard' in a ceremony by his grandfather King Alfred, which historians take as a pseudo-consecration for Alfred's preferred grandson to eventually carry on his legacy (possibly in defiance of the wishes of Alfred's son and heir - and Æthelstan's father – Edward the Elder, who had chosen his younger son by his second wife to succeed).

The presentation of a sword at the modern coronation evokes the image of a similar scene between two of Anglo-Saxon England's founding kings.

The Cosmati Pavement

This spectacular mosaic floor square is the very spot where every monarch since 1274 has been crowned. While its origins are most definitely post-Anglo-Saxon, it has a curious connection to these past times.

When Henry III rebuilt Westminster Abbey, he chose Edward the Confessor, builder of the original shrine, as his patron saint. Henry relocated Edward's remains into a new shrine with intricate Cosmatesque decoration and spiralling columns, looking out onto the spectacular Cosmati Pavement. Henry's honouring of England's last truly great Anglo-Saxon king was part of a wider programme, which included substantial works for charity and an exhausting programme of travel, seeking to reconcile the monarchy with the English people. Henry appears to have looked to rare, surviving spaces associated with Anglo-Saxon saints and kingship as inspiration for his build at Westminster.

It has been observed that the pavement, and spiralling columns, bear a striking resemblance to the floorplan of the mausoleum, baptistry (or perhaps coronation room) beneath the church of Saint Wystan in Repton. Its four bays set midway into the walls (loculi which held the bones of Mercian kings and saints) correspond perfectly to the regular elements of the borders in the Cosmati floor (which in the tradition of the abbey are referred to as 'tombs'). If the border containing these 'tombs' is excluded the square interior of the pavement corresponds precisely in size to the inner measurements of the room at Repton. Other aspects of the design appear to reference patterns seen in Anglo-Saxon jewellery, relating to the geometry of garnets.

It appears that Henry III transplanted the design of an ancient building associated with Anglo-Saxon

kingship and sainthood, in symbolic form, into the heart of Westminster Abbey, so that coronations on this floor would connect with the traditions of Britain's deeper history.

The Saint Augustine Gospels

The Canterbury or Saint Augustine Gospel is the oldest book to survive from Anglo-Saxon times. This beautiful, illuminated manuscript is thought to have been brought with the mission of Saint Augustine in 597 CE, to convert the Kingdom of Kent and the lowlands of Britain more broadly. The Gospels are a miraculous survivor of the Reformation and Dissolution of the Monasteries in which countless Anglo-Saxon treasures were lost. Its survival is attributed to Matthew Parke – the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury – who, as an early historian of Anglo-Saxon England sought to save as many manuscripts as he could.

Since 1945, the Gospels have played a part in the initial enthronement of new Archbishops of Canterbury, carried to Canterbury by the Librarian of Corpus Christi, and used for new archbishops to swear upon. Their use in the coronation of Charles III is an innovation, though they likely played a role in the consecration of kings of Kent in the 7th century and, perhaps, amalgamated kingdom during the 8th-11th centuries.

This innovation to include the Gospels today, was reportedly at the specific request of our new king and is an important gesture of recognition and respect from Anglo-Saxon heritage.

Author: Æd Thompson, Chairman and Coordinator of Thegns of Mercia, historic craftsperson and living historian.

Taken from: thegns.org/blog/coronation reposted by www.facebook.com/westminsterabbey

Henry VIII 'may have had a point'

By Penny Lawton

What better way to usher in your second decade than by welcoming new members to your group. That was our great pleasure as we sat down to our tenth anniversary lunch, in February.

From the outset, the half dozen founder members had decided that we wanted a group in which all the members would participate, and meetings to which everyone would contribute - a DIY approach, if you like. It has served us well over the years and remains our way of exploring topics relating to Richard III and the times in which he lived, though we occasionally take interesting meanders into earlier and later periods. Whilst our "research" is rarely original and relies mostly on secondary sources, we have enjoyed choosing our topics and sharing our findings with each other, as well as our visits to places and events. When I started looking back through our reports, there was so much material it was difficult to know where to start - or finish.

"Getting to know the Woodvilles", by means of each of us taking one member to present to the group, ladies one week and gentlemen the next, proved an early success and so we later did the same with the Beauforts, sorting out the Johns and Edmunds, and the Lady Margaret Beaufort from the other



Margaret Beaufort, her cousin. Local families have also commanded our attention: The Le Strange family and "Wem lot" who seemed to be related to everybody. The Stanleys originated in Stanley in North Staffordshire and the Staffordshire branch of the family, Sir John of Elford and his half-brother, Humphrey, were important, particularly in the events of August 1485. The last of their line is commemorated in the poignant monument to "the Stanley child" in Elford church. Another local, Ralph Rudyard, reputed regicide, was probably at Sandyford in August, 1485, but is unlikely to have struck the killing blow. Lettice Knollys, mistress Chartley Castle, was the subject of contemporary scandalous pamphlets suggesting that she was the mistress of Robert Dudley and that he had murdered her husband, Walter Devereux. The Bagots of Blithfield have been part of English history since they came with the Conqueror and we were welcomed to their ancestral home last year by Cosi and Charlie Bagot-Jewett.

Monks, nuns and friars would also have been our medieval neighbours and there was no shortage of scandal among them. Not that feuding with their lay neighbours and other monastic establishments would have been considered scandalous, they all did that and damaging crops and livestock by hunting. Edited highlights of our study included: the

murder of the abbot of Vale Royal by the prior, only one of the many murders of both lay people and other monks. On two occasions, at Dieulacres and Combermere, bodies were hidden in the cellar. Another abbot of Dieulacres was jailed for inciting riot and imprisoning the King's Commissioner. Abbots were dismissed, in Burton's case two, for drunkenness,



Ludlow

gambling and the permanent employment in the abbey of two "professional ladies" from Lichfield. Combermere, eight times in royal receivership through mismanagement, probably holds the local record for bankruptcy through mismanagement. No doubt there were well conducted and truly pious monastic establishments in the country, but acquaintance with our "locals" left us thinking that maybe Henry VIII had a point. The Lollards would have thought so, though Lollardy was not strong in our area. Later, Staffordshire and south Derbyshire would be a bastion of recusancy.

The year 2015 was one of anniversaries. We learned how Magna Carta, rooted in the feudal common law which bound both man and vassal in duties and obligations to each other, became the articulation of principles that have been the foundation of the free world. In October we commemorated the anniversary of the battle of Agincourt by watching the two great classic films of Shakespeare's *Henry V* - those of Olivier and Branagh. Watching Branagh's powerful, full script film we realised that *Henry V* is in fact quite a dark play, shot through with the theme of betrayal. This must have presented

massive problems for Olivier when he was commissioned to make the film by Churchill, who probably only remembered the Crispin Crispian's day speech and thought it would be just the thing to put heart into the troops who would be engaging in the Normandy landings. Each film reflected the brilliance of the other. We celebrate our own anniversary every year with a lunch at one of our favourite "historic" hostelryes.

We had already examined the English claim to France, conduct of the war and the battle of Castillon at which the great Talbot was killed. Later we returned to the theme of England's frankly stormy relations with its nearest neighbours, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. From the landing of Richard "Strongbow" de Clare at the creek of Baginbun, attempts to "pacify" Ireland never achieved any lasting success and English government was never really secure beyond the Dublin Pale. The difficulties of the terrain and the skill of the Welsh in exploiting their superior local knowledge meant that Welsh leaders and princes periodically challenged the English throughout the middle ages, but the Lordship of Glamorgan, which Richard Duke of Gloucester held for a time, was more successful.



Tutbury Priory

Relations with Scotland were always fractious and complicated by "the auld alliance". They may have been further complicated by the activities of the Border Rievers, who answered to neither authority and raided either side.

The celebration of Magna Carta and the battle of Agincourt prompted us to explore the pagan roots of such traditions and their frequent accommodation in Christianity. One such survival from the early middle ages is the Abbots Bromley Horn Dance, which we visit each year. Another annual visit is to the Chester Midsummer Watch which incorporates pagan, Christian and just about any other kind of tradition, in the marvellous Giants' Parade. We will also be in Chester again for our third visit to the wonderful Chester Mystery plays

which are interpreted with a new production every four years in the cathedral.

Chester Cathedral library has been the venue for two excellent talks. It may be out of our period but the offer of a talk by Professor George Brooke, the only British member of the team who deciphered the Dead Sea Scrolls, was not one to pass up. On another occasion we were treated to an introduction to the amazing Polyglot Bibles by Professor Philip Alexander. Both Professors joined us for lunch after their respective talks and it was an enjoyable privilege to meet and chat with two such erudite and charming men. Central to Ricardian matters, was a talk by Tim Stratford, Dean of Chester, who in his former post as Archdeacon of Leicester, had a leading role in preparing the liturgies for the services of reinterment of the remains of Richard III. Opinions, of course, differ about the end results but clearly a good deal of

careful thought had gone into it. The talk was held on warm summer's day, accompanied by a lovely buffet on our host's lawn.

Lichfield cathedral was chosen for one of our early visits. Our knowledgeable guide Pat pointed out the

careful and tasteful Victorian restoration of the cathedral which had suffered a lot of damage in the Civil War, not least to the famous and much photographed West Front. Then, (when Fiona the verger had picked the recalcitrant ancient lock on the library door with



a paring knife used to trim the altar candles) we were shown

Haughmond

some of the treasures of the library: an illustrated Canterbury Tales, a beautiful Justinian codex and other manuscripts.

Trains took us to York Minster, to see the Middleham Jewel, the minster and to dine in the restaurant which occupies the site of the Augustinian priory where Richard III is known to have stayed. Another train trip took us to Ludlow where Edward IV and his brother Edmund spent their childhood (and where one of us braved breathlessness and vertigo to make it to the top of the tower). Upton Cresset, near Bridgenorth, where Edward V stayed on his way from Ludlow to the meeting at Stony Stratford, was another visit and guided tour.

The evocative ruins of Haughmond Abbey, near Shrewsbury, led us to the poetry of John the Blind Audeley, who ended his days as chantry priest there. He may have come from the village or been a member of the Audley family. A later member of the family, Lord Audley, was killed at the battle of Blore Heath and we commemorated it one year by learning more about this local Wars of the Roses battle. Queen Margaret is said to have watched the

battle from the tower of Mucklestone church. She fled after the battle, a local smith having reputedly reversed her horse's shoes to confuse anyone pursuing her. We contemplated the anvil in the churchyard said to be the very one used by the smith. Well, maybe.

We enjoyed a joint visit, with the now sadly dissolved South Staffordshire Group, to Tutbury Priory where we were given a talk by one of the church wardens before exploring the ancient church. After lunch we visited Tutbury castle, where Richard III ordered a fine new hall,

which was completed by Henry VII.

Another joint visit with the South Staffs was to the wonderful "old fake", Sinai Park house, near Burton, (described in an article to the *Ricardian Bulletin*).

Our medieval ancestors also travelled to places of interest, made pilgrimages and went on crusades. The journeys of the future Henry IV and the eccentric Margery Kempe, along with the practicalities of travel and transport, formed another of our themes. Geoffrey Mandeville's fantastical "best seller" testified to medieval people's interest in faraway places and their marvels. Travel and the need to avoid robbery, was the stimulus to the Knights Templar and Hospitaller to start their "banking" networks. Medieval trade and how finance was raised, was another of our themes. We propose to return to this theme later this year by looking at the trades in spices, sugar and silk.

Tragically, it was this trade that also brought the Black Death to Europe. Evidence of abandoned

settlements can be found in the marginal land of the Staffordshire Moorlands and just across the border into Derbyshire. The 14th century was not only the century of the Black Death, it was also a century of climate change, the medieval warm period moving towards the little ice age. As we learned when we chose a theme of "weather, portents and disasters", this cooling was accompanied by what we now term extreme weather events: incessant rain, flooding, drought, and hurricane, which ruined crops, drowned livestock and brought consequent extreme hardship and famine. Like the plague, these continued into the 15th century, with accounts of autumn storms, the Trent frozen and "the great storm of ice", which devastated northern Europe. Our medieval ancestors were so much more vulnerable to all such events than we are today.



Magna Carter

Looking back over all we've done and learned, visited, discussed and shared, one might wonder what is left. Yet every year at our AGM we get more ideas than we can get through in a year and the list just seems to grow longer. We have had such an enjoyable time together, not least enjoying each other's company and we look forward to the next decade.

For this year's coming activities, visit our website www.r3staffs.org.uk.

Penny Lawton is Secretary, North Staffordshire Group.



The Stanley Child

**This year's Middleham Festival will be held July 1 and 2.
Let Amicorum Living History Group transport you back to the life &
times of**

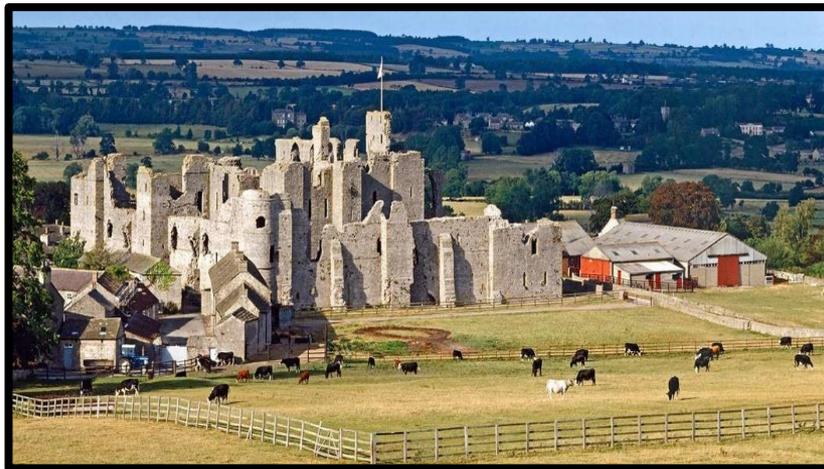
King Richard III

**Please see the Middleham Castle Facebook page about the event
nearer the time.**

English Heritage members get free entry.

You can buy tickets on the day and do not have to prebook.

Middleham Castle. Middleham. Leyburn DL8 4QG.



Middleham's living history

By Gillian Savage

When I became manager here at Middleham Castle in 2013, I heard about the previous events that had been organized in the town to celebrate its association with King Richard III.

So, I got together with some members of the local community to organize another event. I organized the English Heritage side whilst the then mayor and a local councillor organized Ricardian related talks in the local community 'Key Centre'.

Philippa Langley and several other figures gave wonderful talks in the centre and we also had a living history group called Amicorum on site. The festival started to grow but a few years ago the town side of things stopped when the mayor retired.

At the same time, English Heritage downgraded its budget for the festival.

Despite these setbacks the festival has continued on and is enjoyed by all who attend.

Gillian Savage is site manager of Middleham Castle



ENGLISH
HERITAGE

Step into England's story



Pages 38 - 39: Images of past events at Middleham Castle. Note that Lord Rupert and Lady Sally will feature with Jack Clarke's Book Club. Page 47.



Carpark discoveries at supermarket

By Stephen Lark

We were founded in 2001 by the late (Dr.) John Ashdown-Hill and visited many locations relevant to Richard, his family and contemporaries and to John's own research in Suffolk (Pykenham's Gatehouse Ipswich, Framlingham Castle, Leiston Abbey and Long Melford inter alia), North Essex (including Harwich and Colchester, frequently) and Cambridgeshire (including Ely Cathedral and the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge) as well as a foray into Norwich. We also had tea in the Red Lion, Colchester, Sir John Howard's house, during our John's time in 2007 (from memory).

The group was placed into abeyance in 2010, due to John's burgeoning research and low general attendance, but was revived in 2014, since then our venues have included Barnet, Rayleigh and the Essex Hadleigh, Stowmarket, Chilton and Orford Castle. We have discovered mound shaped Cornish pasties at Sutton Hoo and a mediaeval hospital by the Bury St. Edmunds Tesco car park.

In the rest of 2023, we shall feature one of John's website presentations, a visit to Lady Eleanor Talbot's place of death (the Norwich Whitefriars on her 555th anniversary), the re-opened Gainsborough's House in Sudbury, Waltham Abbey for Harold II and Colchester, now redesignated as a



Framlingham Castle

city, for our AGM. We have about 20 members and usually meet five times a year.

Although we have a lot of visits, we have had relatively few meetings since re-forming. We have discussed some of the presentations from John's website, Miles Metcalfe (Marie), back problems (Joanne), Stony Stratford/ the powers of a Lord Protector and a Constable (Annette), how it feels to write about Richard (Matthew) and how it feels to share the Princes mtDNA in recent years (Elizabeth Roberts the soprano).

We have already been to Orford Castle this year and will also visit Norwich (Castle Museum for the Gloucester and Whitefriars for Lady Eleanor), Sudbury (Gainsborough's House re-opened), Waltham Abbey (for Harold II) and Camulodunum (a city once again). On the Missing Princes Project I am fascinated, and I think we all are, as we greatly enjoyed a Zoom talk by Elizabeth Roberts in 2020. How many more months to the announcements?

Thinking about medieval gardens



By Anne Ayres

During the Pandemic the Notts & Derby Group didn't meet up, so instead we had "Cyber Meetings" - not by Zoom or video, but in writing. Those who wanted to contribute sent an item on the pre-set subject, all were collated together by me and sent out to members for that quarter. Here is my own contribution, slightly adapted for *The Ricardian Herald*.

What can I say about gardens, particularly medieval ones? I think I'll just let my mind have a wander - and the first thing I might say is that I hate gardening (the mowing, weeding and cutting back)!! But I like flowers, and I do fill my tubs and containers and I do like to see a good garden - and we've been to many with the Group!

But one of the first things that springs to mind was an actual meeting we had once, outdoors in a member's garden in Mansfield. We all brought along examples or pictures or spoke about plants, and I believe it was our member Joyce who put the pinnacle on the day when she brought out her lavender scones. An old medieval recipe, they were soft and crumbling and fragrant, what a wonderful treat!

Another memorable meeting was held in the garden of Lincolnshire Branch secretary Jean Townsend;



huge and rambling and beautiful (the garden that is!) complete with a wonderful bronze Ricardian Boar. There were little corners and outdoor "rooms", packed with medieval trees like medlars and quince. And a "picnic" with cakes!



Talking of trees, I remember being in Rochester, between the cathedral and the castle during our Group trip to Canterbury, when we came across a quite large tree with flat almost rounded leaves and with what looked like raspberries and blackberries growing straight off the twigs! It looked so unusual and somehow unreal - but it turned out to be that most famous of nursery rhyme trees - "Here we go round the mulberry bush, the mulberry...." Of course, being me, I had a quick look round and nabbed one and ate it immediately - pure sweet juice bursting in your mouth! There is one of these growing at 15th/16th century **Charlecote Park** in Warwickshire at the back of their lovely woodland walk.

We also had a visit to **Felley Priory** in Notts where we met the Lady of the Manor, a formidable but friendly woman in her 70's or 80's, who still did a great deal of the gardening and told us about the lovely little medieval garden squares or knot garden that she was developing - we saw it just before the spring bulbs were out so it looked a little sparse and very new, but had distinct promise - I should like to see it again now.



But I think the thing that fascinates me most is the etymology or language of gardens and flowers. Having done English at college I just love the old country names for many familiar plants - often to do with the Virgin Mary, but sometimes more earthly in origin.

For instance, in "Hamlet" when Gertrude is describing Ophelia's death she refers to, *"long purples that liberal shepherds give a grosser name, but our cold maids do dead men's fingers call them"*. The grosser name is possibly referring to the two tubers which resemble male testicles!

And of course there's the poetry of "Midsummer Night's Dream":

I know a bank where the wild thyme blows, where ox-lips and the nodding violet grows; Quite o'ercanopied with lush woodbine, with sweet musk roses, and with eglantine:

There sleeps Titania, some time of the night, lull'd in these flowers with dances and delight; And there the snake throws her enamell'd skin, weed wide enough to wrap a fairy in"



Shakespeare is a huge source of the old country names and I would refer anyone wishing to follow this up to: <https://bardgarden.blogspot.com>

Most herbs and plants in medieval times had medicinal uses, sometimes shown in the name:

Lady's Bedstraw - (Gallium Verum) Yellow bedstraw. Given to women in labour, and used in cheese making. Chaucer said "'O perilous fyr, that in the bedstraw bredeth" - invoking the passions of lovemaking, both inside and outdoors.

Lungwort - (Pulmonaria), for chest complaints - Lady's Milk Drops, Adam & Eve (because of the blue and pink flowers?) Lady's Cowslip, Lady's Milk, Mary's Honeysuckle and Mary's Tears.

English Plantain - Lamb's Tongue - as a tea or in tincture form, for **indigestion, ulcers, or heartburn**. Externally, a poultice of it can be used for insects and snake bites. It is also known as Kemps, an Anglo-Saxon word for soldier - which shows in its upright growth and also explains the English surname!

Rue - Ave Grace, Countryman's-Treacle and Herb o' grace - used to aid period pains but strong doses can cause miscarriage (perhaps explaining why it is Rue - rueing the night before!)

There are many more country names, signifying images of the Virgin Mary, animals, body parts, times of year, passions, and human or mystical qualities.

But gardens aren't just the plants are they? Many of the ones I've mentioned are looked on as a weed now, and only remembered for their healing properties in old almanacs or in places like **Alnwick Castle's Poison Garden** or the **Physick Garden** at Kew.



Many of the old Manor Houses still have their Walled Gardens - some have been mentioned already.



Our Group visited the one at **Burton Agnes Hall** in Yorkshire, (our member Carol is standing happily in the doorway of their Walled Garden, surrounded by wisteria) as does **Newstead Abbey** and **Hardwick Hall** locally. Further afield, **Mottistone Manor** on the Isle of Wight has a delightful rambling garden, open daily. **Greys Court** at Henley-on-Thames has a beautiful Walled Garden, as has **Packwood House** in the West Midlands, with its own beehives. Though it



is not walled, the re-creation of an Elizabethan working garden at **Ann Hathaway's Cottage** near Stratford is well worth visiting, while **Hatfield**

House has Cardinal Morton's palace in the grounds, complete with a box-hedge knot garden. And it was backwards into a knot-garden box-hedge that Joseph Fiennes fell, from "Juliet's" balcony window, in the film "Shakespeare in Love", filmed at **Broughton Castle** in Oxfordshire. It is still owned by descendants of the Fiennes who fought for Richard at Bosworth.

I also love the idea of a garden being a "Pleasaunce" - a simple **pleasure-garden; a region of garden with the sole purpose of giving pleasure to the senses, but not offering fruit or sustenance.**

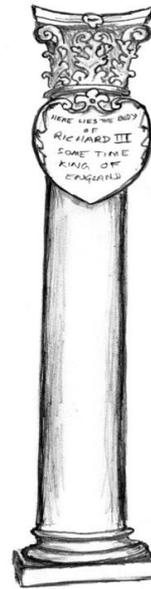
The Pleasaunce at **Kenilworth Castle** was built in 1414 by Henry V, perhaps to please his new wife, the French Princess Katherine (younger sister of Richard the Second's 2nd wife) In such a place there would be arbours and shelters, little private corners where one could pursue a love affair away from prying eyes. There could be all manner of "goings-on" as in this rather risqué garden party.



There would be fountains and ornaments, as of course, plants alone are not enough to display one's wealth to the neighbours.

However, we now come to the ultimate in One-Up-Manship!

Famously one man in Leicester, Lord Mayor Robert Herrick, (uncle of the poet of the same name) had a pillar in his garden at the crossing of four pathways, marking the burial place of Richard III.



It's not many who can boast they've got an English King in their garden... Seen and noted by the father of Sir Christopher Wren, one of these external pathways helped archaeologists in 2012 to prove the exact position of the garden and the former nave of Greyfriars church, pre-Reformation, where the maltreated remains of Richard were found.

And now having brought us back to Richard III, I think I will leave my garden ramblings here, thankful that Herrick's garden had given sanctuary to our king.

Anne Ayres is Secretary Notts & Derby Group

Dressing to impress

By Edna Coles

The branch has been lucky enough to enjoy several talks given by members of a local re-enactment group Age of Chivalry, one of whose members is Katrina, an extremely talented seamstress and dressmaker pictured above right. See her Facebook page *Kats-Hats*. Katrina's grandmother Corona Wood was an active member of our branch until she passed away last year at the grand age of 94.

The photo below shows Katrina taking her grandmother's photo at the branch's 40th anniversary celebration at Pentillie Castle.

We have been lucky enough to enjoy several talks and demonstrations from Age of Chivalry over the past few years, ranging from Arms and Armour in the time of Richard III to Health & Beauty in

Medieval Early to mid C15th century style gown, the style of the velvet gown with hanging sleeves was a throwback from the Houppelande, an over garment worn by men and copied by women. The cream brocade under gown is known as a kirtle by this time period, its neckline was trimmed with Italian ecclesiastical braid, pearls and amber gems, as are the cuffs which match.

The headdress is a Wide Hennin, pictured on many brasses across the UK and can be seen worn on the brass of Lady Agnes, Principal Lady-In-Waiting to the



Countess of Arundel, Princess of Portugal and the Fitzalan Chapel in Arundel in West Sussex. Cornwall has many brasses showing C 15th headwear too and again the Wide Hennin Headdress can be seen on the C15th Brass, a half effigy or demi- brass of Joanna Kelly in St Materiana Church on Tintagel's headland

This wide headdress then rises on the sides, to the classic "U" shape, dipping at the forehead, to become an iconic headdress which is seen in many mid to late C15th manuscripts and paintings of C15th nobles. This then evolved again to the classic other styles. The flowerpot hennin with "V" veils and the butterfly hennin with the veils draped over wires like the letter "M".

Our meetings are held in the old Chapel in Ford Park Cemetery and passing dog walkers have received a fright on a few occasions when Katrina or one of her companions has stepped outside the chapel!



The Valiant Squires

Words and music by Ian Churchward

*Young Thomas Parr killed on Easter day
As the morning mist slowly fades away
Revealing the dead bodies fallen on the
ground
The aftermath of battle scattered all around*

*The valiant young squires of sacred Easter
day
For their souls young Richard he would pray*

*John Milewater killed on Easter day
As the morning mist slowly fades away
The humble and the mighty fallen on the
ground
Including the Kingmaker whose name is so
renowned*

*The valiant young squires of sacred
Easter day
For their souls young Richard he would
pray
Buried in London's church of the
Greyfriars
A noble resting place for the Duke of
Gloucester's squires*

*The valiant young squires of sacred
Easter day
For their souls young Richard he would
pray
The valiant young squires of sacred
Easter day
For their souls young Richard he would
pray*

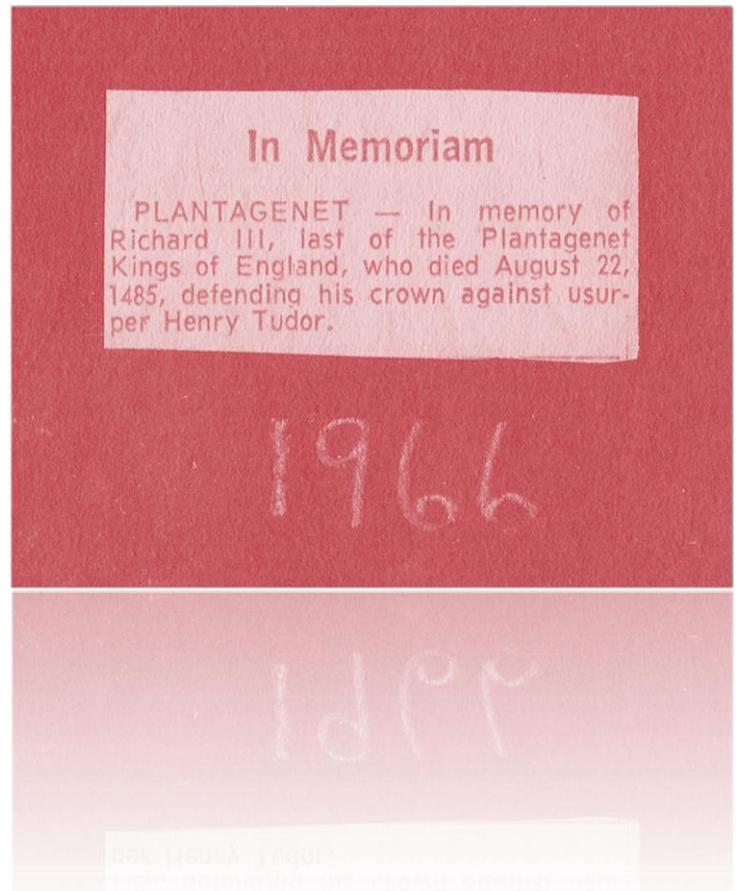
www.thelegendary10seconds.co.uk

Media kerfuffle connects Ricardians

by Sheila Smith

In August of 1966, Bill Buyers, already a member of the Richard III Society in England, attempted to insert an In Memoriam for Richard III in the Toronto newspaper, the *Globe and Mail*, which was available across the country. It was initially refused, but after explanations to many departments, the notice was accepted and on August 22 of that year, the first Canadian In Memoriam was printed, a practice which has been followed every year since then.

The result was immediate. The kerfuffle over the In Memoriam had attracted the attention of a reporter who knew a good story when he saw one. A front page article on Bill Buyers and Richard III on the same day as the notice, resulted in an interview with Bill on radio and television and an article in *Macleans* magazine in October 1966. The response to the publicity was to become familiar. Letters and phone calls poured in and on November 27, 1966, twenty enthusiastic Ricardians met at the home of Bill and Anne Buyers and formed the Richard III Society of Canada. Support from the English Society was immediate. *The Ricardian* published the names and addresses of Bill Buyers and the secretary, George Stephenson, so that all members in Canada could get in touch with the new Canadian society



The first general meeting was held in April of 1967 and the members immediately went about fulfilling one of the primary aims of the society – that of increasing awareness of the real Richard among the general public. The Stratford Festival of Ontario presented *The Tragedy of Richard III* with the title role being performed by Alan Bates during the summer of 1967 and the Society endeavoured to have a notice put in the program regarding Shakespeare's inaccuracies.

The members had to settle for a mention that Shakespeare was not interested in objective facts. Likewise, an invitation to Alan Bates to attend a meeting resulted in a polite letter from the actor pleading prior commitments. Within a year, a well-publicized event including discussions, debates and readings from Shakespeare resulted in more newspaper coverage and more members.

And we were truly on our way.



Jack Clarke's Book Club

Welcome back to Jack's Book Club ! In the last issue, Jack studied Matt Lewis' *Richard III*. For this issue he has decided on John Ashdown-Hill's *The Last Days of Richard III*. He is pictured convincing North Mercia branch board member Norma Benathan that she really does need to read it. Meanwhile, Jack has attracted the support of royalty.

Lord Rupert and Lady Sally, of Middleham, think the book club is 'pawsome'

Out and about...

Calendar of Events

Some branch events for the next quarter. If other branch and group members would like to attend, get in touch with the branch contact in advance so they know you are coming.

GLOUCESTER BRANCH

Saturday 3 June

The Battle of Towton

Illustrated talk by David Berendt chairman, Towton Battlefield Society

Fought in a snowstorm on Palm Sunday 1461, the Battle of Towton was both the largest and bloodiest conflict fought on home soil in England's history.

July 8, 9

Tewkesbury Medieval Festival

We participate in this superb annual event with our friends from the Tewkesbury Battlefield Society. (Full details will be available later.)

August 5

Queen's Lands: Dower and the Language of Property Grant

Zoom presentation by Dr Katia Wight, University of Winchester

Meeting Details:

- Meetings commence at 2.30 pm, except for field visits which are by arrangement.
- When there is no visiting speaker fee there will be a general charge of £1 per person to offset costs.
- Unless otherwise indicated, meetings will be held at the Emmanuel Hall, Fairfield Parade, Leckhampton GL53 7PJ. (The entrance is to the right of the church.)
- Contact: Claire Arnold (Secretary): claire.arnold@sky.com

LEICESTERSHIRE BRANCH

June 29

A Voice for Richard: clues towards his Vocal Profile

Yvonne Morley and the team have been working on the 'new science of historical human reconstruction' with the aim of creating a literal voice for Richard III. Yvonne will update us on the progress that has been made.

July 20

The Wars of the Roses and the Sengoku Jidai

Joe Robey will tell us about some of the striking similarities between the 'Wars of the Roses' and the 'Period of Constant Unrest' in Japan. He will also reference the contrasts and similarities between Europe's Knights and Japan's Samurai.

August

There is no meeting held in August

Meeting Details:

- All meetings are held at the Richard III Visitor Centre, 4A St. Martins, Leicester. LE1 5DB
- They commence at 7.00 pm unless otherwise stated.
- Meetings are free to Branch Members, but visitors are requested to donate £3.00 towards the expenses of the meeting.
- Further details can be obtained from the Branch Secretary: Sally Henshaw 28 Lyncroft Leys Scraftoft Leicester LE7 9UW Tel : 0116 2433785 E-mail: sallyoftarahill@gmail.com Web Site: <http://www.richardiileics.co.uk>

MERSEYSIDE AND WEST LANCASHIRE GROUP

June 17 **Possible overnight visit to Warwick**
Visit Warwick Castle, the Collegiate Church of St Mary (the Beauchamp chapel), Lord Leycester Hospital, due to open after refurbishment in summer 2023.

July 15 **Possible day trip to Shrewsbury**
Richard of Shrewsbury (younger son of Edward IV) was born there and Henry Tudor passed through in 1485.

August 12 **Possible visit to London**
Details to come

Meeting Details:

- All meetings start at Southport Old Links Golf Club at 2.30 pm. The room is available from 2.00 pm. There is a charge of £3 per person to cover our costs.
- Contact: Margaret Byrne (Secretary): margaret.byrne58@tiscali.co.uk

NORFOLK BRANCH

Saturday 24 June **The Master Masons**
Talk by Imogen Corrigan

July and August **There is no meeting in July and August**

Meeting Details:

- All afternoon meetings are in the Chapel, Norwich School, starting at 2.30 pm.
- There is an admission fee of £3.
- Contact: Annmarie Hayek (Secretary): annmarielouise04@gmail.com

NORTH MERCIA BRANCH

June 10 **A Voice for Richard**
Yvonne Morley Chisholm will explain her project to give Richard a voice.

July 15 **The Black Prince**
Talk by Dr Michael Jones on Edward, the Black Prince, Richard's great, great uncle.

August **There is no meeting in August**

Meeting Details:

- Meetings begin at 2pm.
- Meetings are held at the Crown Hotel, Nantwich.
- Contact: Marion Moulton (Secretary): tedandbess1943@gmail.com

SURREY GROUP

June 10, 11 **Weekend visit to historic Faversham, Sandwich and Richborough**

July 1 **A Guided Walk around Medieval London**

The walk will be led by Gabriella Widman, chair of the Citty of London Group.

August 12 A visit to medieval Chichester

Meeting Details:

- Contact: Rollo Crookshank (Chair/Secretary): crookshankrollo@gmail.com



Mission Statement

'In the belief that many features of the traditional accounts of the character and career of Richard III are neither supported by sufficient evidence nor reasonably tenable, the Society aims to promote in every possible way research into the life and times of Richard III and to secure a reassessment of the material relating to this period and raise awareness of the role in history of this monarch.'