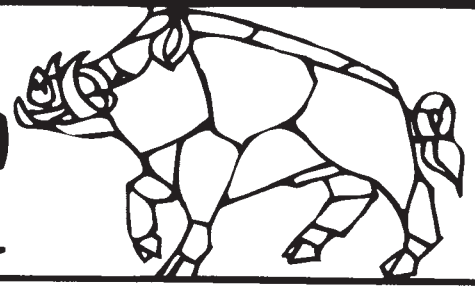


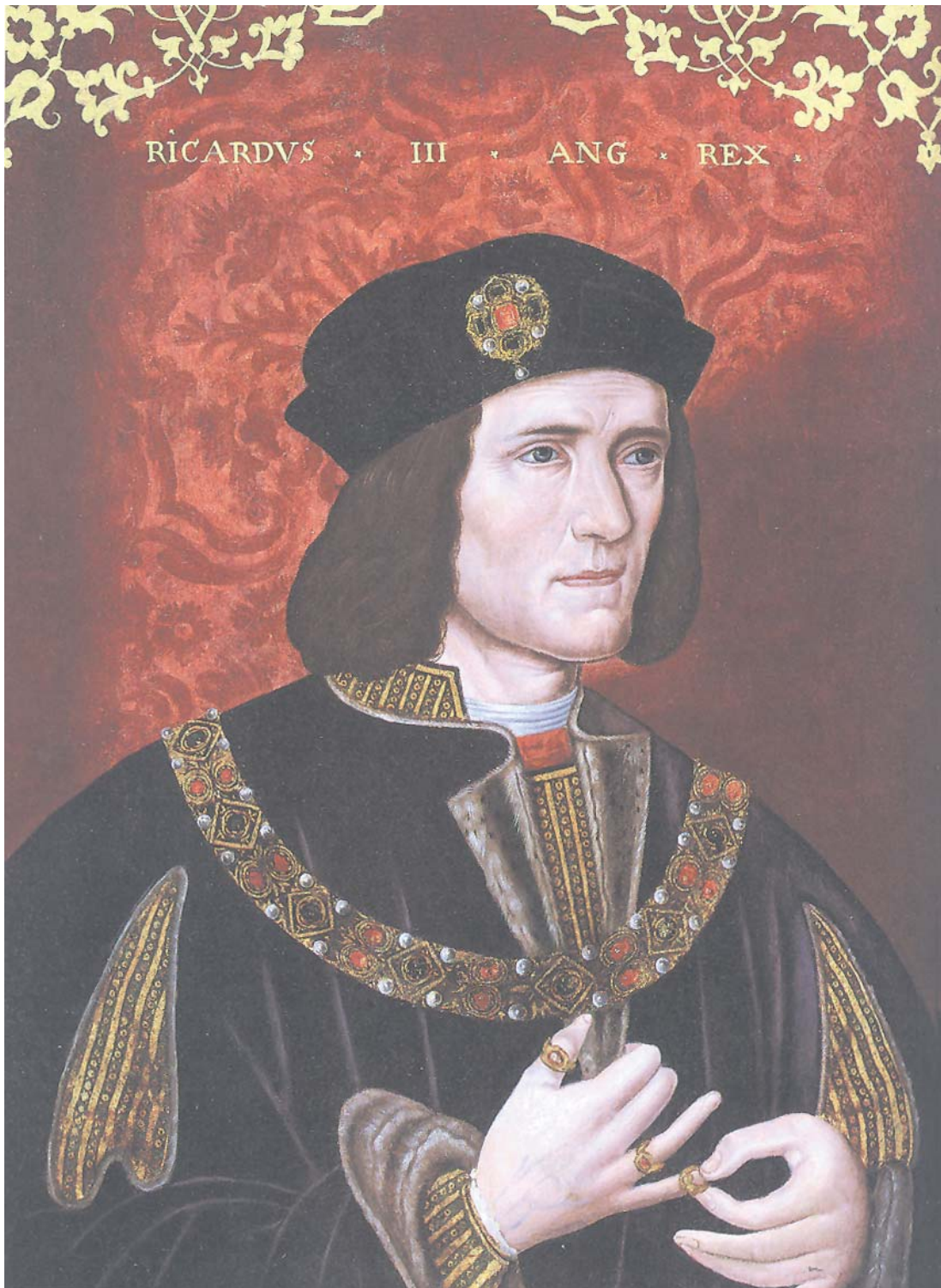
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In the belief that many features of the traditional accounts of the character and career of Richard III are neither supported by sufficient evidence nor reasonably tenable, the Society aims to promote in every possible way research into the life and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

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In This Issue

Editorial License

Carole Rike 3

Gloucester's Dukedom is too Ominous

Marion Davies 4

New Members

. 26

Contributions

. 26

A Ricardian Pilgrimage:

2010 Annual General meeting 27

Ricardian Reading

Myrna Smith 28

The Penn Roll Projects

Laura Blanchard 33

Chapter Contacts

. 36

Membership Application

. 36

2010 Annual General Meeting

Friday, Oct 1, 2010 – Sunday Oct 3, 2010



Copy Deadlines:

Spring	March 15
Summer	June 15
Fall	September 15
Winter	December 15

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EDITORIAL LICENSE

Carole Rike

In the Fall of 2005, Katrina did a pretty good job of leveling the American Society Board's members. Both myself and Peggy Allen lost our homes. I now cannot recall all the details, but we had plenty of difficulties and shortages to deal with and I believe that was the year that Laura Blanchard's family was falling prey to the Big C.

2009 was not a good year for the Board once again. Pam Butler had a health scare. Amber McVey was diagnosed with cancer, had surgery and chemotherapy but appears to be in remissions.

In January of 2010 your editor was diagnosed with small-cell lung cancer, with a cloudy outlook, after months of illness. This is part of the reason I have been so delinquent.

We have continued to run behind on publications. This is a matter of grave concern to the Board. Fortunately, Susan Higginbotham and Jonathan Hayes have both volunteered their help.

Two of the issues have been out of our control, as we have had shortages and mishaps with the English publications. The Fall publications were left out in the rain in New Orleans and a bag short on the delivery.

A previous order had also been short.

We once again beg your forbearance. For those who expressed sympathy and encouragement for my health crisis, I thank you.

For those who only care if the *Register* is delivered timely, , , , , , ,

I forgive you.

**“We always have
been, we are, and I
hope we always shall
be detested in
France.”**

1st Duke of Wellington

GLOUCESTER'S DUKEDOM IS TOO OMINOUS; SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT RICHARD, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, 1452-1485

Marion Davies

Although the Tower of London protected Henry IV's sons during the 1401 conspiracy, it provided no refuge for Richard, duke of York's sons after his death at Wakefield. Despite Edward, earl of March's new status as heir to the throne, the Tower gave his brothers no protection. As Lancastrian troops advanced on London, York's widow, Cecily Neville, sent Richard and George across the narrow seas to Burgundy. Apparently she believed that the Lancastrians—like Henry IV's adversaries sixty years earlier—had no qualms about killing 8- and 11-year olds.

Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, had been the "Yorkists' most dependable foreign ally." (1) Yorkist losses at Wakefield didn't diminish Burgundian support for the house of York. One of Philip the Good's many bastard sons, David, bishop of Utrecht, sheltered Richard and George. (2) Philip the Good sent troops carrying "comparatively new weapons, handguns that discharged lead-tipped arrows and cartridges of wild fire," to aid the Yorkists. (3) Since 1456, Philip the Good had sheltered Louis, dauphin of France from his hostile father, Charles VII. Despite the constraints he lived under, the dauphin sent his representative, Lord de La Bard, with troops. Under the dauphin's banner, which bore an image of the Virgin, La Bard and his men also contributed to the Yorkist victory at Towton. (4)

After news about the Yorkist victory arrived in Burgundy, the Milanese ambassador reported: "two younger brothers of March, son of the Duke of York, are coming [to Bruges] and the Duke of Burgundy has given notice for great honours to be shewn to them." (5) Visiting Richard and George at their lodgings, Philip the Good, Europe's most powerful duke, displayed "great reverence" for his young guests. (6) The city of Bruges gave them a farewell feast, and a Burgundian honor guard escorted them to Calais. Canterbury's city officials welcomed Richard and George with a banquet. From Canterbury they traveled to Shene, where they paid homage to their brother, now King Edward. On June 26, Richard and George were initiated as knights of the Bath; with twenty-six other new knights, they took part in Edward IV's coronation ceremonies. (7)

Between 1461-1466, George was Edward IV's heir apparent. On the day after Edward IV's coronation, he

was made duke of Clarence. Among the many titles and offices that reflected his status was the lieutenancy of Ireland, once held by his father. Clarence received a generous income of about 5,000 marks per year from estates concentrated in the west and the midlands. Yet in 1462, Clarence, or his representatives, persuaded Edward IV to transfer the honour of Richmond from Richard to Clarence. (8) This transfer raises questions: Who represented 9-year-old Richard's interests? How much influence did Cecily Neville—said to rule Edward IV as she willed—have on this transfer? How much did Richard know about the management of his finances in 1462?

On November 4, 1461, Edward IV's first parliament made Richard duke of Gloucester. In the same month Gloucester became commissioner of array for the North Parts. On October 12, 1462, he became admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine. Before reaching age 12, Gloucester was granted the constablership of Corfe Castle, the keepership of the forests of Essex, and "enormous revenues" from Cornish mines. (9) In contrast to Clarence, "who was not appointed commissioner for a single county," Gloucester was made responsible for recruiting troops from "a quarter of the realm" for Edward IV's May 1464 campaign against Lancastrian rebels. (10) Although Gloucester led his troops to Leicester, where they joined Edward IV's army, Neville victories at Hedgely Moor and Hexam ended the rebellion before Gloucester could see action. By May 27, 1464, Gloucester may have rejoined the earl of Warwick's household at Middleham.

Gloucester's whereabouts between 1461-1468 are uncertain. Interpretations of surviving documents disagree. Paul Murray Kendall reasons that Gloucester's 1461 commission of array for the North Parts and a record of Gloucester's presence at court in 1465 define the limits of his residence in Warwick's household. (11) Both Charles Ross and Christine Weightman suggest that Clarence, Gloucester, and Margaret of York lived in their own household at Greenwich during the early 1460s; Weightman suggests that this location may have been chosen to protect them from the plague in London. (12) Although Ross cites the same source as Kendall for the recruitment of Edward IV's troops in early 1464, he doesn't mention Gloucester's contribution to the effort.

(13) Ross interprets Warwick's 1465 grant of 1,000 pounds for Gloucester's maintenance as evidence that he lived in Warwick's household from 1465-1468. (14) Also omitting Gloucester's recruitment contribution in May 1464, P. W. Hammond and Anne F. Sutton state: "Little is known of Richard's actual life until about 1465 when he was placed in the household of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and his countess, the heiress Anne Beauchamp, to learn the arts of war from the Earl's master of henchmen (well born boys receiving their education in a lord's household) and the arts of peace, partly at least, from the Countess." (15) Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs offer the widest time-span: "Scholarly education must have faltered after 1461, when [Gloucester] was sent to live in [Warwick's] household, where he may have stayed for as long as seven years." (16)

All four interpretations raise questions: Was the 12-year-old Gloucester's recruiting assignment a form of hands-on training in the arts of war? Was Gloucester being mentored by experienced officials whose names have not survived? When was Gloucester's ducal council formed? Was Gloucester more than a figurehead leader of the troops he'd recruited? Wasn't 9 a more appropriate age than 13 for Gloucester to join Warwick's household for training in the arts of war and peace? Wasn't 13 an exceptionally late age for a young nobleman to begin military training, especially one who had recruited and led troops against Lancastrian rebels at age 12? Was Edward IV likely to have paid Warwick for Gloucester's maintenance in advance? Isn't it more likely that Edward IV paid Warwick for services already provided? If Gloucester stayed as long as seven years in Warwick's household, how often was his residence interrupted by recruitment responsibilities and attendance at court?

Interpretations of Gloucester's financial status also conflict. Ross disagrees with Kendall's description of Edward IV's generosity to Gloucester. He cites several occasions—beginning with the 1462 transfer of the honour of Richmond to Clarence—in which Edward IV gave political considerations priority over Gloucester's financial stability: in 1464, Edward IV restored estates granted Gloucester to the earl of Oxford; in 1468, he granted some of Gloucester's Welsh estates to the newly made earl of Pembroke. By 1468, Gloucester's income had declined to 500 pounds per year, only one-tenth of Clarence's. (17)

The date of Gloucester's emergence into political and public life is another subject of disagreement. Caroline Halsted stated that Gloucester's membership in the Order of the Garter "appears to mark the point from which [his] true entrance into public and political life may be dated." (18) According to Halsted's sources, Gloucester's

sword and helm were placed in St. George's Chapel on February 4, 1466, and Gloucester took possession of his stall in April. A full-color reproduction of Gloucester's Garter stall plate appears in *Richard III; the road to Bosworth Field*. Its caption states that Gloucester was elected a knight of the Garter when he was 13, in 1465.

(19) Apparently several months passed between Gloucester's election and possession of his stall. Kendall omits this milestone in Gloucester's life. Since Kendall describes Gloucester's and Clarence's 1461 initiations as knights of the Bath, his omission of Gloucester's election as knight of the Garter is puzzling, even if he disagrees with Halsted's interpretation of its significance. Kendall describes the years 1465-1469 as an obscure period in which "only the briefest glimpses of [Gloucester] can be caught and these not of significant moments." (20) Yet Gloucester's election to the Order of the Garter might be interpreted as a reward for recruiting and leading troops from one quarter of Edward's realm in May 1464. It might provide confirmation for Gloucester's early military experience, which seems to have been overlooked by other biographers and historians. Ross mentions both memberships without attributing any significance to the. (21)

Wherever he spent the years between 1461-1469 and whenever he resided in Warwick's household, Gloucester was somehow being educated for life as a duke. Although his exceptionally neat handwriting and the Latin books in his personal library suggest that Gloucester may have been educated for a church career before his father's death at Wakefield, such plans had clearly changed by November 1461. Gloucester began to learn "the knightly and social skills that were indispensable to a young nobleman." (22) Although Sir John Fortescue recommended that military training take priority over specialized religious and legal training in a nobleman's education, this priority need not have extinguished Gloucester's interest in scholarship. The previous duke of Gloucester, Duke Humphrey, had combined exceptional military and scholarly skills in his career. It is possible that Warwick's brother, George Neville, archbishop of York and chancellor of Oxford University, encouraged Gloucester's scholarly interests. Two of the archbishop's most loyal supporters later served on Gloucester's ducal council: Thomas Barrow and Edmund Chaderdon, both distinguished churchmen, may have encouraged Gloucester to demonstrate his scholarly interests through support for St. William's College and membership in the Corpus Christi Guild of York. Gloucester's ducal council may have provided him "an early forcing school of experience," augmented by legal training at one of the inns of court, "recognized as one of the best educations available." (23) Gloucester may have concluded his formal education at Edward IV's court. The program described by Sir John Fortescue emphasized

military training for England's future leaders. The Black Book, which described regulations for Edward IV's household, added language studies, etiquette, dancing, singing, harping, and piping to Fortescue's program. Surviving books signed by Gloucester suggest that he profited from the "variety and balance" described in the Black Book's educational program. (24)

While Gloucester pursued his education, Edward IV and his advisors were considering various marriage alliances. In 1467, Louis XI proposed an Anglo-French alliance involving two marriages: Margaret of York would marry Philip of Bresse; and Gloucester would marry Louis XI's younger daughter, Jeanne. Louis XI secretly promised to grant Gloucester "Holland, Zeeland, and Brabant from the defeated and dismembered Burgundy. This proposal would have reminded the English of the war fought by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester a generation earlier." (25) Disagreeing with scholars who interpret surviving documents as evidence that Louis XI's daughter was offered to Gloucester, Ross states that Warwick was negotiating for Clarence to marry Jeanne and receive lordship of Holland, Zeeland and Brabant if Louis XI "should succeed in dismembering the Duchy of Burgundy." (26) Perhaps the conflicting interpretations arise from Louis XI's negotiating style; the Milanese ambassador to the French court reported that: "... an embassy of the English arrived.... They have come to negotiate a truce ... and also to treat about the marriage of [Louis XI's] second daughter, although they say she is somewhat deformed in person, chiefly in one shoulder, to King Edward's brother [Richard] ... [Louis XI] in his own interests, wishes to attend to the truce, but he will dissimulate about the marriage alliance until he sees how things are going." (27) At the same time that he was negotiating with Louis XI, Edward IV was considering an Anglo-Burgundian marriage alliance. As early as September 25, 1465, Burgundian negotiators had proposed a marriage between Margaret of York and Charles the Bold. In March 1466, Warwick carried to Burgundy a proposal for a double wedding: Charles the Bold would marry Margaret of York; and his daughter Mary, the richest heiress of her time, would marry Margaret's brother, Clarence. In autumn 1467, Edward IV and Charles the Bold agreed to just half of this match; Margaret of York was contracted to marry Charles the Bold. (28) Early in 1468, "the marriage treaty and Anglo-Burgundian alliances were finally signed and ratified." (29) Although Charles the Bold wanted to celebrate the wedding in conjunction with his Chapter of the Golden Fleece meeting and festivities, dispensation and financial problems delayed Margaret of York's departure until June 18, 1468. (30) Gloucester was

among the lords who accompanied Margaret of York and Edward IV to the shrine of St. Thomas a Becket in Canterbury. At the completion of this pilgrimage, Margaret of York sailed to Burgundy for what has been called "the marriage of the century." (31)

Unfortunately, the marriage of the century intensified Warwick's and Clarence's discontent, which had been growing for years. While Nevilles were fighting Lancastrians in spring 1464, Edward IV was secretly pursuing Elizabeth Woodville. While Gloucester was recruiting troops in the southwest, Edward IV was sneaking off to Grafton Regis, property of Jacquetta of Luxembourg, duchess of Bedford, and her second husband, Richard Woodville. There he married Jacquetta's and Richard's daughter, Elizabeth, widow of the Lancastrian Sir John Grey. This clandestine marriage reportedly took place on Walpurgisnight, when witches were said to assemble for orgies with the devil. It remained a secret until September 1464, when Edward IV told his council that negotiations for an Anglo-French marriage alliance had to end because he was already married. (32)

The consequences of this secret marriage gradually alienated Warwick and Clarence from Edward IV. After showing the courts of Europe that he'd deceived Warwick about his marriage, Edward IV continued to develop a foreign policy that Warwick opposed. In England, Edward IV agreed to profitable, sometimes scandalous, marriages for his many Woodville in-laws; but he failed to arrange an appropriate marriage for Clarence, and he refused Warwick permission to make appropriate marriages for his daughters. By the time Edward IV had agreed to the Anglo-Burgundian marriage alliance, Warwick had become alienated enough to refuse Edward IV a loan towards the first installment of Margaret of York's dowry. Despite their participation in Margaret of York's departure ceremonies, both Warwick and Clarence had become resentful enough to plan a marriage between Warwick's daughter, Isabel, and Clarence without Edward IV's permission. (33)

At some point, this marriage may have been part of Louis XI's scheme for an Anglo-French alliance; but, like the proposed match between Clarence and Mary of Burgundy, it disappeared from negotiations. After Margaret of York's marriage, Warwick and Clarence may have salvaged a double marriage plan from the defunct Anglo-French proposals: Clarence and Gloucester would marry Warwick's daughters, Isabel and Anne. Rumors circulating in the French court claimed that Edward IV had reprimanded and confined Clarence and Gloucester for meeting Warwick at Cambridge to plan a double wedding. (34) In 1469, the Milanese ambassador

to England, Luchino Dallaghiera, erroneously reported that Warwick had “married his two daughters to the king’s two brothers.”⁽³⁵⁾ It is possible that Warwick’s request for papal dispensations for the double marriage plan triggered the rumors and diplomatic report. In this case, Gloucester’s marriage to Anne Neville was the one that failed to materialize. In June 1469, Cecily Neville joined Warwick and Clarence at Canterbury and Sandwich during their preparations for Clarence’s forbidden marriage to Isabel Neville.⁽³⁶⁾ Cecily’s presence raises questions: Was she supporting Warwick and Clarence against Edward IV? Or was she trying to reconcile Warwick and Clarence with Edward IV? What influence did she have on Gloucester’s decisions in 1469?

On July 11, 1469, “in the presence of a considerable company,” Clarence and Isabel Neville married at the church of Notre Dame in Calais.⁽³⁷⁾ Beyond Edward IV’s reach, their public ceremony disparaged Edward IV’s clandestine marriage to Elizabeth Woodville. Perhaps the king’s secret marriage and his permission for the Woodvilles to make advantageous marriages at the expense of established nobles originated Warwick’s and Clarence’s resentment; but Edward IV’s refusal of permission for Clarence and Isabel Neville to marry was only one reason for defiance. Other grievances might be summed up in the claim that Edward IV favored self-serving advisors over prudent councilors, a standard complaint against unsatisfactory kings.

Other Englishmen shared Warwick’s and Clarence’s dissatisfaction: some were angered by Edward IV’s failure to keep domestic peace; some deplored trade policies that failed to increase English prosperity; many resented high taxes, which Edward IV sometimes failed to spend on the projects for which he’d levied them.⁽³⁸⁾ The euphemism, “benevolences,” employed as early as March 13, 1462 in a letter to tax-collectors, may have intensified some taxpayers’ resentments.⁽³⁹⁾ Despite having “as great livelihood and possessions as ever had king of England,” Edward IV was continually in debt.⁽⁴⁰⁾ By 1468, so many Englishmen were unwilling to make more loans to their king that Margaret of York’s wedding was delayed because he had difficulty raising money for the first installment of her dowry.⁽⁴¹⁾ This dissatisfaction enabled Warwick and Clarence to use lower-ranking subjects as camouflage for their 1469 rebellion.

Robin of Redesdale, Robin Mend-All, and Robin of Holderness were aliases used by leaders of popular uprisings. Although the identity of these leaders hasn’t been confirmed, Robin of Redesdale may have been Warwick’s cousin by marriage, Sir John Conyers. Warwick’s nephew, Sir Henry FitzHugh, his cousin, Sir

Henry Neville, and Sir Henry Neville’s brother-in-law also fought for Warwick and Clarence during 1469. Although no magnates openly supported Warwick and Clarence, popular support for the uprisings was strong in the north. Contemporary chroniclers described “a mighty insurrection of the commons” and “many ... petitioners seeking the reform of many things in the realm.”⁽⁴²⁾ Despite being defeated by the earl of Northumberland’s forces in Yorkshire in early May, Robin of Redesdale was able to revive his rebellion in Lancashire a month later.⁽⁴³⁾ Another Warwick supporter, Thomas Wake, sheriff of Northampton, reinforced the military campaign by accusing Jacquetta of Luxembourg, Edward IV’s mother-in-law, of witchcraft. Accompanied by a broken lead figure allegedly made by the accused, the witchcraft charge implied that Edward IV had married Elizabeth Woodville under the most evil of influences.⁽⁴⁴⁾

While Warwick and Clarence were brewing rebellions, Gloucester was beginning to assume adult responsibilities. In January 1469, he served on the commission that convicted Thomas Hungerford and his co-conspirators of treason.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Much of Hungerford’s attainted property was granted to Gloucester. In May 1469, Gloucester made an agreement with Hungerford’s mother. This agreement gave Gloucester and his heirs possession of the Castle and Manor of Farleigh in Somerset together with Hungerford Court in Berkshire “to hold without interruption” by Lady Hungerford or Lord Hungerford’s feoffees; it gave Lady Hungerford five manors in Wiltshire to “hold without interruption” by Gloucester, plus another seven manors in Wiltshire which were part of her dowry, profits from another seven manors and three Hundreds, seven manors in Cornwall, and “all the manors, lordships, lands and tenements in England which once belonged to Walter Lord Hungerford or Robert Lord Hungerford, his son, and of which she received the profits”⁽⁴⁶⁾ Gloucester also agreed to apply for the king’s license to establish a chantry in Salisbury Cathedral, plus an almshouse and a school in Heytesbury. Funding for these charities came from additional manors held by the Hungerfords’ feoffees. Gloucester’s willingness to allow Lady Hungerford enough income to support three charities contrasted favorably with the land-hunger Clarence demonstrated at Gloucester’s expense in 1462.

Gloucester’s loyalty to Edward IV contrasted even more strongly with Clarence’s behavior. Despite the generous income he’d received as Edward IV’s heir apparent, Clarence seems to have readily defected to Warwick. Despite receiving a much less generous income and scattered properties that gave him no regional

influence, Gloucester proved to be one of Edward IV's most loyal and effective supporters during the 1469-1471 rebellions. ⁽⁴⁷⁾ Although Edward IV granted Gloucester extensive lands from the duchy of Lancaster in May 1469, this grant was limited to the king's pleasure, and it brought Gloucester into conflict with the Stanley family, a long-established regional power. Gloucester's grant didn't deprive the Stanleys of any land, but the offices associated with Gloucester's new lands encroached on Stanley influence. Edward IV's decision to risk offending the Stanleys suggests that he considered Gloucester's endowment a high priority, despite the constraints on his ability to endow Gloucester. Lack of resources to reward his supporters had been a continuing problem for Edward IV; by May 1469, he couldn't create a regional power base for Gloucester without taking lands and offices away from their current holders. Since this was politically unacceptable, Edward IV failed to create an "appropriate niche" for Gloucester in 1469. ⁽⁴⁸⁾

Still unaware that Warwick and Clarence were behind the northern uprisings, Edward IV made a pilgrimage to Bury St. Edmunds and Walsingham in early June 1469. Gloucester was in Edward IV's retinue. According to Kendall, Edward IV was combining his pilgrimage with quelling the northern rebellion. He included "two of his best captains, Sir John Howard and Louis de Bretaylle," in his retinue; and he agreed at the last minute that Gloucester "was ready for a mild taste of campaigning." ⁽⁴⁹⁾ Ross suggests that Edward IV hadn't decided to lead the northern campaign until he'd reached East Anglia: orders for "banners, standards, coat-armour, forty jackets of velvet and damask with roses, and a thousand jackets for the field" weren't issued until June 18, 1469; orders for mobilizing the royal artillery waited until June 20. ⁽⁵⁰⁾ Gloucester found himself short of funds. On June 24, at Castle Rising, he requested a loan of "an hundred pound of money unto Easter next coming" from Sir John Say, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, adding his own postscript: "Sir I pray you that you fail me not at this time in my great need, as ye will that I show you my good lordship in that matter that ye labor to me for." ⁽⁵¹⁾ Whether or not Gloucester's lack of a coherent power base contributed to his need for funds, his postscript demonstrates that he understood the exercise of power. Apparently his experience as commissioner of array in 1464 contributed to his success in recruiting for the 1469 campaign: he persuaded four of John Paston III's acquaintances to join his contingent, while Anthony Woodville failed to recruit John III for Edward IV. ⁽⁵²⁾

Perhaps Woodville's failure resulted from Edward IV's refusal to help the Pastons negotiate a settlement

with the duke of Suffolk, whose men had destroyed the Pastons' manor of Hellesdon. Despite Gloucester's effort on the Pastons' behalf, the king informed William Paston that "he would neither treat nor speak for you but for to let the law proceed." ⁽⁵³⁾ Perhaps letting the law proceed in favor of destructive magnates contributed to the low turn-out for Edward IV. Gloucester's recruiting skills couldn't compensate for the overall shortage of troops. On July 7, 1469, Edward IV learned that Robin of Redesdale was leading an army said to be three times as large as his own. Finally realizing that Warwick and Clarence—aided by George Neville, archbishop of York—were behind Robin of Redesdale's uprisings, Edward IV wrote letters to each, summoning them to prove they weren't in rebellion, "as the rumour here runneth." ⁽⁵⁴⁾

Unfortunately for Edward IV, Warwick's and Clarence's responsibility for the rebellions was no rumor. From Calais, they circulated an open letter supporting Robin of Redesdale, calling for troops to assemble at Canterbury on July 16, 1469. After landing in Kent, Warwick and Clarence led their troops to London, whose officials admitted them and loaned them 1,000 pounds rather than risk destruction to the city. Warwick's and Clarence's troops marched towards Coventry, intending to meet Robin of Redesdale's there. Edward IV awaited reinforcements at Nottingham. Intending to join Edward IV, the earl of Pembroke's Welsh pikemen and the earl of Devon's West Country archers marched towards Nottingham. When Pembroke's and Devon's forces met at Banbury, they quarreled about lodgings, with the result that Devon's men camped miles away from Pembroke's. This split enabled Robin of Redesdale's troops—reinforced by one of Warwick's cavalry detachments—to defeat Pembroke's after fierce combat. Remembered as the battle of Edgecote, this combat was followed by Devon's escape and Pembroke's capture. On July 27, Warwick had Pembroke and his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, beheaded at Northampton. ⁽⁵⁵⁾

Edward IV's intelligence network seems to have failed him repeatedly in 1469. When he led his troops toward Northampton on July 29, Edward IV apparently expected to join Pembroke's and Devon's forces. Instead he was confronted by news of their defeat, and his own troops dispersed. At Olney, Edward IV was taken prisoner by the archbishop of York. Between late July and early September, Edward IV remained in custody, but Warwick couldn't govern using a captive Edward IV as figurehead. Opposition spreading from the government of Burgundy through London as far as Northumberland forced Warwick to free the king. Gloucester, Suffolk,

earls, lords, and royal councilors soon answered Edward IV's summons. In mid-October 1469, Edward IV and his supporters returned to London, where the mayor, aldermen, and two hundred craftsmen welcomed them. ⁽⁵⁶⁾

Although Gloucester's contribution to Edward IV's release is unknown, the lands and offices Edward IV granted Gloucester in late 1469 suggest that his contribution was significant. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ As early as October 17, 1469, Edward IV made Gloucester constable of England for life. The constableness combined heraldry with law enforcement, enabling Gloucester to apply knightly ideals in practical ways. As constable of England, Gloucester was president of the Court of Chivalry and of Courts Martial, responsible for supervising the heralds as well as judging and punishing acts of treason. ⁽⁵⁸⁾ On October 19, Edward IV made Gloucester steward of the queen's lands, at an annual salary of 100 pounds. ⁽⁵⁹⁾ During November, Edward IV continued to reward Gloucester. Land grants included the honour of Clitheroe in Lancashire, the honour of Halton in Cheshire, and the castle and manor of Sudeley. ⁽⁶⁰⁾ Gloucester filled the offices in Wales and the earldom of March vacated by Warwick's murder of the Herberts. On November 7, Edward IV made Gloucester chief justice of North Wales for life, an office once held by Duke Humphrey. In late November, Edward IV added the offices of chief steward, approver, and surveyor of the principality of Wales and earldom of March to Gloucester's portfolio. More offices and responsibilities for Gloucester followed in December: he became steward of Monmouth; and he was authorized to quell rebellions in the castles of Cardigan and Carmarthen, although Warwick was still constable of both. ⁽⁶¹⁾ In February 1470, Edward IV placed Gloucester in the Welsh offices Warwick had taken for himself during Edward IV's captivity; Gloucester also became the chief justice of South Wales—another office held by Duke Humphrey—as well as chamberlain of South Wales and steward of the king's lands in Cantrefmawr and Cardiganshire. With the help of experienced councilors and local officials, Gloucester was able to restore some order between October 1469 and February 1470. Assigned to lead an established Welsh network without making big changes in it, Gloucester received enough power to fulfill his responsibilities; but he didn't receive a permanent power base. Nevertheless, Gloucester proved to be an effective and energetic leader. ⁽⁶²⁾

While Gloucester and local officials were restoring order in Wales, Edward IV tried to reconcile with his former captors. Between November 1469 and February 1470, Warwick and Clarence attended a series of Great

Council meetings which resulted in an agreement allowing them to evade punishment for beheading two earls, two knights, and others who had opposed their rebellion. The Herbert family had lost the earl of Pembroke, Sir Richard Herbert, and Thomas Herbert; the Woodville family had lost Earl Rivers, father of the queen, and his son, Sir John Woodville. ⁽⁶³⁾ Despite the fact that these victims had been their king's allies or the queen's close relatives, their killers remained free in the name of reconciliation. The reconciliation was brief. Attempting to keep peace, Cecily Neville called her sons and Neville relations together at her London residence, Baynard's Castle, in early March. ⁽⁶⁴⁾ Her effort failed.

Warwick's and Clarence's involvement with local conflict suggests they had never changed their intention to replace Edward IV. As early as February 1470, the supporters of Lord Welles and his son, Sir Robert Welles, destroyed a manor belonging to the king's master of the horse, Sir Thomas Burgh of Gainsborough. Edward IV didn't wait for the law to proceed in Burgh's case. On March 4 he summoned troops to meet him at Grantham, Lincolnshire. Rumors that Edward IV was planning to renege on the general pardon he'd granted 1469 rebels caused many northerners to support Sir Robert Wells. Again Edward IV misplaced his trust in Warwick and Clarence: he sent them commissions of array, apparently expecting them to bring troops for his support; instead, they supported Sir Robert Welles. After Edward IV's troops defeated the rebels on March 12, 1470, escapees discarded Clarence's livery, naming the site of this conflict Lose-Cote Field. In post-battle interrogations, Sir Robert Welles and his allies confessed that Warwick and Clarence had supported them with the intention of replacing Edward IV with Clarence. News that Robin of Redesdale was recruiting troops in Richmondshire and that violence was spreading in Clarence's West Country holdings seemed to confirm these confessions. Final confirmation arrived with Warwick's and Clarence's response to Edward IV's summons: first they sent the king unprecedented and unacceptable demands; then they escaped to France. ⁽⁶⁵⁾

Gloucester's whereabouts during this campaign are uncertain. Although Kendall suggests that Gloucester was leading troops from Wales to Edward IV's assistance in mid-March, Michael K. Jones suggests that Gloucester was at Hornby Castle, Lancashire, helping a loyal Yorkist family, the Harringtons, withstand the Stanleys' siege. ⁽⁶⁶⁾ Jones' interpretation depends on two documents: Edward IV's proclamation, issued at York on March 25, 1470, concerning conflict between "his right entirely beloved brother the Duke of Gloucester and the Lord Stanley," and Gloucester's grant to

Gloucester's Dukedom

Reginald Vaughan, dated at Hornby Castle, March 26, 1470. (67) Both interpretations raise questions: Since Kendall cites only the March 25 proclamation, did he know about Gloucester's grant to Vaughan? Was Gloucester's grant to Vaughan extraordinary or routine? Would he have signed a routine grant to Vaughan at Hornby while Warwick and Clarence were fugitives? How did he enter and leave a besieged castle? Did his rank somehow exempt him from Stanley interference?

During the few months since Edward IV had granted Gloucester land and offices in the duchy of Lancaster, the Stanleys had obstructed Gloucester's officials. As early as November 12, 1469, Edward IV ordered Lord Stanley to pay "all sums due to the duke, on pain of royal displeasure." (68) The March 25 proclamation and March 26 grant may refer to continuing local conflict between Gloucester's and the Stanleys' officials, but their dates don't prove that Gloucester was in Hornby Castle with the Harringtons instead of leading troops from Wales to reinforce Edward IV. More questions arise: How long would Gloucester's many responsibilities allow him to stay at Hornby Castle? If Gloucester was aiding the Harringtons, was he acting with or without Edward IV's approval? If Gloucester was acting without Edward IV's approval, why did Edward IV's March 25 proclamation refer to Gloucester as his "right entirely beloved brother?" If Gloucester was disobeying Edward IV, wouldn't the proclamation's language have been less favorable to Gloucester?

The commissions of array authorizing Gloucester to raise troops in Gloucestershire and Hereford, dated March 26, suggest that Gloucester had not earned the king's displeasure. On April 17, 1470, Gloucester received another commission of array for Devon and Cornwall. As chief justice of North and South Wales, Gloucester presided over the great sessions of Carmarthen on June 18, 1470. (69) In July, Gloucester and Edward IV quelled the uprising led by Warwick's brother-in-law, Lord Fitzhugh of Ravensworth. Late in August, Edward IV filled some of the offices Warwick had vacated; he made Gloucester warden of the west marches toward Scotland. (70)

While Gloucester was fulfilling military and judicial responsibilities in England and Wales, Warwick and Clarence were preparing to invade England. With Louis XI's assistance, Warwick negotiated an alliance with Margaret of Anjou: Warwick would replace Edward IV with Henry VI in return for a marriage between his daughter, Anne, and Henry VI's heir, Edward. This alliance demoted Clarence, who would become king only if Edward of Lancaster had no children. Perhaps Warwick's new alliance began to erode Clarence's

support for his father-in-law. Margaret of York's letters, relayed by a lady in Isabel Neville's retinue, may have accelerated the erosion process. Perhaps Clarence was considering reconciliation with Edward IV while he invaded England with Warwick. In early September, Warwick and Clarence landed in Devon with their new Lancastrian allies, the earl of Oxford and Henry VI's half-brother, Jasper Tudor. The earl of Shrewsbury and Thomas, Lord Stanley met them with many supporters, and they marched toward Coventry. (71) Edward IV's decision to restore Henry Percy to the earldom of Northumberland at John Neville's expense cost him Neville's support in this rebellion. Unappeased by his promotion to marquess of Montagu and the lands substituted for the Percy lands, John Neville switched to Warwick's side. Apparently Edward IV's intelligence network failed him again in 1470: the king was surprised and outnumbered; his troops disbanded. But he didn't allow Warwick to take him captive again. With Gloucester, Lord Hastings, Earl Rivers, and about 1500 knights and squires, Edward IV escaped to Burgundy. (72)

On his eighteenth birthday, Gloucester boarded the ship that carried him to his second Burgundian exile. (73) Other ships in the fleet carried Edward IV and Hastings. Pursued by hostile Hanseatic ships, the fleet scattered along a wide expanse of the Netherlandish coast. Gloucester and Rivers landed at Weilingen, Zeeland; Edward IV and Lord Hastings landed far to the north on Texel Island. (74) Lacking money, Edward IV paid his ship's master with "a gown lined with beautiful martins" and a promise to do more for the master when he could. (75) How Gloucester paid for his passage is unknown, but an entry in the accounts of the City of Ter Veere for the second week of November 1470 records a loan of "3 pounds, 2 shillings, 3 pennies" to Gloucester "paid by order of my lord of Boucham the bailiff of Veere." (76) Charles the Bold's representative, Lord Gruuthuyse, provided clothing for some of Edward IV's men and paid everyone's expenses until Charles the Bold authorized "a modest monthly allowance" for Edward IV. (77) This aid was kept secret because Charles the Bold was trying to avoid war with Louis XI, and he needed to maintain good relations with Louis XI's allies in England. Margaret of York had to communicate with her brothers in secret as well. (78)

Louis XI's December 3 declaration of war on Burgundy transformed the English exiles from a liability to an asset. On December 31, 1470, Charles the Bold granted Edward IV 20,000 pounds "for his and his brother the duke of Gloucester's expenses ... and for their ... return to England." (79) On January 2, 1471,

Edward IV conferred with Charles the Bold at his consort's castle of La Motte. During January, Edward IV and Gloucester visited Margaret of York at Hesdin several times. She encouraged Burgundians to lend money for her brothers' return to England; on February 24, five Dutch towns, including Leiden, agreed to lend Margaret of York and Edward IV 6,000 florins if Charles the Bold approved. After Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy went to Lille, Gloucester visited them there. By mid-February, Gloucester, Hastings, and Rivers were at Flushing, acquiring supplies for their fleet and troops. Edward IV walked from Bruges to Damme in order to meet and thank as many Burgundians as possible for their support. After waiting nine days for favorable winds, Edward IV's fleet of thirty-six ships sailed for England on March 11, 1471. ⁽⁸⁰⁾

Reunited at Ravenspur after storms had separated their ships, Edward IV and his supporters marched through unwelcoming territory. The town of Kingston refused to admit them, and the city of York allowed only a few men to enter with Edward IV on March 18; his main force, under Gloucester's command, had to wait outside the city walls. ⁽⁸¹⁾ Although he reached Sandal Castle unattacked, Edward IV received little support from nearby residents. Despite this cold response, he benefited from Montagu's and Northumberland's inaction, which enabled him to advance into friendlier territory. As he moved south, Edward IV attracted supporters: at Nottingham Sir William Parr and Sir James Harrington contributed 600 troops; at Leicester, Lord Hastings contributed 3,000. ⁽⁸²⁾

As Edward IV's forces grew stronger, Warwick's began to weaken. Instead of confronting Edward IV at Newark, Exeter and Oxford retreated to Warwickshire, where Warwick was recruiting troops. Shrewsbury and Stanley, who'd welcomed Warwick and Clarence at Devon only five months earlier, proved unreliable. Because his liege lord, Clarence, sent him no command, Shrewsbury contributed no troops to Warwick; Stanley was embroiled in the siege of Hornby Castle. Surviving letters suggest that Clarence was considering whether or not to switch sides. Clarence's decision may have been influenced by persistent appeals from his mother and sisters. Margaret of York's influence may have been strongest; three of her contemporaries gave her credit for bringing Clarence back to the Yorkists. On April 3, 1471, Clarence reconciled with Edward IV and Gloucester on the road from Banbury to Coventry. Strengthened by Clarence's troops, Edward IV challenged Warwick to battle, but Warwick refused to leave the protection of Coventry's walls. Rather than besiege Coventry, Edward IV led his troops to London, whose

officials admitted them on April 11, 1471. Warwick and his remaining allies met at St. Albans the next day, Good Friday. On the day before Easter, Edward IV led his troops toward Barnet, where they encountered Warwick's troops blocking the road to St. Albans. ⁽⁸³⁾

Gloucester's contribution to the Yorkist victory is uncertain. He may have led the vanguard of Edward IV's army. Kendall, Hammond, and Sutton accept the Great Chronicle's version, which assigned Gloucester leadership of Edward IV's van. ⁽⁸⁴⁾ Considering the Great Chronicle too late to qualify as a contemporary source, Ross bases his interpretation on sources that don't name any commanders at the battle of Barnet. Admitting that Gloucester's command of the Yorkist van is not "inherently implausible," Ross also acknowledges that "impersonal evidence of a record source certainly reveals that [Gloucester] was in the thick of the fighting, for members of his entourage were slain at his side." ⁽⁸⁵⁾ Without describing Gloucester's leadership assignment, a contemporary poet compared Gloucester to one of the Nine Worthies, the chivalric hero, Hector of Troy: "The duke of Glouetter, that nobill prynce, / Yonge of age and victorious in batayle, / To the honoure of Ectour that he myghte comens / Grace hym folowith, fortune and good spede / I suppose hes the same that clerkis of rede, / Fortune hathe him chosyn, and forthe with hym wall goo, / Her husbonde to be, the will of God is soo." ⁽⁸⁶⁾ This poet also praised Hastings, Clarence, and Rivers, but Gloucester was the only one compared to a national hero. Unlike his predecessor, Duke Humphrey, who was also praised in verse, Duke Richard seems to have refrained from displays of "courage bordering on rashness;" at Barnet, he demonstrated courage in the form of persistence and endurance. ⁽⁸⁷⁾

Gloucester's command of the van at Tewkesbury was recorded. ⁽⁸⁸⁾ Gloucester's van, plus two hundred spearmen assigned to prevent a Lancastrian ambush, and Edward IV's center overpowered the duke of Somerset's van. Then Edward IV's center put Edward of Lancaster's center to flight. According to John Warkworth, a contemporary chronicler, Edward of Lancaster died in the field, crying to his brother-in-law Clarence for help. ⁽⁸⁹⁾ Some of the defeated Lancastrians tried to take sanctuary in Tewkesbury Abbey. Refusing to recognize the abbey as a sanctuary because it had no royal charter or papal bull confirming its status, Edward IV ordered the Lancastrians' extraction. On May 6, 1471, Gloucester, constable of England, and the duke of Norfolk, marshal of England, held the trial, which was followed by immediate executions in Tewkesbury market place. ⁽⁹⁰⁾

When news of the Yorkist victory reached Lancastrians in the north, resistance to Edward IV evaporated. Londoners resisted the Lancastrians led by the Bastard of Fauconberg so fiercely that they withdrew to Sandwich. On May 21, 1471, the mayor and aldermen of London welcomed Edward IV to London. The Yorkist Notes, 1471 named twenty-seven of the lords who entered London in Edward IV's retinue: among them were Gloucester, Clarence, the dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Buckingham. This appears to be the first unambiguous record of Buckingham's presence at the same event as Gloucester.⁽⁹¹⁾ It raises questions: Did the fifteen-year old Buckingham fight at Barnet or Tewkesbury? Did Gloucester and Buckingham know each other well? What did they think of each other? How did the three-year age gap between them influence their interactions?

As far as is known, Buckingham had not yet taken part in any executions. As constable of England, Gloucester had taken responsibility for several executions; and he was about to be held responsible for another one, despite the Yorkist claim that Henry VI died "of pure displeasure, and melencoly," on May 23, 1471.⁽⁹²⁾ Many of Gloucester's contemporaries seem to have doubted the Yorkist version of Henry VI's death, including its date, often given as May 21. If such doubts were justified, Henry VI died at Edward IV's command; Gloucester, as constable of England, was responsible for carrying out Edward IV's command.⁽⁹³⁾

On May 27, 1471, Gloucester went to Sandwich, where he received Fauconberg's surrender and took custody of his ships. In return, Fauconberg received a pardon. Like many Lancastrians before him, Fauconberg seems to have used his pardon to renew hostile action against Edward IV. Although he accompanied Gloucester on a brief campaign against the Scots, Fauconberg was apparently supporting another uprising in Kent. As constable of England, Gloucester executed him at Pontefract in September 1471.⁽⁹⁴⁾ After the king of Scotland requested negotiations, Gloucester returned to his other responsibilities in London.

Gloucester's contributions to the Yorkist victory had earned him new rewards and responsibilities. Before leaving to campaign against the Scots, Gloucester received castles, lands, and offices in the north which provided him a coherent power base. On June 29, 1471, he received three castles formerly held by Warwick—Middleham, Sheriff Hutton, and Penrith; on July 14, 1471, a more extensive grant made Gloucester lord of all lands in Yorkshire and Cumberland that Warwick had inherited from his father. On July 4, Gloucester had been granted the offices Warwick had

held. The most influential was the stewardship of the duchy of Lancaster in the North. Other stewardships and foresterships extended Gloucester's influence in Yorkshire, northern Cheshire, the northern midlands, and Lincolnshire. Perhaps Stanley resistance to Gloucester's new authority was anticipated. As early as July 7, 1471, Edward IV ordered the Stanleys' officials to cease their interference with Gloucester's officials. Gloucester's assignment as Edward IV's representative in Wales ended in summer 1471. Edward IV granted the murdered Pembroke's heir the offices his father and Gloucester had held. Although Gloucester continued to own Welsh properties, he never represented Edward IV in Wales again.⁽⁹⁵⁾

While Gloucester was preparing to campaign in Scotland, Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, was planning a pilgrimage to Portugal. John Paston reported that Edward IV said angrily: "wen evyr he hathe most to do, the [Earl Rivers] wyll sonest axe leve to depart, and weenyth that it is most be cause of kowardyese"⁽⁹⁶⁾ On July 17, 1471, Edward IV replaced Rivers with Hastings as lieutenant of Calais. Supported by John, Lord Howard and 1,500 troops, Hastings peacefully reclaimed Calais by pardoning Warwick's deputies and paying soldiers' wages.⁽⁹⁷⁾

The reconciliation on Banbury Road failed to diminish Clarence's power-hunger. Although Edward IV had been both forgiving and generous, Clarence interfered with Gloucester's rewards. On May 18, 1471, Gloucester had been appointed chamberlain of England. Before he and Warwick exiled Edward IV and Gloucester, Clarence had been chamberlain of England, and he wanted to reoccupy the office. With the same disregard he'd shown for his younger brother in 1462, Clarence persisted until Edward IV restored the chamberlainship to Clarence in May 1472.⁽⁹⁸⁾

Clarence's interference with Gloucester's marriage to Anne Neville was even more callous and obtuse. Ross comments: "A more judicious man might have thought himself lucky to be alive and at liberty after his attempts to take his brother's throne. Common prudence dictated a quiet acceptance of whatever favors Edward chose to bestow on [Gloucester]."⁽⁹⁹⁾ Instead of quietly accepting Edward IV's decisions, Clarence provoked the "most tiresome domestic problem" Edward IV faced between 1471 and 1475.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Determined to "parte no lyvelod" with his younger brother, Clarence delayed Gloucester's marriage to Anne Neville as long as possible.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ His delaying tactics provided onlookers with an interesting variant of the Cinderella story. The Croyland chronicler claimed that Clarence had Anne Neville disguised as a cookmaid. Later historians and

biographers have repeated the Croyland version without considering the possibility that Anne Neville could have replicated Jacqueline of Hainault's escape from Philip the Good. A twentieth century novelist has described that possibility: with her servants' help, Anne Neville disguised herself, escaped from Clarence, and sent a message to Gloucester. ⁽¹⁰²⁾ Whoever disguised Anne Neville as a cookmaid, she seems to have lived in sanctuary at St. Martin le Grand until the obstacles to her marriage with Gloucester were overcome. Questions about Clarence's interference with Anne Neville's marriage arise: Since she was a widow of legal age, how could Clarence justify his interference? If Clarence disguised and hid Anne Neville, why wasn't he held responsible for abducting his sister-in-law? Why was he allowed to continue the conflict over Anne Neville's share of Warwick's estates for so long?

On December 4, 1471, Edward IV re-granted Gloucester East Anglian lands forfeited by the de Vere family. Although this grant extended Gloucester's influence, it also entangled him in another conflict with an illegally dispossessed widow. Both the dowager countess of Oxford and the dowager countess of Warwick inherited property in their own right, which should have been exempt from confiscation despite their husbands' or sons' treasons. Fear that these countesses might use part of their remaining income to fund new rebellions may have motivated Edward IV to violate their inheritance rights, and Gloucester may have agreed with that fear. Despite his financial insecurities, he didn't earn a reputation for dispossessing widows whose families hadn't rebelled against Edward IV. Since both countesses resisted dispossession for years, Gloucester's acquisition of their lands added to his legal burdens as well as his power base. ⁽¹⁰³⁾

One of the properties claimed by the countess of Warwick became the object of a four-way dispute. After Warwick and Clarence escaped to France, Edward IV granted Barnard Castle to Lawrence Booth, bishop of Durham; but he dispossessed Booth in Clarence's favor in June 1471. During negotiations for his marriage with Anne Neville, Gloucester claimed Barnard Castle, and Edward IV eventually granted it to him. Before Gloucester's arrival in the region, Booth—described as a “zealous and often tactless defender of the liberties of his diocese”—had resisted the Nevilles. He continued this resistance against Gloucester. Perhaps Edward IV's decision to grant Barnard Castle to Gloucester intensified Booth's resistance. During the remainder of his tenure at Durham, the bishop refused to pay fees or offer employment to Gloucester's men. ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

The bishop's opposition didn't prevent Gloucester from establishing his authority in the north. After Warwick's death, local families needed a leader as much as Gloucester needed local supporters, and many accepted Gloucester's lordship. The network formed by lord and supporters was called an affinity. Gloucester created his affinity from former members of the Neville and Clifford affinities, augmented by recruits from former de Vere properties and other regions. Among the families that joined Gloucester's affinity were the Brackenburys. Robert Brackenbury of Selaby served as treasurer of Gloucester's household before serving as “Governor of the Tower and Keeper of the Mint” during Richard III's reign. ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Between 1471 and 1472, Gloucester strengthened his influence in Westmoreland by adding three members of the Parr family to his affinity. Sir William Parr and his brother-in-law, Christopher Moresby, had supported Edward IV's return to the throne. By 1472, Moresby was Gloucester's steward of Penrith Castle, and his younger brother, James, was Penrith's bailiff; by 1474, Sir William Parr was Gloucester's lieutenant of Carlisle. Margaret Parr was the mother of Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a native of Cumberland, who became Gloucester's constable of Barnard Castle and succeeded Sir William Parr as sheriff of Westmoreland. ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

As he brought northerners into his affinity, Gloucester brought royal authority from remote Westminster directly into northern affairs. By retaining Sir John Conyers of Hornby, Yorkshire in 1471, Gloucester acquired the services of a man connected through his large family to many members of the local gentry. Gloucester made Conyers both steward and constable of Middleham Castle at an increased salary of 36 pounds, 13 shillings, and 4 pence per year. Gloucester received good value from Conyers, who brought welcome recruits into Gloucester's affinity. If Conyers was the leader who called himself Robin of Redesdale during 1469, Gloucester maximized the return on his money by converting a former opponent to a valuable servant. ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Uniting such men into a new and effective affinity enabled Gloucester to enhance Edward IV's authority in the north at the same time that he promoted northerners' interests at court. As chief steward of the duchy of Lancaster in the North, Gloucester also led the royal affinity there; his control of offices, annuities, farms, and leases enabled him to reward members of his own affinity and extend his own influence. Despite the many conflicts he faced during the next twelve years, Gloucester steadily constructed “one of the great affinities of the Middle Ages, both in scale and in cohesion.” ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

As he constructed his affinity, Gloucester reconstructed many of the properties he acquired. Between 1471 and 1483, he authorized repairs or renovations at the castles of Barnard, Middleham, Sheriff Hutton, Sandal, Penrith, and Sudeley. ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ He also obtained a royal grant to repair Carlisle's city walls. ⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Most of Gloucester's rebuilding projects are now in ruins, but a white boar emblem survives in a window at Barnard Castle. ⁽¹¹¹⁾

Both Gloucester and his predecessor, Duke Humphrey, waged long, complex campaigns against opposition to their marriages. Duke Richard was more fortunate. International politics didn't demand that his marriage to Anne Neville be sacrificed as Duke Humphrey's marriage to Jacqueline of Hainault had been sacrificed in 1428. Unlike Pope Martin V and Philip the Good, Pope Sixtus IV and Charles the Bold gained nothing from interfering with a duke of Gloucester's marriage. Unlike John, duke of Bedford, who appeased Martin V and Philip the Good, Clarence considered no interests beyond his own. Although Clarence's intransigence combined with Edward IV's tolerance to prolong legal debate, it didn't prevent Gloucester and Anne Neville from marrying.

At a meeting of Edward IV's council, Gloucester effectively presented his case against Clarence's. According to the Croyland chronicler, "all present, and the lawyers even, were quite surprised that these princes should find argument in such abundance by means of which to support their respective causes." ⁽¹¹²⁾ At Sheen, in February 1472, Clarence resisted the king's mediation effort, declaring that he would keep all of the Warwick inheritance for himself. In March 1472, Clarence conceded part of Anne Neville's inheritance in return for Edward IV's promise of compensation for any of Clarence's grants resumed by the crown, plus the earldoms of Warwick and Salisbury, funded by a group of Neville lands in Essex and the midlands. ⁽¹¹³⁾ Although records of these property transactions have survived, no record of Gloucester's marriage to Anne Neville seems to have survived. Uncertainties about Gloucester's marriage to Anne Neville abound. Were they married as soon as possible after Lent in 1472? Or did they marry as late as 1474 at Westminster? If they married as late as 1474, did Anne Neville spend two and a half years in sanctuary at St. Martin le Grand? Did Gloucester and Anne Neville marry without all of the papal dispensations they needed to validate their marriage? Or have the documents proving they were careful to fulfill all requirements been lost or destroyed?

A dispensation dated April 1472 absolved Gloucester and Anne Neville from the impediment resulting from

her marriage to Edward of Lancaster. ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Dispensations for three other impediments are still missing. Questions about the missing documents arise: Is it likely that Gloucester would have neglected three dispensations under continuing pressure from Clarence? If Gloucester's legal skills surprised councilors and lawyers, was he likely to neglect any means of protecting his marriage and his wife's inheritance? Were copies of his dispensations more likely to be mishandled by Gloucester, whose interests they protected; or were they more likely to be misfiled, lost, or purposefully destroyed by those indifferent or opposed to Gloucester's interests?

Married or not, Gloucester continued to fulfill his responsibilities. As constable of England, admiral of England, and Edward IV's representative in the north, Gloucester enforced royal authority. During 1472, admiralty business took him to Southampton and Lydd. In the north, Gloucester represented the king's interests while constructing his affinity and restoring order. During this process, Gloucester learned how to balance competing interests. ⁽¹¹⁵⁾ The ongoing Harrington-Stanley conflict forced him to consider at least four interests. As Edward IV's representative in the north, Gloucester was responsible for keeping the peace and enforcing royal decisions. His own interest lay in attracting and keeping loyal, competent affinity members who would strengthen his influence. Gloucester served both his king's and his own interest by proving himself a good lord to the Harringtons, who'd served Richard, duke of York, and remained loyal to Edward IV. Both James and Robert Harrington, surviving sons of Sir Thomas Harrington who had died with York at Wakefield, belonged to Gloucester's affinity. ⁽¹¹⁶⁾ The king could not afford to disaffect the loyal and locally influential Harringtons, yet he needed to appease the regionally powerful, untrustworthy Stanleys. Although some degree of cooperation with the Stanleys served both the king's and Gloucester's interests, Gloucester needed to accommodate the Stanleys' interests without sacrificing the Harringtons'. During his early years in the north, Gloucester gave the Harringtons' interests priority over the Stanleys'. Apparently Edward IV and Gloucester agreed that it was in both king's and duke's best interests for Gloucester to advocate the Harringtons' cause in the king's council as well as in the north. ⁽¹¹⁷⁾

In April 1472, both the Harringtons and the Stanleys agreed to accept the decision of Edward IV's arbitrators. But the Harringtons refused to accept the ruling in the Stanleys' favor, and they went so far as to refuse Edward IV's agents entry to Hornby Castle. ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ At this point in the conflict, inheritance considerations may have

reinforced loyalty and lordship considerations in Gloucester's balancing act. Anne Neville may have remained in sanctuary, still denied her inheritance. Her situation had qualities in common with the situation of the Herrington co-heiresses, who had been hidden until Edward IV had granted their wardships and marriages to Lord Stanley. ⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Despite his own involvement in two conflicts with dispossessed widows, Gloucester may have believed the Stanleys were unjustly dispossessing the Harringtons. Complex inheritance conflicts troubled many fifteenth century relationships. As Jones has observed, the Harrington-Stanley conflict demonstrated that Gloucester "held no monopoly on ruthlessness in pursuit of family inheritance." ⁽¹²⁰⁾ In January 1473, the countess of Oxford agreed to transfer her dower lands to Gloucester; but her feoffees delayed the transfer, and Gloucester petitioned chancery for redress. Gloucester's feoffees eventually granted the countess' manor of Fowlsmere to Queens' College Cambridge in return for prayers for the king, queen, Gloucester and his wife and son, and the souls of the 12th earl of Oxford and his wife. ⁽¹²¹⁾

Gloucester's success at affinity-building troubled Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. Since Edward IV didn't need Northumberland to counterbalance Warwick after the battle of Barnet, the local balance of power shifted toward Gloucester from mid-1471 to early 1473. ⁽¹²²⁾ On May 12, 1473, at a meeting of Edward IV's council held in Nottingham, Gloucester agreed not to recruit any of Northumberland's men. Interpretations of this agreement conflict: Kendall has described it as Percy's acknowledgement of Gloucester's authority; Ross has described it as Gloucester's acknowledgement of Percy's independence, confirmed by a contract signed on July 28, 1474. ⁽¹²³⁾ Subordinate or independent, Northumberland cooperated with Gloucester between 1474-1483. ⁽¹²⁴⁾

Clarence seems to have revived his efforts to supplant Edward IV in the spring of 1473. He may have conspired with Louis XI and the 13th earl of Oxford, who commanded a fleet that pirated merchant ships along the English coast throughout the summer. ⁽¹²⁵⁾ Increasing tensions may have contributed to an incident between feuding goldsmiths, which led to treason charges. As constable of England, Gloucester investigated these charges, found them exaggerated, and returned the case to the Goldsmith's Company for settlement. ⁽¹²⁶⁾

In June 1473, Edward IV allowed Gloucester's retainer, Sir James Tyrell, to escort the countess of Warwick from sanctuary in Beaulieu, Hampshire, to Middleham. This suggests that Gloucester and Anne Neville were married by then. Clarence's objections to

the countess' release may have contributed to rumors that Edward IV would restore the countess' estates so that she could grant them to Gloucester. ⁽¹²⁷⁾ In June, Edward IV also increased pressure on the Harringtons, still entrenched in Hornby Castle. A commission headed by Gloucester, Northumberland, Shrewsbury, and Hastings was authorized to extract the Harringtons from the castle; yet an August 1473 proclamation states that the Harringtons had "stuffed and enforced it with men and victuals and habiliments of war." ⁽¹²⁸⁾ At year's end, the Harringtons were still occupying Hornby Castle. ⁽¹²⁹⁾

On September 10, 1473, Gloucester was commissioned to recruit troops for Edward IV in Yorkshire. The threat of rebellion eased after Oxford captured St. Michael's Mount off the coast of Cornwall. Neither Louis XI nor Clarence sent him aid, and Edward IV's troops trapped him there. Clarence may have then tried to camouflage his attack on Edward IV as an attack on Gloucester. On November 6, 1473, Sir John Paston reported that the world seemed queasy: men close to the king had "sent for their harness, and it is said for certain that the Duke of Clarence maketh him big in that he can, showing as he would but deal with the Duke of Gloucester; but the King intendeth ... to be as big as they both and to be a stifler atween them. And some think that under this there should be some other thing intended and some treason conspired; so what shall fall can I not say." ⁽¹³⁰⁾

In February 1474, one siege ended and another dragged on. Oxford surrendered, exchanging St. Michael's Mount for imprisonment at Hammes Castle.



(131) Oxford's actions may have given Edward IV and Gloucester some justification for disinheriting the countess; perhaps Gloucester's control of the de Vere lands deprived Oxford of aid which could have prolonged his resistance. Yet Gloucester's support seems to have prolonged the Harringtons' resistance. Nearly two years after arbitrators had decided in the Stanleys' favor, the king's agent, Avery Cornburgh, failed to dislodge the Harringtons from Hornby Castle. ⁽¹³²⁾

Although rumors circulating in England and abroad associated Clarence with Louis XI and Oxford, Edward IV's partition of the Warwick inheritance was generous to his untrustworthy brother. In early 1474, Edward IV arranged for parliament to pass an act which allowed both Clarence and Gloucester to "*possede, enherit, and enjoy, as in the right of their seid wyfes, all Honours, Lordships, Castels, Townes, Maners, Landes, Tenements, Liberties, Fraunehises, Possessions, and Enheritaments, which were or be belongyng to the seid Anne Countess of Warwyk ... in like maner and fourme, as yf the seid Countes were nowe naturally dede ...*" ⁽¹³³⁾ This act also made some concessions to Gloucester: it allowed him to control Anne Neville's inheritance during any gap between their divorce and lawful remarriage, "as yf the same Anne had continued wife to the seid Duke of Gloucestr." ⁽¹³⁴⁾ If Gloucester's diligent effort to be lawfully remarried to Anne failed, the act gave him control of her inheritance as long as he refrained from marrying anyone else. ⁽¹³⁵⁾ Questions arise: Did Anne Neville agree for Gloucester to control her inheritance if the church forbade them to remarry? How could she arrange a desirable remarriage to anyone else under such conditions? Did Gloucester and his lawyers have Duke Humphrey's marriage to Jacqueline of Hainault in mind when they negotiated the clauses giving Gloucester control of Anne Neville's inheritance in case of divorce? Or were they only reacting to immediate pressures from Clarence?

By the end of May 1474, parliament had enacted a harsh legal fiction that enriched both dukes at a countess' expense. It gave Clarence and Gloucester "the Warwick inheritance in right of their wives and by inheritance." ⁽¹³⁶⁾ Overriding existing inheritance laws, parliament gave Clarence and Gloucester a stronger grip on their wives' inheritance than a royal grant—which could be cancelled by an act of resumption—would give. In this legal fiction, Edward IV and his compliant parliament sacrificed the countess of Warwick's inheritance rights to the hope of pacifying Clarence.

Gloucester abided by the settlement; but his political and financial interests overrode his chivalric ideals when he accepted it. Most of Gloucester's contemporaries didn't seem to hold this lapse against him. As early as

1474, Gloucester and his wife were accepted into the Fraternity of St. Cuthbert at Durham. Popular throughout England, St. Cuthbert was especially revered by northerners, who carried his image on their banners while fighting the Scots. ⁽¹³⁷⁾ During 1474, Gloucester was at odds with the bishop of Durham. He withheld cooperation with march days and naval dispute settlements and threatened to raid Scotland during the bishops' peace negotiations with the Scots. After the bishop concluded the 1474 Treaty of Edinburgh, Gloucester was unwilling to honor it. His tolerance of English piracy against the Scots earned him a reprimand from Edward IV. ⁽¹³⁸⁾

A reproachful letter Gloucester received from his mother may have been dictated in 1474. Dated March 15, the letter concerns a property dispute between several of Gloucester's retainers and his mother's servant, John Prynce. It concludes: "Son, we trusted you should have been at Berkhamsted with [Edward IV] at his last being there with us, and if it had pleased you to come at that time, you should have been right heartily welcome. And so you shall be whensoever you shall do the same, as God knoweth, whom we beseech to have you in governance." ⁽¹³⁹⁾ Clarence isn't mentioned. Did Cecily Neville call the Berkhamsted meeting just to resolve the conflict between Gloucester's servants and Prynce? Or was she also trying to reconcile Clarence to Edward IV and Gloucester again? Was Gloucester avoiding his mother's intervention in Clarence's favor? Was Gloucester's absence an effort to avoid anything? Was his mother being unfair to Gloucester, who was involved in multiple responsibilities and conflicts? In her letters to Clarence, did she beseech God to have Clarence in governance?

At some point in 1474, Gloucester's men and Prynce agreed to arbitration. The duration of their conflict is uncertain. Thomas Avery, a scrivener, and Thomas Wethiale, both Gloucester's retainers, had disputed Prynce's title to the sub-manor of Theydon Gregories in Essex. After a court ruled against them, Avery and Wethiale transferred their claim to a more powerful group, including Gloucester; Gloucester's steward, Sir Robert Chamberlain; and a former sheriff, Walter Wretyll. Having completed the transfer, Avery and Wethiale began an intimidation campaign. When Prynce tried to show his title to Gloucester in London, they assaulted him. Leading twenty men wearing Gloucester's livery, Wethiale invaded Theydon Gregories. While Prynce hid, his wife defended their manor with scornful replies to Wethiale's insults. ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ Next Wethiale persuaded a yeoman of the crown, William Ascham, to wear his official insignia while they illegally entered

Theydon Gregories. Gloucester's retainers, James Tyrell, Arthur Pilkington, Richard Tunstall, James Harrington, and Morgan Kidwelly united against Prynce's representative, Thomas Clifford. ⁽¹⁴¹⁾ During most of this campaign, Gloucester seems to have been "a fairly distant figure." ⁽¹⁴²⁾

When Gloucester realized that his retainers were harassing his mother's servant, he took direct action. Although Gloucester hadn't attended the gathering at Berkhamsted, he discussed the Theydon Gregories conflict with his mother at Syon, a religious establishment associated with his parents. At this meeting, Gloucester promised to be a good lord to his mother's servant. ⁽¹⁴³⁾ This meant restraining his own men, which he seems to have done quite harshly in some cases. Gloucester told Avery, the scrivener, that it was "more meet for you to keep your shop than to go about such matters." ⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ He reprimanded Wethiale for accompanying Ascham into Theydon Gregories without due process, and he told Ascham that he'd be disgraced for misusing his position as yeoman of the crown if the king found out about it. ⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ Both Gloucester's and his mother's councils examined Prynce's title to Theydon Gregories and found it valid. This outcome reflected Cecily Neville's influence with Gloucester as well as her good lordship to Prynce. ⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Valid cases—such as the Pastons' against the duke of Suffolk at Hellesdon—could fail unless their supporters were more influential than their opponents.

Gloucester's lordship in this case was ambiguous. He appears to have been either unaware of, or indifferent to, his retainers' mistreatment of Prynce until Cecily Neville intervened. Then he seems to have reprimanded his lowest-ranking retainers most harshly, although responsibility may have been shared by higher-ranking members of his affinity. Theydon Gregories was in East Anglia, one of Gloucester's lower priorities. Gloucester may have trusted his retainers there to meet high standards without his frequent supervision. Avery, Wethiale, and others may have betrayed Gloucester's trust. But it's possible that the years of conflict with Clarence had modified Gloucester's idealism. At Hellesdon in 1469, Gloucester had tried and failed to win Edward IV's support for the dispossessed Pastons. By the time his men tried to dispossess Prynce, Gloucester may have become willing to turn a blind eye, as Edward IV had done at Hellesdon. Without Cecily Neville's influence, Gloucester might have kept his distance while his retainers disinherited Prynce.

Gloucester seems to have been an even more remote lord in Wales, with less contentious results. Although the 1474 parliamentary act gave Gloucester the estates

of Abergavenny and Glamorgan, he didn't construct a strong regional affinity in South Wales. Higher priorities in the north of England prevented him from reforming the deteriorating Welsh system. Northern responsibilities also kept Gloucester from attending many meetings of the Prince of Wales' council; but his long-distance cooperation, which replaced Clarence's scheming, validated Edward IV's decision to transfer the Welsh portion of the Neville inheritance from Clarence to Gloucester. ⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

Although Edward IV had long ago transferred the honour of Richmond to Clarence at Gloucester's expense, Gloucester, rather than Clarence, led a group including the archdeacon of Richmond, which sued a York gentleman audacious enough to dispossess it of six city properties. The case was tried in the mayor's court. Although jury members were reluctant to attend the trial, Gloucester's group won its suit in 1474. This outcome was documented in one of the earliest surviving records of Gloucester's interactions with the city of York. ⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

The stalemate at Hornby Castle finally ended in 1475. Edward IV needed Harringtons and Stanleys to give the approaching French invasion priority over their own conflicts. After granting Farleton to Sir James Harrington and his male heirs, "to be held without interference from Lord Stanley," Edward IV announced that he would personally end the conflict over Hornby Castle. ⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ On March 30, Edward IV confirmed the grant of Hornby Castle and Melling manor to Lord Stanley; but he regranted the remainder of the disputed inheritance to Sir James Harrington, also to be held "without interruption or impediment of the said Lord Stanley or any other person by his bydding." ⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ This compromise seems to have ended more than a decade of conflict. Gloucester's support for the Harringtons may have prolonged the conflict; but it helped Edward IV evade the consequences of sacrificing a loyal Yorkist family's interests to those of a self-interested regional power. Although Gloucester had to balance idealism and pragmatism throughout the Harrington-Stanley conflict, his advocacy for the Harringtons contributed to a pragmatic outcome. Edward IV benefited from the Harringtons' restraining effect on Stanley power as much as he benefited from appeasing the Stanleys.

Gloucester may have contributed more than advocacy to the northern power balance. From 1473 through 1475, Edward IV reorganized the power bases of Gloucester and the Stanleys, concentrating Gloucester's holdings into a trans-Pennine interest covering East Lancashire and West Yorkshire and the Stanleys' holdings into a region extending from Cheshire into North Wales. With Edward IV's authorization, Gloucester

exchanged the lordship and castle of Chirk in Wales for the manors of Marton in Craven and Skipton in the West Riding of Yorkshire. ⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Gloucester made Skipton one of his residences. This exchange benefited both Gloucester and the Stanleys; it may have contributed to resolving the Hornby Castle stalemate as well. ⁽¹⁵²⁾

On February 23, 1475, parliament passed an act denying Montagu's male heirs any claim to the Neville estates possessed by Gloucester. Its preamble stated that Clarence, Gloucester, and other lords had persuaded Edward IV not to attain Warwick and Montagu. Preventing this attainder allowed Clarence and Gloucester more secure possession of the Neville inheritance, because they could hold the properties in their wives' rights rather than by royal grant. This 1475 act benefited Gloucester as long as Montagu's male heirs lived. ⁽¹⁵³⁾ During February 1475, Edward IV increased Gloucester's influence and responsibilities north of the Stanley power base. He made Gloucester sheriff of Cumberland for life. In addition to the sheriff's income, Gloucester was granted income from the lands of Carlisle Castle and the city of Carlisle. Since Gloucester was preparing to accompany Edward IV to France, he also received authority to appoint Sir John Huddleston as his deputy. ⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

Gloucester may have included the purchase of a history book in his war preparations. He signed his name on folio 134 of a *Grandes Chroniques de France* volume covering the years 1270–1380. Gloucester's copy was made in the last years of the fourteenth century and illuminated between 1400 and 1410; the illustrations were never completed, and the low quality of some suggests that Gloucester bought this book for practical advice rather than display. He may have been acting on the belief that understanding Edward III's interactions with Charles V would prepare him to advise Edward IV during the approaching confrontation with Louis XI. History books were considered sources of wisdom for dealing with current events. *Grandes Chroniques* seems to have been a popular source of wisdom for fifteenth century English noblemen. Duke Humphrey had owned a high quality copy, which reflected his status as a scholar and bibliophile. Although Duke Richard and Duke Humphrey shared interests in scholarship, books, and military affairs, Duke Richard's second hand books had more in common with a typical nobleman's collection than they had with Duke Humphrey's exceptional library. ⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

Another book owned by Gloucester may have been adapted to 1470s readers' concerns. The *Boke of Noblesse* interwove the reminiscences of Sir John Fastolf with examples of military virtue from Roman history.

Its author, William Worcester, may have included Fastolf's views because Edward IV, or someone close to him, expressed an interest in Fastolf. One of Fastolf's most noteworthy recommendations concerned soldiers' wages; apparently kings needed to be reminded that troops fought most effectively when paid on time. In order to pay wages, kings needed to collect taxes. The conclusion that Englishmen should contribute to war financing may have given Edward IV needed support for his benevolences. ⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Just as money shortages had delayed Margaret of York's departure for her wedding in 1468, money shortages delayed Edward IV's departure for Calais in 1475. ⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

Like Duke Humphrey in 1415, Duke Richard made a large contribution to the war effort. He contracted to provide 120 men-at-arms and 1,000 archers and exceeded this number by 300 men. ⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Clarence also contracted for 120 men-at-arms and 1,000 archers. Buckingham contracted for 4 knights, 40 lances, and 400 archers; but the abbreviation *Re dom*, meaning "returned home," completed his entry in the surviving list of leaders and their badges. ⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

Unfortunately, this list doesn't include the date of Buckingham's return home. His departure seems to have been overlooked by some historians. Those who noticed it have disagreed. Citing the list, Wendy Moorehen states that Buckingham "contributed soldiers to King Edward's French campaign but returned home before the army's embarkation." ⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ Citing Rymer's *Foedera*, Ross states: "There are discrepancies between the lists of those who contracted to serve and those present with the king in France on 13 August 1475, e.g. the duke of Buckingham." ⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Citing both *Foedera* and the list, Ross repeats that Buckingham was absent on August 13, 1475. Adding D.A.L. Morgan's article, *The King's Affinity in the Polity of Yorkist England* to his citations, Ross finally suggests that Buckingham missed more than the August 13 meeting: "But Buckingham was mysteriously absent from the royal invasion army of 1475, having contracted to go" ⁽¹⁶²⁾ Citing Commynes' reference to "other persons of quality," Jones suggests that "the intensely ambitious Buckingham ... had violently disagreed with Edward IV over the abandonment of the campaign" in France. ⁽¹⁶³⁾

These interpretations raise questions: Was Moorehen saying that Buckingham's men went to France without him? Was Ross saying that Buckingham and his men returned home before the army crossed to Calais? Or was Ross saying that Buckingham returned home alone after he and his men crossed to France? How likely was Buckingham to violently confront Edward IV? If he did, how was Gloucester likely to have

reacted to that confrontation? How much did Gloucester know about Buckingham's reasons for returning home, and how did he react to Buckingham's departure?

Whenever Buckingham's return home occurred, it was overshadowed by the tergiversations of Edward IV's allies on the continent. "Tergiversation" and "tergiversate" are underutilized words, which accurately describe the behaviors of many fifteenth century leaders in a variety of situations. John the Fearless' absence at Agincourt, Philip the Good's treaty of Arras with Charles VII in 1435, Louis XI's constantly shifting alliances, the earl of Warwick's alliance with Margaret of Anjou— are just a few examples of the tergiversations that characterized fifteenth century politics. When Francis II of Brittany accepted Edward IV's military aid and stayed away from the battlefield in 1475, his tergiversation was unexceptional. ⁽¹⁶⁴⁾

Although Charles the Bold had no monopoly on tergiversating, his tergiversations in 1475 were spectacular. He may have considered breaking his 1474 alliance with Edward IV before the English army left England. He was so entangled in the siege of Neuss that Margaret of York took responsibility for supplying the ships that carried part of the English army to Calais. ⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ Charles the Bold's secretary, Ghijsbrecht van der Mye, and Edward IV's commissioner, William Caxton, were delegated to hire ships at Delft, Rotterdam, Gouda, and Dordrecht. Since Charles the Bold remained at Neuss, Edward IV sent Rivers to threaten that the English army would remain in England unless Charles the Bold brought his army to France. Although Edward IV didn't carry out his threat, doubts about Burgundian reliability may have contributed as much as money shortages to the English army's slow progress towards Calais. ⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ Commynes remarked that if Louis XI "had understood naval as well as he understood military matters King Edward would never have crossed, at least not that year." ⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ The army spent three weeks crossing the narrow seas. Edward IV and his court arrived at Calais on July 4, 1475. Margaret of York met them with gifts of tapestries and Bruges cloth. After a stay of two days, she returned to St. Omer, where Gloucester and Clarence visited her. In a letter dated July 15, Louis XI told his chancellor that the English "have done nothing so far except dance at St. Omer." ⁽¹⁶⁸⁾

In the absence of their Breton and Burgundian allies, dancing might have their wisest course of action. On July 14, Charles the Bold arrived without his army. Although many Englishmen were willing to fight the French without allies, Edward IV and his councilors may have begun to reconsider their strategy at this point. Some authors have claimed that Edward IV had never

intended to fight Louis XI, but the absence of the Bretons and Burgundians suggests that they were the ones who had never intended to fight. Edward IV was justified in considering Charles the Bold's "full and active cooperation" essential to the success of the campaign; Burgundy's default forfeited any claim to consideration that he made. ⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

Charles the Bold's proposal that the English capture Rheims and crown Edward IV king of France, while the Burgundians pursued their duke's ambitions in Lorraine, hardly qualified as full and active cooperation. Lorraine was 200 miles east of Calais and 75 miles east of Reims. Neuss was over 200 miles east of Calais and 150 miles north of Lorraine. If the Burgundian army had marched straight from Neuss to Lorraine, and the English army had reached Rheims despite French defenses, a 75 mile gap would still have separated the so-called allies. Nevertheless, Edward IV accepted Charles the Bold's proposal for "two simultaneous campaigns." ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

Departing from Calais on July 18, 1475, the English army reached the castle of Fauquemerges, between St. Omer and Agincourt, on July 23. At Fauquemerges, Margaret of York entertained her husband and brothers; it was the last time she ever saw Charles the Bold or Clarence. ⁽¹⁷¹⁾ The duke of Burgundy separated from the English to recruit troops. The English army advanced to the Somme River, where it found the Burgundian towns' gates closed against it. The count of St. Pol, Louis XI's untrustworthy constable of France—also Elizabeth Woodville's uncle—broke his promise to admit the English to St. Quentin. Instead of open gates, an English detachment found an ambush; St. Quentin's artillery fired on the English soldiers. Survivors returned to the main army with the bad news. ⁽¹⁷²⁾

As ill-will towards Charles the Bold intensified, Edward IV decided to negotiate with Louis XI. On August 13, 1475, Gloucester, Clarence, and other lords witnessed Edward IV's instructions to his negotiators. Buckingham wasn't among the witnesses. On August 14, John, Lord Howard; Sir Thomas St. Leger; John Morton, master of the rolls; and William Dudley, dean of the royal chapel, began negotiations with the French, who'd been instructed to make a quick agreement.

The treaty they made influenced Anglo-French relations for a remarkable seven years. In return for the English army's peaceful departure, Louis XI agreed to: a seven-year Anglo-French truce to end on August 29, 1482; free trade between English and French merchants, with abolition of tolls in both countries; a down payment of 75,000 crowns from Louis XI to Edward IV; Howard and Sir John Cheyne as hostages, Clarence and

the archbishop of Canterbury as arbitrators; a marriage alliance between Louis XI's heir, Charles, and Edward IV's daughter, Elizabeth; reciprocal aid against internal rebellions; and a lifetime annual payment of 50,000 crowns from Louis XI to Edward IV. ⁽¹⁷³⁾

News of the negotiations brought Charles the Bold to Edward IV's camp in a rage. His arguments failed to prevent the Anglo-French treaty. On August 29, 1475, Edward IV met Louis XI on a specially-constructed bridge near Picquigny to confirm the agreement. Although Gloucester was reported to be "very displeased" by this treaty, his actions were moderate. He stayed away from the meeting on the bridge, but he accepted the French admiral's invitation to view the French army. Gloucester also accepted Louis XI's dinner invitation, gifts of horses, and plate. Gloucester and his French adversaries may have used these visits to study each other. ⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

Surviving accounts suggest that many of Edward IV's councilors took generous payments from Louis XI; although the recipients called the payments tributes, others called them pensions or bribes. Louis XI had no monopoly on this tactic; his father, Charles VII, had bribed the Burgundian councilors who persuaded Philip the Good to accept the 1435 treaty of Arras. Louis XI received good value for his money. By September 4, 1475, the English army had reached Calais. Many Englishmen failed to appreciate the benefits of the Anglo-French treaty. They saw it as a dishonorable waste of their taxes. Despite Charles the Bold's default, some English soldiers joined the Burgundian army. Rumors claimed that Edward IV "dared not let his brothers reach home before him 'as he feared some disturbance, especially as the duke of Clarence on a previous occasion aspired to make himself king.'" ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ On September 28, the mayor, aldermen, and 500 craftsmen welcomed Edward IV to London. By November 1475, Edward IV found it necessary to conduct trials of disbanded soldiers in Hampshire and Wiltshire. ⁽¹⁷⁶⁾

Disbanded soldiers may have contributed to disturbances in the city of York early in 1476. Gloucester and Northumberland quelled the violence. Supported by a force of 5,000 men at Bootham Bar, Gloucester ordered the citizens of York to keep the peace. Having restored order in York, Gloucester had to persuade an angry Edward IV not to withdraw York's charter. ⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ City officials decided that "the Duke of Gloucester shall, for his great labour now late made unto the King's good grace for the confirmation of the liberties of this City be presented, at his coming to the City, with six swans and six pikes." ⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ Gloucester also helped York officials dismiss a dishonest clerk, Thomas Yotten. Because Yotten

had persuaded Northumberland to block the dismissal, city officials asked Gloucester to obtain the king's permission to replace the embezzler. In letters to Hastings and Stanley, Gloucester described the problem and asked them to "move the King's good grace on my behalf." ⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ After his sergeants at law completed their investigation, Edward IV allowed York's officials to replace Yotten with Nicholas Lancaster. ⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ On this occasion, Gloucester again balanced competing interests. Although he and Northumberland had cooperated since 1474, Gloucester disagreed with Northumberland's decision to protect Yotten. Although he had supported the Harringtons against the Stanleys for years, Gloucester obtained Lord Stanley's help in presenting York's case to Edward IV.

Gloucester's contribution to York's removal of Yotten strengthened his lordship and relieved York of an embezzling clerk; but his protection of an unsatisfactory duchy of Lancaster official resembled Northumberland's protection of Yotten and exposed Gloucester to accusations of lax administration. Sir John Pilkington belonged to both royal and ducal affinities. The duchy of Lancaster council dismissed Pilkington from his post as escheator of Lancaster in 1476; but he remained in office until he died in 1479. Although the council criticized Gloucester, he continued to protect Pilkington with Edward IV's approval. On this occasion, Gloucester gave membership in the royal and ducal affinities priority over financial competence. ⁽¹⁸¹⁾

Although Gloucester cooperated with the Stanleys in some cases, he clashed with them in others. Continuing competition between Gloucester and the Stanleys might have caused Edward IV to order the tenants of Congleton to obey only the king and Lord Stanley in 1476. Despite supporting Gloucester in many cases, Edward IV supported the Stanleys in the region he'd defined for them between 1473 and 1475. ⁽¹⁸²⁾ Minor clashes between Gloucester's and Stanley's men may reflect Gloucester's disagreement with Edward IV's distribution of authority in the region.

Gloucester's authority in the West Marches was often tested by Scots despite the treaty of 1474. As warden of the West Marches, Gloucester was responsible for supplying garrisons, repairing fortifications, exchanging prisoners, and negotiating with the Scots. His effectiveness set a standard that one of his Tudor counterparts couldn't meet: Lord Dacre complained to Cardinal Wolsey that he shouldn't be held to the standard that Gloucester had set. Wolsey replied that Dacre must govern as effectively as Gloucester had governed. ⁽¹⁸³⁾

Gloucester's son, Edward of Middleham, may have been born in 1476. Uncertainty about the date of

Edward's birth is increased by the possibility that a short-lived younger brother may have been the one who was born in 1476. ⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ Historians who believe Gloucester and Anne Neville married as early as 1472 sometimes state that Edward of Middleham's birth year was 1473. ⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

After years of delay, the reburial of Richard, duke of York and his son Edmund, who both died at Wakefield, was performed in late July 1476. Gloucester was the chief mourner. He led the seven-day procession accompanying the remains from Pontefract priory to the family vault at Fotheringhay. As constable of England, Gloucester was responsible for the heralds who recited York's achievements during the two-day reburial ceremony. He may have made a personal contribution to York's epitaph. Although Ross states that "the whole royal family" attended the ceremonies and thousands shared the expensive funeral feast; Hammond, Sutton, and Visser-Fuchs note the omission of a significant family member from surviving records: "At the offeratory of the requiem mass the king offered for his father, the queen, her two daughters, and Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, offered after him. Conspicuous for her absence or for the failure of the texts to refer to her, is Cecily Neville, the widow." ⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ Sandford's *Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England* named Sir John Skipwith, York's banner bearer, and Gloucester, the chief mourner; it listed unnamed participants from bishops to gentlewomen, but it omitted Cecily Neville, mother of the chief mourner and the king. ⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ Although Bosworth 1485 emphasizes Cecily Neville's participation in various events, it omits her from its version of York's reburial. ⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ These omissions raise questions: Did Cecily Neville attend the reburial ceremony? If so, why was she omitted from the records while Margaret Beaufort was included? If Cecily Neville was absent, what caused her absence? If it resulted from conflict with the queen, how did Gloucester view this result? Was he resentful? Philosophical? Resigned?

In September 1476, Gloucester's adversary, Booth, was promoted from bishop of Durham to archbishop of York. Dudley, one of Edward IV's negotiators at Picquigny, became bishop of Durham. Gloucester and Dudley soon established a cooperative working relationship. ⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ Gloucester became an active member of the local commission of the peace. The bishop appointed Gloucester's men to offices under his control. Gloucester's retainer, Richard Hansard, became the bishop's constable of Durham Castle. Thomas Metcalfe, a member of Gloucester's council, became one of the bishopric's chief financial administrators. Metcalfe, Parr, and Thomas

Witham served on a commission appointed to survey Dudley's land. With Dudley's cooperation, Gloucester rapidly extended his influence in Durham. ⁽¹⁹⁰⁾

Charles the Bold's death at the siege of Nancy, on January 5, 1477, abruptly tilted the balance of power in Louis XI's direction. As the duke of Burgundy's liege lord, the king of France claimed lordship over the county and duchy of Burgundy, as well as the Burgundian towns along the Somme River. He was soon asserting his claims on the battlefield. ⁽¹⁹¹⁾ Citizens of Burgundian towns also asserted their claims: resentful of Charles the Bold's authoritarian rule and burdensome taxes, they drove ducal officials out of town or killed them. One of those driven out was David, bishop of Utrecht, who had sheltered the duke of York's sons, Richard and George, in 1461. The citizens of Ghent killed some of Charles the Bold's most unpopular officials, and they essentially imprisoned his heiress, Mary of Burgundy. Although Charles the Bold's widow, Margaret of York, had been active in the ducal government, her moderation saved her from the worst extremes of popular resentment. Steadfastly loyal to Mary of Burgundy, the widowed duchess strove to preserve her step-daughter's inheritance. ⁽¹⁹²⁾

Surviving documents demonstrate that Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy agreed that a swift fulfillment of Mary's 1474 marriage contract with the Holy Roman Emperor's heir, Maximilian, was essential to preserving Burgundian independence. Margaret of York's letters to the Holy Roman Emperor urged him to honor the marriage contract. The Emperor's letter, dated January 24, 1477, assured Mary of Burgundy that Maximilian would fulfill their contract. Between late January and April, Burgundian and Imperial diplomats negotiated the marriage arrangements. Margaret of York's chevalier d'honneur, Guillaume de la Baum was an influential member of the Burgundian delegation. ⁽¹⁹³⁾

By spreading rumors that Mary of Burgundy was negotiating a marriage with Clarence, Louis XI may have hoped to interfere with Mary of Burgundy's marriage negotiations with the Emperor. It is possible that Clarence suggested this alliance to Margaret of York, but unlikely that she gave his suggestion priority over the 1474 contract with Maximilian. ⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ Edward IV's proposal—that Mary of Burgundy wed the queen's brother, Rivers—was disparaging to Europe's richest heiress. ⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ This unrealistic proposal may have gratified some of Edward IV's inlaws, but it was likely to have irritated Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy at a time when they needed practical help from Edward IV.

Although he had warned Louis XI to respect Margaret of York's dower rights, Edward IV was reluctant to

support his warning with military action. ⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ In response to Margaret of York's request that England honor its 1474 treaty with Burgundy, Edward IV called a Great Council at Westminster from February 13-15, 1477. At this council, the king and his advisors considered competing interests. Economic and military interests represented by the 1474 treaty with Burgundy competed with the economic, military, and political interests represented by the 1475 treaty of Picquigny. If Edward IV honored the Anglo-Burgundian treaty, England would lose its trade advantages with France, the semi-annual pension which relieved Englishmen of burdensome taxes, and the marriage alliance uniting Elizabeth of York with Louis XI's heir. Yet English trade would suffer from a French conquest of Burgundy: the French could then threaten Calais and interfere with English commerce in the North Sea. Woodville support for the Anglo-French marriage alliance and some councilors' growing dependence on French pensions may have overridden competing commercial and military interests. On February 16, Edward IV and his council chose neutrality. Withholding military aid to Burgundy, Edward IV authorized Hastings to lead sixteen men-at-arms and 514 archers to reinforce the Calais garrison; Hastings' orders forbade him to assist either Margaret of York or Mary of Burgundy in their defenses against Louis XI. In return for his decision to remain neutral, Edward IV sent Louis XI a list of demands. Morton, master of the rolls, and Sir John Donne negotiated for: an overdue payment of 10,000 crowns on Margaret of Anjou's ransom, an early deposit of Edward IV's pension, renewed pledges that Louis XI's heir would marry Elizabeth of York, and an extension of the seven-year truce and commercial treaties to cover the lifetimes of both kings. Morton and Donne were also instructed to request that Louis XI refrain from capturing or destroying any of Margaret of York's dower lands. ⁽¹⁹⁷⁾

Louis XI equivocated with the English ambassadors. While delaying commitment, he encouraged rumors that Margaret of York, Clarence, and Hastings were planning to smuggle Mary of Burgundy to England. ⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ In a letter dated March 6, 1477 at Arras, Louis XI accused Edward IV of sending Hastings and his men to Calais for the purpose of escorting Mary of Burgundy to England, with Margaret of York's cooperation. Perhaps Louis XI was alluding to Jacqueline of Hainault's 1421 escape to England when he made this accusation. Perhaps Louis XI's spies had informed him that Mary of Burgundy had sent her councilor, Jacques Donche, to Calais, where he kept her well-informed about English activities. Perhaps Louis XI believed that Edward IV had lost control of pro-Burgundian subordinates, who

wanted to steer England into war with France. ⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ Despite Louis XI's accusation, a letter dated March 26, 1477 demonstrated that Mary of Burgundy and Margaret of York were actually committed to the marriage alliance with Maximilian. Imperial ambassadors reaffirmed the emperor's commitment to the 1474 marriage contract. ⁽²⁰⁰⁾

Edward IV's decision to keep England neutral was unexpected and unpopular. English public opinion favored military aid to Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy, just as it had favored Duke Humphrey's effort to aid Jacqueline of Hainault in 1427. Chivalric ideals combined with commercial motives and anti-French feeling to shape popular views in 1477. ⁽²⁰¹⁾ Sir John Paston shared the views of many who expected Gloucester and Clarence to lead English soldiers to Burgundy's defense. ⁽²⁰²⁾ A popular ballad sung in Arras reflected similar expectations. ⁽²⁰³⁾ Gloucester was likely to have agreed with those in favor of military aid to Margaret of York and her step-daughter, but any views he expressed at the Great Council seem to have gone unrecorded. Once Edward IV had decided on neutrality, Gloucester may have preferred quiet action to public dissent. In Calais, Hastings received probing inquiries from Louis XI about Edward IV's health and receptivity to sharing captured Burgundian territory. Hastings replied that Edward IV was in good health and Louis XI should stop referring to Burgundian territories as French possessions. Louis XI's probes didn't deter Hastings from extending probes of his own. He delegated Reginald Clifton, a Calais veteran, to offer English military aid to the captain of Boulogne, Charles de Saveuse. Clifton also investigated the possibility of transporting English soldiers on Boulognese ships. Since the Boulognese were unwilling to commit themselves, Hastings had to remain idle while the French captured Boulogne. Hastings' probes violated the treaty of Picquigny and his orders from Edward IV. His willingness to risk the consequences suggests that he trusted a powerful advocate, such as Gloucester, to protect him at home. As admiral of England, Gloucester was in a position to support the Boulognese transport effort as well. ⁽²⁰⁴⁾

While Hastings was violating English neutrality in Boulogne, Clarence was infringing Edward IV's authority in Somerset and Warwick Castle. Reacting irrationally to the deaths of his wife and infant son which had occurred in late 1476, Clarence sent eighty men to abduct Isabel Neville's former servant, Ankarette Twynhyo, from her home in Somerset. On April 15, 1477, her abductors carried her to Warwick Castle, where an intimidated jury condemned her to death, along with John Thuresby, for allegedly poisoning Isabel

Neville and her son. Since 1469, Clarence had been trying to supplant Edward IV; in this act of judicial murder he partly succeeded by usurping the king's authority. Before long a member of Clarence's household, Thomas Burdett, was accused of treasonable writings and necromancy intended to kill Edward IV. Also accused was astronomer John Stacy. Protesting their innocence, they were executed on May 20, 1477. Clarence's reaction to these executions was self-destructive. Although he may have recognized these witchcraft accusations as retaliation for his allies' 1469 witchcraft accusation against Jacquetta of Luxembourg, he failed to defend himself effectively. Perhaps his defiant interruption of a royal council meeting was an irrational response to isolation and loss of influence over Edward IV. A reading of Burdett's protest against his execution was unlikely to win Clarence the council's support; and his choice of readers was likely to have been as offensive as his interruption. The priest who read Burdett's protest to the councilors had read Henry VI's title to the throne at St. Paul's Cross during the readeption. Charged with violating the king's authority and threatening judges and jurors, Clarence went to the Tower in late June 1477. (205)

Louis XI seems to have derived more benefit from his intelligence network than Edward IV derived from his. After Boulogne surrendered, Louis XI received evidence that Hastings had violated English neutrality, which he sent to Edward IV with the claim that high-ranking persons at court supported Hastings. (206) Louis XI continued his disinformation campaign against Margaret of York, who was proving to be a serious obstacle to France's absorption of Burgundy. Again, Louis XI claimed that Margaret of York was plotting a marriage between Mary of Burgundy and Clarence, which would enable Clarence to use Burgundian resources to dethrone Edward IV. Louis XI's ambassadors carried this accusation to Edward IV in June, among a list of commercial issues for negotiation. Although Louis XI failed to discredit Margaret of York, his ambassadors' delaying tactics gained their king valuable time, as Edward IV's ability to influence events waned. (207)

To Be Continued

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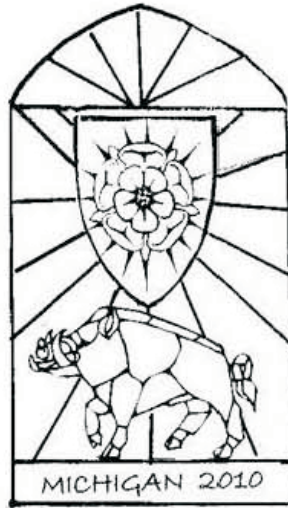
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Katherine Blocker



ANNOUNCING THE 2010 AGM: **A RICARDIAN PILGRIMAGE**

October 1 – 3, 2010

The Michigan Area Chapter has been planning for months to bring you an AGM that is both entertaining and unusual. We hope that everyone in the American Branch will join our "pilgrimage" as we explore the world of the Medieval religious traveler.

We are pleased to announce that the program features a trip to *Kirk in the Hills*, a Presbyterian church in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, patterned after the gothic Melrose Abbey in Scotland, built in the 13th century. (and recently brought to prominence by "The Da Vinci Code") We will receive a guided tour of the church and then retire to their meeting facility for a catered box lunch and the Branch Annual Meeting. Other features of the weekend will include:

- Friday evening cocktail hour with Cash Bar
- Medieval Movies 'til Midnight
- Two workshop sessions on Saturday morning
- Festive Banquet with readings from Dickon, a play by Gordon Daviot aka Josephine Tey
- Breakfast buffet and program to benefit the Morris McGee Fund
- Sales tables AND used book sale in the Hospitality Room
- Raffle of Medieval and Ricardian items
- Post AGM tour of world-famous Greenfield Village/Henry Ford Museum

The Romulus Marriott at Detroit Metro Airport has recently been completely updated and remodeled. The Ha'Penny Pub adds English atmosphere. The hotel provides a courtesy van from and to the airport and has an Express Airline check-in booth in the lobby!

COME JOIN US THIS FALL IN THE MOTOR CITY!



RICARDIAN READING

Most books reviewed here can be purchased at www.r3.org/sales.

Myrna Smith

ABSOLUTELY TRUE FACTS . .

England is old and small and the local folks started running out of places to bury people. So they would dig up coffins and take the bones to a bone-house, and reuse the grave. When reopening these coffins, 1 out of 25 were found to have scratch marks on the inside, and they realized they had been burying people alive. So they would tie a string on the wrist of the corpse, lead it through the coffin and up through the ground, and tie it to a bell. Someone would have to sit out in the graveyard all night (the graveyard shift) to listen for the bell; thus, someone could be saved by the bell, or was considered a dead ringer.

 *The Adventures Of Alianore Audley* – Brian Wainwright, Jacobyte Books, Australia, 2002

Jacket Blurb: “Alianore Audley is a good, submissive, demure woman of the fifteenth century...and if you believe that, you’ll believe anything. But she is a spy in Edward IV’s intelligence service, and the author of a chronicle that casts – well, a new light, let’s say, on the times of the Yorkist kings. History will never be the same after Alianore. Nor will most other novels.”

Among Mr. Wainwright’s many interests (“more than are good for [his] bank account”) is the Richard III Society in Manchester, England. Exactly how he came to possess Lady Alianore’s chronicle is not stated, but his services to the Society in publishing it should be recognized by the grateful membership. Alianore is on hand for most of the major events of the late 15th century, from the birth of Henry of Richmond to the time of Perkin Warbeck.

As the author’s introduction points out, Alianore’s dates and facts etc are accurate, and her conclusions are at least plausible. For instance, she discovers the identity of Edward IV’s ‘most pious’ mistress, and doesn’t hesitate to use the information for blackmail. It boggles the imagination, but when you think about it, is not

impossible. Better not to think about it. Alianore is aided and abetted by her husband, Roger Beauchamp, who takes over when she “retires,” in the reign of the first Tudor. It is Sir Roger who introduces her to the Knightly Code, about which there is much talk, and even some action. (Say it out loud.)

– *m.s.*

 *Treason* – Meredith Whitford, Jacobyte Books, Australia, 2001

The blurb-writer of Wainwright’s book was right. Most other novels will not be the same after reading that. I should have tackled this one first, as it covers much of the same historical ground that *Alianore* does, only treated in a more serious way. Not 100% grim-serious. There are witty moments. For instance:

“[Richard] had a couple of portraits painted, and neither did him justice, though in the better you can see the resemblance to Edward. The other, and unfortunately the official one, taken at a time of great grief, made him look like a Welsh nun with piles.”

How a Welsh nun differs from a sister of any other nationality, with or without hemorrhoids, I don’t know, but it’s still funny.


There are a number of sidelights that can make the reader say “I never thought of that before:” the ease of hiding a young woman as a kitchen maid, the way Richard would ‘poach’ musicians for his court (“the only evidence of low cunning I ever saw in him”), alternate explanations for the death of Henry VI — if not a heart attack or stroke, perhaps the responsibility of Thomas Grey “who would have done the murder and whistled while he worked.”

These are the opinions of the narrator, Martin Robsart, cousin and close friend of Richard, as schoolboy, Duke and King, and Martin’s wife, Innogen (stet – two n’s, not an m) Shaxper (also stet), called Jenny. There is no female spymaster here, but there is a female spy, and most of the female characters are very strong. The heroine is particularly liberated. Because of this, and because the author writes in “plain modern vernacular” (but without deliberate anachronisms, as in

Alianore, or even accidental ones as far as I can tell) the characters seem very modern. There is the teasing relationship that is a feature of male camaraderie – female too, for that matter: “Were you seasick?” “No, why?” “Martin gets seasick on damp grass.” But these are 15th century men. Undoubtedly heterosexual males and tough soldiers are much more open about showing emotion and affection than their modern counterparts.

All in all, a compelling story, and highly recommended.

– *m.s.*

 *This Time: A Novel About Richard III* – Joan Szechtman, Basset Books, Milford, CT, 2009 (This has been reviewed in a recent column, but another go at it will do no harm.)

I’ve sometimes speculated that it might be possible to travel to past times, in a sense, through a still-undiscovered technology based, perhaps, on bouncing light beams off a distant planet. Thus one could see what happened, at least in the open air, but not take part in it. In the world of this book, something similar has been accomplished, and Star-Trek-like teleportation developed. It can be used, however, only when the person to be teleported is at the point of death, otherwise the fabric of history will be altered. Since Richard III met all the criteria, and since the backer of the Time Machine is an ardent Ricardian, he is a natural subject for this experiment. At first prone to stand on his dignity and demand to be called “Your Grace,” he soon adapts, even to swallowing his pride and studying for a GED. Much of the story is told from the point of view of the teleportee, delineating his encounters with such things as 21st century mores, spreadsheets, and office chairs — the last-named quite literally.


Richard even falls in love in his new time-frame. He accepts that he would not be able to rescue Anne from her fate, but in the latter part of the book becomes obsessed with bringing his son to join him. There is some cloak-and-dagger adventure. The family of the “substitute” body left on Redmore (not Bosworth) Field want their son’s remains back. The principal characters frequently question Richard as to why he trusted the Stanleys, but the Richard of this book even makes friends with a man who shoots him, *after* the fact, so it’s not to be wondered at.

There are very few nits to pick. In the 15th century, a “privy chamber” would be a private room, possibly an office. And a native speaker of American English would say “sneakers” instead of “trainers,” unless Oregonians have adopted the Britishism. The most serious objection is the one raised by the author herself: Anything moved through time also has to come through space, which is

moving itself. This has apparently been overcome, but it is not stated how.

When Joan sent me a review copy, she asked me to pass it along to a library when finished. I will do so, but with regrets, as this one is a keeper. There are a couple of sequels to come. Check out the author’s website, www.joanszechtman.com, for details and updates. – *m.s.*

Most people got married in June because they took their yearly bath in May, and they still smelled pretty good in June. However, since they were starting to smell, brides carried a bouquet of flowers to hide the body odor. Hence the custom of carrying a bouquet when getting married.


 *The Border Lord’s Bride* – Bertrice Small, Signet, London, 2009

There’s something odd about this story from the very beginning. It opens in the highlands in 1494, but our heroine and her family, who would have spoken Gaelic, speak in braided Scots, and the lowland and border characters, who, if they spoke as they wrote, would have spoken even braider, speak the King’s English. (Henry’s, not James’), with some Anglo-Saxon and a few Latinisms mixed in. (“I want to make love to you in as many loci as possible.” Loci?!) To escape having to marry her grandfather’s murderer, and losing her inheritance in the bargain, Ellen MacArthur flees to King James’ court, banking on a distant relationship. She stays there for a while, meeting the Pretender to the English throne, but James decides that it would be best for her safety to marry her to a border lord, Duncan Armstrong. It doesn’t take too long for them to fall in love, but rather longer for the black-hearted villains who pursue Ellen to be vanquished.

A secondary character, Adair Radcliffe, is the illegitimate daughter of Edward IV, and naturally takes the Yorkist point of view. She knows that Perkin Warbeck is not who he claims to be, and is very pro-Richard. (Another book in this series, *A Dangerous Love*, tells her story. She’s a “widow twice over” before finally finding true love. I have not read this yet.)

Aside from these minor differences, this is a garden-variety bodice ripper.

– *m.s.*

 *ELEANOR, THE SECRET QUEEN; the woman who put Richard III on the throne*, by John Ashdown-Hill. Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009.

When Richard, duke of Gloucester renovated Sudeley Castle, he probably didn’t know that one of its former residents was his unacknowledged sister-in-law. If

Gloucester heard any rumors about Edward IV's secret marriage to Eleanor, widow of Lord Sudeley's heir, he probably dismissed them. Although Gloucester profited from the confiscation of Lord Sudeley's lands in 1469, he may not have known the full story behind the confiscations. Not until the spring of 1483 would Gloucester realize why Edward IV made Canon Robert Stillington the bishop of Bath and Wells. By January 1484, Richard III and his officials had learned enough to sum up Eleanor's relationship with Edward IV in a parliamentary act, *titulus regius*, which stated: "King Edward was and stode married and trouth plight to oone Dame Elianor Butteler, doughter of the old Earl of Shrewesbury." Despite Henry VII's attempts to delete *titulus regius* from the public record, a copy survived. This copy has provoked a variety of interpretations: some say *titulus regius* validates Richard III's accession to the throne; others say it is an unsuccessful attempt to legitimize a usurpation. During these years of debate few scholars have brought new facts about Dame Elianor Butteler to the debate.

In *Eleanor, The Secret Queen* John Ashdown-Hill offers the results of his research on Eleanor, her family, and the consequences of her encounter with Edward IV. Ashdown-Hill's approach is interdisciplinary and methodical. In his introduction he writes: "Ten years ago this book could not have been written. Little was then generally known about Eleanor Talbot. Even her parentage was a matter of dispute. Yet Eleanor Talbot's surname and her paternity are absolutely key issues. ... When the Act of Parliament of 1484 explicitly characterized Eleanor as [the earl of Shrewesbury's] daughter ... [her] rank—and her plausibility as a potential royal consort—were immediately established beyond any question." Ashdown-Hill has re-established Eleanor's identity and plausibility by following the advice of archaeologist C. El Makdy, whom he quotes in his introduction: "... to start to understand what happened in a particular place long ago ... we must list exactly what we find ... if I misinterpret the evidence, at some point I shall discover something that will prove my lines of research are wrong—the 'facts' will not 'fit.'"

Ashdown-Hill describes his research on Eleanor Talbot as incomplete. He writes: "In the future we may know more. In the meanwhile, this is the first attempt to tell the story of Eleanor Talbot, the secret queen." He explains his decision to refer to her as Eleanor Talbot, rather than Eleanor Butler: "In keeping with good genealogical practice the women who figure in this study are consistently identified principally by their maiden surnames rather than their married surnames." In a helpful appendix, "What makes a Lady?" he explains

why Eleanor Talbot is correctly referred to as Lady Eleanor or Lady Butler, but not Lady Sudeley.

The earliest chapters of *Eleanor, The Secret Queen* establish family relationships and describe family members. The Talbot and Butler families are grounded in their regional connections. Their inheritance quarrels and other vicissitudes are described. Eleanor Talbot's position in this extended family portrait is near an edge. Although her marriage to Thomas Butler was a good match at the time it was made, John Talbot's promotion to an earldom enabled his younger daughter to make an even more advantageous marriage with the duke of Norfolk's heir. Besides being outranked by her younger sister, Eleanor Talbot seems to have been sidelined by her own contemplative nature and religious interests. Both seem to have inclined her to avoid center stage.

Chapters describing Eleanor Talbot's encounter with Edward IV and its consequences are followed by a chapter describing various historians' reactions to those events. A chapter on archaeological research at Eleanor Talbot's burial site concludes the main text. Helpful summaries of key events and documentary evidence reinforce the main text. Ashdown-Hill ends the appendix *Eleanor in Fiction* with a thought-provoking comment: "[Novelists] have done the story—and Eleanor herself—justice, and while they may have made mistakes, fiction writers generally seem to have grasped basic facts which have been ignored by some serious historians."

Eleanor, The Secret Queen is a serious and respectful study of the facts about Eleanor Talbot and her family. An informative section of full-color illustrations enhances the text. Readers may find Mark Satchwill's portrait of Eleanor—created from a skull recovered from Eleanor's burial site and portraits of her close relatives—more attractive than surviving portraits of Edward IV. Readers who want to learn about Eleanor Talbot's life and times will find good value for their money in *Eleanor the Secret Queen*.

—Marian Davis

I must apologize for confusing Marian and Ellen Perlman in a recent column. I did attribute the review correctly to Ellen, but then had a momentary brain infarct or something and called her Marian in the very next sentence. *Mea Culpa*. Spell-checkers just don't help in a case like that!

Those who are interested in historical controversies (and aren't we all) may find *In Defense Of Thomas Jefferson: The Sally Hemings Sex Scandal*, by William G. Hyland Jr., St. Martins, NY) of interest. Like Bertram Fields, Mr. Hyland is a trial lawyer, and he makes a good case for the defense. (The DNA evidence proved only that some of the Hemings are descended from a Jefferson.) He is not a

polished writer – in several places he writes of a “male son.” What other kind is there? Nor do his arguments amount to absolute proof, but they can be valid as corroborative evidence. As Ricardians certainly know, you can’t always believe what tour guides say, and most people prefer to believe the worst of anyone.

One interesting sidelight concerns Jefferson’s health. Because he lived to be over 80, we imagine him to have been vital and youthful-appearing to the last, as in his most common portrait. In fact, for the last 30 years of his life, he was constantly expecting not to live more than another few years. He was not a hypochondriac – he really was sick, with a variety of ailments. From early on, he suffered from migraines. As a martyr to them myself, I can emphasize, although mine never last for more than 24 hours. His went on for weeks at a time, and seemed to be triggered by stress. No doubt that was the reason that he took no active part in the battles of the Revolution.

The floor was dirt. Only the wealthy had something other than dirt. Hence the saying, “dirt poor.” The wealthy had slate floors that would get slippery in the winter when wet, so they spread thresh (straw) on the floor to help keep their footing. As the winter wore on, they added more thresh until, when you opened the door, it would all start slipping outside. A piece of wood was placed in the entranceway.

Hence: a thresh hold.

 *The King’s Grace* – Anne Easter Smith, Touchstone Press, 2009

Fitting a non-historical or semi-historical character into real history has been and can be a successful formula for good historical fiction. Ms. Smith has chosen a person who remains simply a name in actual history, and built a novel around her. Grace Plantagenet is the illegitimate daughter of Edward IV and a sometime servant/companion to his widow, Elizabeth Woodville. Unfortunately, she seems a less-than-satisfactory person to be a pivot for the Perkin Warbeck/Princes-in-the-Tower mystery, since she did not come to court until the Princes had left and had no idea what they looked like.

There is some interest in Grace’s private life, her romance, the dangers she faces, but overall she seems rather passive. Elizabeth Woodville is not altogether sympathetic, though Grace sympathizes with her – but then Grace has more spiritual grace than most of us. Mind you, the poor lady deserved some fellow-feeling. Elizabeth of York is infatuated with her uncle (who is a sympathetic character), but so quickly falls for his supplanter (and vice-versa) that she seems rather shallow.

The author is not comfortable writing from the point of view of a male character, so the story has a rather purdah-like atmosphere.

The author has another part in her trilogy upcoming, the story of Cecily of York, the matriarch of the whole shooting-match. (Noun chosen advisedly.) Watch for it.

– *m.s.*

Sometimes they could obtain pork, which made them feel quite special. When visitors came over, they would hang up their bacon to show off. It was a sign of wealth that a man could ‘bring home the bacon.’ They would cut off a little to share with guests and would all sit around and chew the fat.

 *Figures In Silk* – Vanora Bennett, William Morrow, NY, 2009

Did you know that Elizabeth Lambert, a.k.a. Jane Shore, had a sister? Very likely she did, but in this story, her sister is the mistress of the brother of Edward IV, none other than our Richard. While Jane earns her keep in the time-dishonored way, the younger girl, Isabel, is a businesswoman. Widowed early, she becomes an apprentice silk-woman, then has her own shop. In the end (of the book) she loses almost everything, but she is resilient, and with her new husband, will make a new start. Just like Jane.

Her lover, Richard, seems pretty pragmatic and business-like, with no room for emotion. One would think that was something he and Isabel had in common, but when he refuses to explain what has happened to the princes, that’s too much for her, and she breaks off the relationship. Only later does she discover that she should have trusted him.

Ms. Bennett indulges in some fictional license here and there. For example, Thomas Howard appears in a small role, as a very young man, perhaps younger than Isabel. In fact, he was already in his 40s at that time, a contemporary of Edward IV.

The sequel/prequel to this novel is *Portrait Of An Unknown Woman*, Harper/Collins Publishers, NY, 2007. (Written earlier, but set at a later time.) The protagonist of this novel is Sir Thomas More’s daughter Meg, who marries John Clement. John’s background is based on what one might call the Leslau theory, a variation on the Purloined Letter scenario. It is made at least possible here, even plausible. What does not seem plausible is Margaret’s conscience, which seems to be even more pragmatic than Isabel’s. She has no hesitation in administering abortive agents, and carries on an extra-marital affair with only momentary worries about being detected, none at all about breaking a major

commandment. This attitude would trouble many people even in the 21st century, and is incomprehensible in the 16th century, in the household of Thomas More. More was so strict that he would allow his male and female servants to speak to each other only in cases of necessity. True, he wasn't a saint all of his life, but that would not have made him any less rigid where his family was concerned.

Speaking of family, the depiction of the family dynamic of More's household is a strong argument in favor of the nuclear family! But then, in a Mom-Pop-and-the-kids family, she would never have met John Clement and there would not have been much of a story.

— *m.s.*

Baths consisted of a big tub filled with hot water. The man of the house had the privilege of the nice clean water, then all the sons and other men, then the women and finally the children. Last of all the babies. By then the water was so dirty you could actually lose someone in it. Hence the saying, "Don't throw the baby out with the bath water!"

 *Richard III And The Murder In The Tower* - Peter A. Hancock, History Press, 2009

One of the issues I have thought both puzzling and key to the events surrounding Richard, Duke of Gloucester's actions as Protector to Edward V on June 13, 1483 was his summary execution of William Hastings—an execution delivered without, it would seem, due process. From my point of view, this was uncharacteristic action by a man who was for most of his life, all about the rule of law. I struggled to tease apart this event in particular, and the subsequent actions taken by Richard that led him to be crowned king of England. Thus, it was with great anticipation that I opened this book that promised to offer a fresh and intriguing view of the possible motives and reasons that led to Hastings' execution and Richard's decision to go after the crown. Hancock did not disappoint.

First, I want comment on the style in which the book is written. It's like Hancock is speaking with me. This book is highly readable and thoroughly engaging, and whether you agree or not with the theory, it is logically constructed. Hancock was careful to present primary and secondary sources that both substantiated and countered his theory. In the instances where the sources were contrary to his hypothesis, Hancock showed why he thought the interpretation was incorrect or didn't hold up. He didn't dismiss these arguments out-of-hand. In all but a small handful of instances, Hancock gives sources to

substantiate his position. I will not quibble with a couple of un-sourced statements that were thrown in because they had no effect on the book's premise.

The book set out to determine when did Richard first decide that he wanted to be King and not protector. The time span Hancock examines was from when Richard first learned his brother Edward IV had died to when Richard was made King on June 26, 1483. Although, Edward IV died April 9, 1483, Richard didn't learn of it until about a week later. From the time Richard learned of Edward's death to the council meeting on June 13th, Richard's actions were consistent with his role as protector. There was no outward indication that he was aiming for anything else. Hancock posits that something happened during that council meeting that changed everything. Per Hancock, Richard learned about the precontracted marriage between Edward IV and Eleanor Butler from William Catesby during a break in the meeting. He also learned that Hastings knew about the precontract. Enraged by this betrayal, Richard returns to the council and accuses Hastings, among others, of treason. However, Hastings was executed that day and the only one to lose his head. Even though I don't agree with the timing of the events for reasons I won't go into here, I think the scenario Hancock painted holds together very well.

What I like best about this book is that it is thoughtful and pointed out possible scenarios that I had not considered. Whether or not you will agree with the thesis Hancock lays out in his book, I think it is well worth reading.

— *Joan Szechtman*

NOW AVAILABLE FOR CHECKOUT FROM NON-FICTION LIBRARY:

- *The Last Knight Errant: Sir Edward Woodville and the Age of Chivalry* by Christopher Wilkins
- *The Red Rose and the White: The Wars of the Roses 1453-1487* by John Sadler
- We also have recently added a couple of articles from [Medieval History](#) magazine
- (Margaret of Anjou from June 2004 and Warwick the Kingmaker from January 2005)
- John Ashdown-Hill's book on John Howard and Arlene Okerlund's book on Elizabeth of York were also recently added and available for checkout.

Happy reading in 2010!

Susan Higginbotham

PLEASE MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO SUPPORT WORK ON THIS IMPORTANT MANUSCRIPT!

I am writing today to ask you to consider making a gift to support the work of a graduate student transcribing and translating portions of a manuscript genealogy of King Edward IV, now called Ms. Roll 1066, in the collections of the University of Pennsylvania Library. This roll is 37 feet in length and has two separate chronicles, one on each side. It is unique among manuscripts of this kind.

As many of you know, our contributions resulted in the restoration of another genealogy of Edward IV in another Philadelphia library. That manuscript was exhibited in 2001 and again in 2007, and has resulted in recognition of the Richard III Society by an international community of medieval scholars and art historians. It is almost unbelievable that two of the most significant genealogies of Edward IV should come to one American city, but the unbelievable has happened.

The Executive Board has already agreed to match member contributions up to \$2,500 from the portion of our Schallek Fund that was retained by the American Branch in order to help the University of Pennsylvania Library carry out this wonderful project. The librarians tell me that our gift will serve as “seed money” to encourage other donors and foundations to continue the work that we have made it possible for them to begin.

The University of Pennsylvania Library is investing considerable funds in this project to make it possible to “scroll through” this magnificent manuscript online. It is also in discussions with the Free Library of Philadelphia to apply the same technology to their manuscript. This will allow all of us to have an experience of these two manuscripts very much like the one their original owners and readers had.

Our part of this project would provide funding for another important aspect. Like its sister roll, Ms. Roll 1066 is written in Latin and is very difficult to read. As Professor Emily Steiner writes in the attached project report, “Scholars tend to be interested in these kinds of mid-15th century rolls for their propagandistic aims, the ways in which they bolster a contender’s claim to the throne or a noble family’s claim to ancient lineage. During the war of the Roses — which was as much a propaganda war between the York and Lancastrian factions as it was a series of bloody battles — it was nearly impossible for a historian to maintain a fiction of neutrality.” Our funding would provide for a medievalist graduate

student to transcribe and translate critical portions of the roll and to create a searchable index of names and events in the roll.

Although times are difficult for us all, I am hoping that Ricardians will recognize the importance of this project and make a gift to support a graduate student in work that will deepen and enrich our understanding of the swirling political currents around Richard and his family. You will find information on how to make out checks and where to mail them at the end of this document. We will also explore the possibility of making gifts to this fund, using your credit card, via PayPal. If you have any questions about the manuscript project, please feel free to email me at lblanchard@rblanchard.com Thank you.

Laura Blanchard

UPDATE: The Board has authorized the immediate release of the \$2,500 in funds, plus the more than \$500 in gifts received by AGM attendees and others, so that work on the project can begin. We are looking forward to periodic updates as the work progresses.

THE PENN ROLL PROJECT

*Prospectus by Dr. Emily Steiner,
University of Pennsylvania*

In 2007, the University of Pennsylvania Rare Book & Manuscript Library acquired a remarkable roll, now called Ms. Roll 1066. The Penn Roll, a staggering 37 feet and 13 membranes long, contains two chronicles, one on each side of the roll, both written down in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. On the front side of the roll is a Latin universal chronicle, beginning with Adam and Eve and ending with Edward IV (1461). This chronicle, which takes up all 13 membranes, is devoted primarily to English history, culled from Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Ranulph Higden, and lesser-known later medieval redactions. The chronicle is largely arranged in three columns, with text in the left and right columns and a genealogical line running down the middle column. This genealogy contains 174 bust-length portraits in color, 5 mandorlas with tinted full-length portraits, and 80 roundels containing crowns. On the back of the manuscript, ending on membrane 5, is a *Genealogy of Christ*, an abbreviated biblical history attributed to Peter of Poitiers (d. 1215), followed by a list of popes and emperors.

The Penn Roll is related to three other known rolls completed early in the reign of Edward IV, the first Yorkist king and brother to future king Richard III. Of these four rolls, only two probably share identical text, the Penn Roll and the Harvard Roll (Ms. Typ. 40). The Trinity Roll (Trinity College, Cambridge R.452) leaves off at membrane 5, right in the middle of British history (corresponding to the Penn Roll, membrane 7, where the Penn Roll has a mandorla of King Arthur); whereas the Huntington Roll (HM 264), also 5 membranes long, successfully progresses from Adam and Eve to Edward IV but is either missing material in the middle or has severely compressed the history recorded in the Penn Roll. These four manuscripts are otherwise very closely related; a comparison between them would form the nucleus of the Penn Roll Project with Penn Ms. 1066 at the center.

The Penn Roll Project has two goals. The first is to give readers a virtual format that captures the experience of reading a roll. Reading a roll might seem like a straightforward enterprise, as simple as tracing a line of English kings: we start at the top with Adam and Eve and unroll until we reach the chronological endpoint, the ascension of Edward IV in 1461. But, in practice, reading a roll, especially an extremely long roll like Ms. Roll 1066, is a more complicated task. To read a roll is constantly to roll and unroll, reading backward and forward in history, across columns, and from text to image and back again. Penn's novel presentation of Ms. Roll 1066 would allow viewers to unroll and re-roll the manuscript from either side. This project would enhance Penn's longstanding seminar in the History of Material Texts, which has inspired so many undergraduate and graduate theses. It would also complement other digitizations of medieval rolls, such as the Free Library of Philadelphia's splendid Edward IV Roll, which can be viewed membrane by membrane but can't be virtually unrolled.

The second goal of the Penn Roll Project is to give students and scholars a new appreciation for 15th-century historical writing. In contrast to 12th-century Latin histories, 13th-century encyclopedias, and 14th-century universal histories, 15th-century histories often seem derivative, crudely propagandistic, and stylistically impoverished. The universal chronicle in the Penn Roll, though a redaction of earlier texts, shows just how inventive 15th-century historiography could be. Scholars tend to be interested in these kinds of mid-15th century rolls for their propagandistic aims, the ways in which they bolster a contender's claim to the throne or a noble family's claim to ancient lineage. During the War of the Roses – which was as much a propaganda war between the York and Lancastrian factions as it was a series of bloody battles – it was nearly impossible for a historian

to maintain a fiction of neutrality. But the Penn Roll's creative historiography challenges some of the assumptions of modern scholarship. For example, though the roll clearly supports the Yorkist claim – it shows, parallel to the central line of royal descent, a Yorkist genealogy descending from Lionel of Antwerp, 3rd son of Edward III, which argues for Edward of York's claim to the English throne – it also lays out the competing claim of the Lancastrian line, descending from Edward III's 4th son, John of Gaunt. The Penn Roll thus proves how history can make arguments for the right to rule at the same time that it accommodates different versions of history.

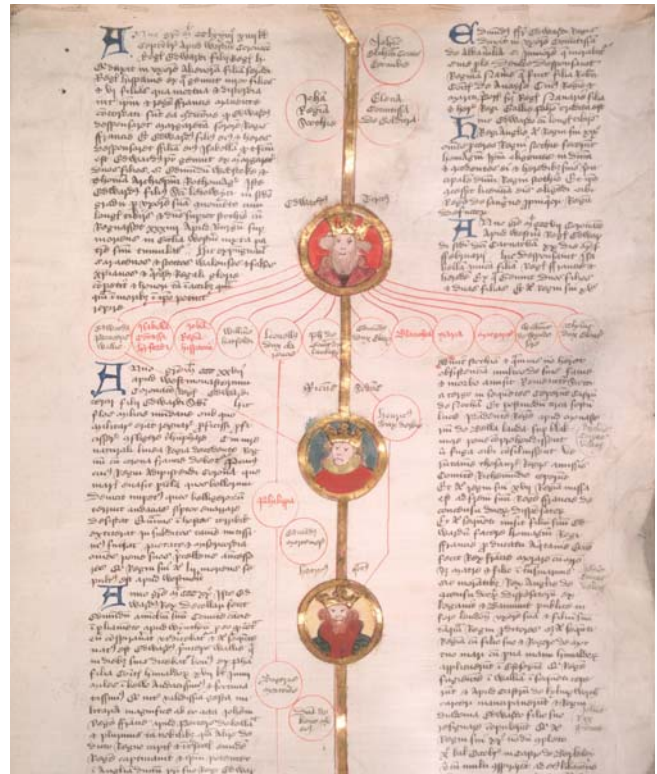
The compiler of the universal chronicle was clearly interested in figuring out ways to reconcile different histories graphically. The single genealogical line running through the middle is meant to show the order of royal succession, as well as the smooth translation of periods and empires, from biblical to Roman and British, to Anglo-Saxon, and Norman. When he reached the Anglo-Saxon period, however, the compiler chose to divide the genealogical line into 8 columns in order to accommodate his source, William of Malmesbury (12th century), who divided his history of the Anglo-Saxons into separate books, each book dealing with one of the 7 Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (Mercia, Northumbria, Kent, and so forth). The compiler realized that the histories of 7 kingdoms weren't synchronous, so he tried to portray them linearly and laterally at the same time. He understood, too, that the history of the Britons didn't come abruptly to a halt with the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, so he designed an 8th column of British kings to interweave with the histories of the English kings.

As suggested above, history, as embodied, by the Penn Roll, tends to wreak havoc with modern expectations of historical narrative, and particularly in the way that it selects for persons and events. Three of the 5 mandorlas, for instance, contain images of notable figures in the history of the British Isles: the Trojan conqueror, Brutus, King Arthur, and William the Conqueror. The other two mandorlas, however, one drawn just above the other, portray images of the Roman emperor Claudius and the British king Lucius, a king little known to modern readers. As it turns out, Lucius is important to the compiler of Ms. Roll 1066 because he represents the first royal initiative, following Claudius's conquest of England, to import Christianity to Britain from Rome, way ahead of the early missionaries and the later mission of Augustine of Canterbury recounted by Bede. In this way, the universal chronicle, though indebted to monastic historiography, presages Reformation histories in which King Lucius often figures prominently.



Finally, the two sides of the Penn Roll offer a double view of history. As far as we know, the Penn roll is the only 15th-century English genealogical roll from this period to have Peter of Poitiers's *Genealogy of Christ* on the back. It's tempting to study the front and back of Ms. Roll 1066 separately: after all, the *Genealogy of Christ* comes from a much earlier scholastic tradition; in the late 12th century, a roll version may have even been pinned up on the wall of a Paris university classroom. The universal chronicle, on the other hand, comes from an English monastic tradition of historical writing modeled by Matthew of Paris's 13th-century *Chronicle of English Kings*. If we examine Ms. Roll 1066 more closely, however, we see that the scribe of the *Genealogy of Christ* deliberately matched up the Adam and Eve images on the two sides of the roll, likewise the ark image on the front and the Noah image line up fairly closely, and the Nativity image on the back lines up perfectly with the Christ medallion on the front. Clearly, the scribe of the *Genealogy of Christ* wanted to emphasize an affinity between the two texts, an affinity made possible by the roll form.

This past summer, the assistant curator of manuscripts at Penn, Amey Hutchins, and Penn English professor, Emily Steiner, began work on Ms. Roll 1066 and identified every name in the center column of the universal history and transcribed some selections from the text. A grant from the American Branch of the Richard III Society would allow us to continue to work on the manuscript in conjunction with David McKnight, who



directs the Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text and Image (SCETI), which is developing in parallel the Roll viewer. We would also like to pay a medievalist graduate student to transcribe key passages of text, especially at the top and bottom of membranes, which would help us compare the Penn Roll with its sister rolls. The graduate student would also create a searchable index of names and events in the roll. Amey Hutchins will oversee the project at the Penn Library; Emily Steiner is presently in the UK, where she plans to consult the Trinity Roll mentioned above, in addition to other rolls and genealogical chronicles in British archives; she and Amey will write an introductory essay to accompany the digitization of the roll. We hope to launch the Penn Roll Project in May, 2011.

Please make checks payable to The Richard III Society, Inc. and mail to Laura Blanchard, 2041 Christian Street, Philadelphia PA 19146-1338. Indicate that the check is a contribution to the Edward IV Manuscript Matching Gift program.

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