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A Word from the Editor

As we begin to get back on track with our publications, I am pleased to announce that Joan Szechtman has agreed to take over as editor of the *Register*. Joan has long been an enthusiastic and energetic Ricardian, and she has a number of ideas for future issues, so I'll be looking forward to seeing what lies ahead.

This issue continues Marion Davis' look at the career of Richard as Duke of Gloucester, and I've included a piece I did on the supposed Woodville "raid on the treasury." Charlie Jordan is in the process of revitalizing the Sales Office and has included an update on his efforts.

Some of you may be familiar with Yahoo! Answers, which allows people to raise questions on a broad variety of topics and to have them answered by volunteers. While some of the questions and answers are quite intelligent, others are another matter altogether. Here are some questions dealing with our own favorite period:

"If Edward VI widow remained out of sanctuary, what would Richard III have done to her and to her family?"

"How heavy is a Richard III?"

"Is Eleanor of Aquitaine and Margaret of Anjou the same person?"

"Is it true King Edward IV had a wooden leg? Or was it King Henry VI? My uncle Rodney reckons it was King Edward IV."

Here's to a good 2011 and to enlightening the Uncle Rodneys of the world.

—Susan Higginbotham

Gloucester's Dukedom Is Too Ominous: Some Thoughts About Richard, Duke of Gloucester, 1452-1485

Part 2

Marion Davis

On June 23, 1477, Edward IV recalled Hastings from Calais. Gloucester, who had loyally disagreed with Edward IV in the past, was Hastings' most likely advocate. The outcome of Hastings' recall has qualities in common with the compromise that ended the Harrington-Stanley conflict. Just as Edward IV had refrained from punishing the loyal Harringtons for defending themselves against the powerful and untrustworthy Stanleys, he refrained from punishing Hastings for his effort to defend Margaret of York from the powerful and untrustworthy Louis XI. Hastings returned to Calais in August 1477. Hastings' surviving letter book preserves evidence that he sent Louis XI a weak, evasive rebuttal of his charges, accompanied by a promise to honor the treaty of Picquigny. (208) Evidence from a surviving account book suggests that Hastings's reply to Louis XI was duplicitous. An undated expenditure in the *Calais victualler's account* refers to artillery Hastings sent to "the Castell in the wode of Nepe in Flanders;" the annotation, "longyng to my lady of Burgen," appears in different handwriting. (209) Whether this expenditure was included in Louis XI's charges or occurred after Hastings' return to Calais, it echoed the Harringtons' victualing of Hornby Castle in 1473. Gloucester's advocacy may have contributed to the outcome in both cases.

Edward IV's attempt to balance competing interests failed to protect Margaret of York's. In August 1477, Louis XI's troops destroyed her dower properties. Fifty-two villages near her towns of Oudenaarde, La Quesnoy, and Binche were burned. (210) In England, Calais, and Burgundy, Margaret of York's sympathizers deplored Edward IV's inaction. Edmund Bedyngfeld's letter of August 17 to Sir John Paston combined chivalric and practical disapproval. After sarcastically remarking that French destruction of Margaret of York's income

sources demonstrated Louis XI's good intentions toward Edward IV, Bedyngfeld reported that Mary of Burgundy's new husband, Maximilian, hadn't brought her enough troops to defend Flanders from Louis XI. (211) Margaret of York's appeal for 1,000 to 1,500 archers, sent to Edward IV after the French captured Cassell, also combined chivalric and practical elements. Calling Edward IV her only remaining "lord, father, husband, and brother," Margaret of York repeated her appeal for his protection "from the King of France who does his best to reduce me to a state of beggary for the rest of my days." (212) She reproached her brother for allowing Louis XI to make her "one of the poorest widows deserted by everyone, especially by you" (213) Instead of sending archers to defend his sister, Edward IV continued to accept Louis XI's semi-annual payments of 25,000 crowns.

Although Gloucester may have supported Hastings' military aid to Margaret of York, he seems to have refrained from confrontations that recorded his name in letters or public documents. While public opinion deplored French aggression and English neutrality, Gloucester continued his peace-making efforts in the north. At Easter 1477, he made a significant addition to his affinity. Ralph, Lord Neville, the earl of Westmoreland's heir, accepted Gloucester's lordship. The reunion of Neville resources within Gloucester's affinity ended forty years of property disputes between the descendants of Westmoreland's first and second wives. Gloucester's peace-keeping abilities and reputation were enhanced. (214)

On July 17, 1477, Gloucester endowed his first foundation, at Queens College, Cambridge. His endowment supported four priests who studied theology and offered prayers. Included in their prayers were Gloucester, his wife and son;

Gloucester's mother and father, paternal grandfather, brothers and sisters; the king, queen, and their children; the 12th earl of Oxford and his wife; and benefactors of Queens College, Cambridge. Also included were Thomas Parr, John Milewater, Christofre Wursley, Thomas Huddleston, John Harper "and all other gentlemen and yomen servanders and lovers of the saide duke of Glouctre," who had died fighting at Barnet and Tewkesbury. (215) Jones has remarked that Gloucester's commemoration of his fallen servants "went beyond contemporary notions of due reward and showed a keen personal regard for their welfare." (216)

Gloucester continued to be active in York civic affairs. In late spring 1477, he and his wife joined York's Corpus Christi Guild, which Cecily Neville had joined twenty-one years earlier. (217) In cooperation with Northumberland, Gloucester influenced the selection of York's sheriffs; between 1474 and 1483, Gloucester's affinity contributed four sheriffs and Northumberland's contributed three. (218) From London, Gloucester responded to York's complaints about fishgarths, which deprived the poor of food and interfered with river navigation. On November 15, 1477, Gloucester notified York officials that Edward IV had authorized removal of a dutchy of Lancaster fishgarth from the Aire River. (219) This was only a temporary balance of competing interests. Fishgarths were a recurring problem in Yorkshire's rivers.

The year 1478 brought temporary solutions to other problems. Edward IV may have intended the marriage of his four-year-old son, Richard, duke of York, to relieve some financial pressures. York's five-year-old bride, Anne Mowbray—daughter of the fourth duke of Norfolk and Elizabeth Talbot, first earl of Shrewsbury's youngest daughter—was one of England's richest heiresses. But irregularities tarnished this marriage. Nearly two years before the wedding, Edward IV had transferred Mowbray titles, such as earl of Nottingham, duke of Norfolk, and earl Warenne, to his son. (220) Edward IV had also pressured the widowed duchess of Norfolk—who was his unacknowledged sister-in-law as well as mother of the young bride—to relinquish many of her dower properties. Although Elizabeth Talbot may have resisted this marriage as much as she dared in private, she attended the public ceremonies. (221) Cecily Neville, "the right high and excellent Princesse and Queen of Right ... Mother to the Kinge" was also present; she sat under a cloth of gold

canopy with the king, queen, bridegroom, and three of the bridegroom's sisters. (222) If family conflict had kept Cecily Neville away from her husband's reburial, it didn't keep her away from this wedding. But a different conflict had to be resolved before the wedding could proceed. Dr. Cooke objected to this marriage on the grounds that the bride and groom were too closely related; John Gunthorpe, dean of the king's chapel, refuted this objection by displaying a papal dispensation, which covered only acknowledged relationships. Elizabeth Talbot may have had objections which her family's safety required her to suppress. After the wedding mass, Gloucester threw gold and silver coins to the common people. With Buckingham, he escorted the bride from St. Stephen's Chapel to her wedding feast. (223) As constable of England, Gloucester later found it necessary to enforce payment of the heralds' fees. (224)

Questions arise: Why did Cecily Neville attend this wedding if she stayed away from her husband's reburial? Was Gunthorpe's display of the papal dispensation routine procedure in a royal wedding? If it was exceptional, why did the wedding planners consider it necessary to make this exception? How much did Elizabeth Talbot know about Edward IV's marriage to her older sister, Eleanor? The date of Anne Mowbray's wedding, January 15, 1478, raises more questions: Why was it scheduled so close to Clarence's trial? Had Cecily Neville and her daughters accepted Edward IV's assertion that Clarence was incorrigible? Or had they joined Gloucester in another effort to reconcile Edward IV and Clarence? If reconciliation was being attempted, was Margaret of York able to join this attempt?

Any reconciliation efforts were unsuccessful. A compliant parliament accepted Edward IV's charges against Clarence. Temporarily appointed steward of England, Buckingham announced Clarence's death sentence on February 7, 1478. After ten days' delay, the speaker of the commons requested that the execution proceed. Clarence was put to death on February 18, 1478.

By late February, Robert Stillington, bishop of Bath and Wells, had been sent to the Tower for "uttering words prejudicial to the king and his state." (225) The prejudicial words may have concerned Edward IV's marriage to Eleanor Talbot, which Stillington witnessed as a canon. Edward IV's bigamous vow to Elizabeth Woodville converted his marriage to Eleanor Talbot into a precontract, which disqualified all of his Woodville offspring as his

heirs. A large annuity granted Stillington in 1461, followed by his promotion to bishop of Bath and Wells in February 1465, suggests that Edward IV may have been rewarding Stillington's silence about Eleanor Talbot. (226) Stillington may have broken this silence after Edward IV's sons displaced Clarence in the succession, and his disclosure may have contributed to Clarence's rebelliousness. (227) If Clarence was rash enough to reveal Stillington's disclosure, the king and queen may have decided that Clarence was a serious threat to their children. Clarence's judicial murder of Ankarette Twynyho and John Thuresby offered Edward IV an illusory solution to Clarence's threat. He may have chosen to act on that illusion. However Stillington may have been involved with Edward IV and Eleanor Talbot, he was freed from the Tower. On April 14, 1478, he was appointed to a commission of the peace for Berkshire; and on June 20, 1478 he received an official pardon. (228)

Gloucester regained the chamberlainship he'd relinquished to Clarence in 1472. Gloucester's son, Edward, replaced Clarence as earl of Salisbury. By exchanging the manors of Sudeley, Farley, and Corff for the castle of Richmond, formerly held by Clarence, Gloucester strengthened his northern affinity. In addition to Richmond Castle, Gloucester acquired Helmsley and the support of local families affiliated with it. Henry Pulley of Helmsley, eventually a yeoman of the crown, advanced in Gloucester's affinity between 1478 and 1483. (229) But the benefits Gloucester received after Clarence's death were offset by Gloucester's advancement in the succession. As the remaining adult male in line for the throne, Gloucester was exposed to the same threats experienced by his father and Duke Humphrey. Gloucester's awareness of these threats may have intensified while he was planning to establish chantries at Middleham and Barnard Castles. He received licenses for these chantries just three days after Clarence's execution. The introduction to the Middleham chantry statutes asks for God's protection from "many great jeopardies, perils, and hurts." (230) This conventional request may have had personal significance for Gloucester.

These chantries were intended to provide prayers for Gloucester and his family members while providing education and income for the chantry priests. Chantry foundations were especially appreciated in northern England, where isolation and economic hardship burdened priests and laymen. Gloucester's foundations eased parishioners'

financial burdens, increased opportunities to attend mass, raised priests' education levels, and lightened priests' workloads. A scholastic link with Queens College benefited the Middleham foundation. (231) Not only did Gloucester found chantries, members of his affinity founded a chantry in his honor. At Riccall on the Ouse, James Charleton of Riccall and Richard Bank of Allerton Bywater in Lancashire demonstrated how Gloucester's lordship united affinity members from different regions in respect for Gloucester's accomplishments. (232)

Gloucester's accomplishments included improvements to church buildings: he contributed to renovations at Carlisle's monastery; he may have donated the stained glass portraits of his parents to Penrith's church; he and his wife donated the Last Judgement window at Great Malvern's church; and he donated a bell to the Trinity Guild's Chapel at Hull. Gloucester's donation of copes and a large, bejeweled cross enhanced ceremonies at York Minster. (233) Other accomplishments benefitted both church and secular governments. Gloucester's support for well-educated, energetic clergymen advanced affinity members such as Richard Bell, prior of Durham Cathedral, who became bishop of Carlisle. (234) Gloucester's enlightened regulations encouraged ducal officials to resist corruption; they provided for investigation of corruption charges and punishment of the guilty. Conventional wisdom recommended appointing officials whose personal wealth enabled them to resist bribes, and Gloucester's standards reflected that advice. (235)

As Gloucester developed his administrative skills, he established a reputation for providing "good and indifferent justice to all who sought it, were they rich or poor, gentle or simple." (236) After existing legal procedures failed to resolve conflicts, northerners took more and more of their disputes to Gloucester's council for arbitration. (237) Gloucester's council included Neville affiliates Lord Scrope of Bolton and Baron Greystoke; Sir James Harrington—who'd resisted the Stanleys at Hornby Castle; Sir Francis Lovell; Sir William Parr, lieutenant of Carlisle; and the lawyers Richard Pygott, Guy Fairfax, and Miles Metcalfe. (238) One of the lawyers, Guy Fairfax, also served Northumberland, Buckingham, the dowager duchess of Norfolk, and the city of York. (239) Assisted by his council, Gloucester earned a reputation as a fair arbiter and source of legal redress. In some cases, Gloucester decided against his own retainers; in others, he ruled against landlords who wanted to

replace their tenants with more profitable pastures. (240) In such cases, Gloucester managed to balance competing interests without weakening his own influence.

The long-running boundary dispute between Richard Clervaux and Rowland Place is representative of the cases Gloucester arbitrated. On March 20, 1478, the opponents agreed to accept Gloucester's decision. On April 12, 1478, Gloucester announced his intention to restore good relations between Clervaux and Place and peace to their neighborhood. (241) Gloucester ordered both Clervaux and Place to fence their cattle; "remain content" with a 1474 land exchange they had made; continue using the parish church pews their families had always used; refrain from retaining each others' servants or tenants; allow quarry that crossed common boundaries to escape; restrict their servants' action against trespassers to verbal reprimands. Gloucester named four guarantors, who also took responsibility for arbitrating future conflicts. Clervaux and Place may have embodied their reconciliation in a new porch for their parish church. The Clervaux and Place coats of arms appeared together over the doorway until they were moved to the church tower in 1878. (242)

During 1478, Gloucester approved an ordinance encouraging the heralds to expand their professional studies and record-keeping. (243) He may have donated a copy of St. George's Roll, which was created about 1285, to the heralds' professional library. This copy contained 677 painted shields, with fifteenth century blazons added to each shield. Although Gloucester promoted the heralds' advancement, Henry VII evicted the college of heralds from Coldharbour, the house Richard III had given it. Bitter conflicts over the college's library followed. Gloucester's roll may have been taken by John Writhe, Garter King of Arms from 1478 to 1504, or his son, Thomas, who succeeded him. Thomas Writhe copied the fifteenth century blazons, identifying his source as "an old painted roll that once belonged to Richard, Duke of Gloucester." (244) Although Writhe's copy has survived, the original roll disappeared, just as many of the books Duke Humphrey willed to Oxford University disappeared. This conflict among heralds echoed the conflicts between Oxford University officials and those who appropriated Duke Humphrey's books after his death.

Hastings received a gift of tapestries from Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian in 1478. These five

Bruges tapestries demonstrated appreciation of Hastings' 1477 efforts to send military aid, in "stark contrast" to Edward IV's unhelpfulness. (245) This rich gift suggests that some of Hastings' aid efforts had succeeded despite Louis XI's attacks. Although France occupied some Burgundian territory, Burgundy remained independent. In December 1478, Rivers, the earl who had aspired to marry Europe's richest heiress, contracted to marry James III of Scotland's sister, Margaret. Despite this contract, the Scots renewed pillaging and raiding in England. Edward IV suspected Louis XI of reactivating the long-term alliance between Scotland and France to prevent the English from aiding Burgundy. (246)

By the time the Scots reactivated hostilities along the borders, Gloucester had unified the north as it had not been unified since the late fourteenth century. This unification was "a major achievement, ... the outstanding success of Edward IV's regional policy." (247) Supported by Edward IV's authority, Gloucester exercised lordship in the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. Northumberland's lordship prevailed in the East Riding of Yorkshire and Northumberland. While Gloucester and Northumberland prepared for war with Scotland, their councilors conducted Yorkshire's commissions of inquiry. (248) By spring 1480, the Scots were making large-scale raids in England. On May 12, 1480, Edward IV appointed Gloucester lieutenant general in the North, with authority to recruit troops in the marches and adjoining counties. This appointment reinforced the northern power balance: by authorizing Gloucester as lieutenant, Edward IV prevented power struggles which could have interfered with defeating the Scots. Emphasizing Gloucester's status as the king's agent in the north, this appointment "formalized the inclusion of other noble retainues within Gloucester's affinity." (249) Although Gloucester shared his authority to create knights with Northumberland and Stanley, he was officially their overlord during the campaign. (250)

By 1480, Gloucester's reputation for impartial justice had raised his status in the palatinate of Durham. Although he was nominally the bishop of Durham's lieutenant, Gloucester was considered the palatinate's best source of justice. Instead of petitioning the bishop, Gerard Salvin petitioned Gloucester for justice against the men who'd assaulted him; this petition reflected public confidence in Gloucester's impartial authority. (251) Gloucester's response to John Randson's 1480

appeal demonstrated the validity of that public confidence. After Gloucester was convinced that Sir Robert Claxton had illegally prevented Randson from working his land, Gloucester warned Claxton to “so demeane you that we have no cause to provide his lawful remedy in this behalve.” (252) Although Claxton’s son and son-in-law were Gloucester’s retainers and Claxton was a local leader, Gloucester and his council upheld Randson’s rights. “Randson’s case gives substance to the claim that Gloucester offered justice to the weak against the strong; it also confirms that in so doing he had no qualms about bypassing the usual channels ... in the last years of Edward IV, [Gloucester] was the unchallenged lord of the county palatine.” (253)

While consolidating his strength in the north, Gloucester was selling some of his properties in East Anglia. Although Edward IV had advised his retainer, John Risley, not to buy a former de Vere property Gloucester was trying to sell in 1479, Gloucester was able to sell Wivenhoe and other land to Howard in 1480. Howard’s account book records another purchase from Gloucester in 1481; for 1,100 marks, Howard bought Wysnow. When Gloucester’s servant delivered the title in February 1482, Howard sent Gloucester a gift of seven crossbows. (254)

Gloucester and Howard were among the English lords who received generous presents from Louis XI, who was attempting to dilute the effects of his diplomatic equivocations. (255) On June 16, 1480, Gloucester signed a short, formal thank-you for Louis XI’s gift of a great bombard. Louis XI may have chosen this gift because he knew Gloucester shared Edward IV’s interest in artillery. Gloucester venerated St. Barbara, patron of gunners and gun-makers. During Henry V’s conquest of Normandy, Duke Humphrey had established a reputation for innovative use of artillery. During his second Burgundian exile, Gloucester might have learned about the latest innovations from his benefactor, Louis, Lord Gruuthuse, who was so interested in artillery that he displayed an image of a mortar on his crest. Louis XI could afford to fund artillery research and development. (256) Was Louis XI’s gift to Gloucester a display of the most current French innovations? Or was it a convenient way to dispose of outdated equipment?

Since Gloucester could have used Louis XI’s gift against Louis XI’s allies, the Scots, this gift embodied the French king’s duplicity. While setting the Scots and English against each other, Louis XI continued to threaten the Burgundians. A week after

Gloucester signed his thank-you to Louis XI, Margaret of York led a Burgundian delegation to England. Its purpose was an Anglo-Burgundian alliance, including English military aid to Burgundy and a marriage contract between Edward IV’s daughter, Anne, and Mary of Burgundy’s heir, Philip. Gloucester left his northern responsibilities long enough to visit Margaret of York; he may have attended Edward IV’s banquet honoring their sister and mother, but he soon returned to the north. (257) During his visit, Gloucester dealt with financial matters as well. Edward IV’s privy seal order, dated June 24, 1480, instructed exchequer officials to pay Gloucester’s overdue wages, which he’d earned as captain of Carlisle and warden of the West Marches since February 20, 1479. (258)

Margaret of York and her negotiators failed to obtain a generous return on Burgundy’s generosity to Edward IV, who received an installment of Louis XI’s pension during the negotiations. The Burgundians had to settle for fewer troops than they’d asked for, and Edward IV refused to provide a dowry for Anne of York. Edward IV also refused to complete payments on Margaret of York’s dowry, which she eventually paid herself through a bequest in her will. The trading licenses which Edward IV renewed for his sister were far from adequate compensation for his failure to pay her dowry. News of Maximilian’s truce with Louis XI arrived before the Burgundians departed. Although troubled by Maximilian’s failure to inform her of his negotiations with Louis XI, Margaret of York excused his actions to Edward IV, who didn’t hold Maximilian’s duplicity against her. The imbalance in Anglo-Burgundian interests didn’t diminish Edward IV’s enjoyment of his sister’s company; he accompanied Margaret of York and her entourage all the way from London to their embarkation at Dover. (259) On September 22, 1480, the Burgundian delegation returned home. Margaret of York never saw Gloucester or Edward IV again.

During this summer, the Scots burned Bamborough. In September, Gloucester and Northumberland led a retaliatory raid into Scotland. Edward IV decided in November to lead the 1481 campaign against Scotland. Consequently, Gloucester’s contract as lieutenant of the North was not renewed, but Gloucester received 10,000 pounds to pay his troops. From winter 1480 to spring 1481, Gloucester supervised repairs to Carlisle’s walls and recruited troops. In March 1481, he and his councilors joined Edward IV in London to plan the

campaign against the Scots. (260) Their plan combined naval and land attacks. The naval campaign was more successful: a fleet commanded by Robert Radcliffe patrolled Scotland's west coast; Howard's fleet raided the Firth of Forth twice; and a third fleet protected the narrow seas from the French. The land campaign was impeded by Edward IV's failure to lead his army. Diplomatic, financial, and health problems may have combined to keep Edward IV in the south. Whatever delayed him, he never advanced further than Nottingham, and he delegated no authority to Gloucester and Northumberland, who didn't know until late in the campaigning season that Edward IV had decided not to lead his army against the Scots. Without the king, Gloucester and Northumberland couldn't reinforce Howard's naval victories. Instead they besieged Berwick and retaliated against the Scots' raids. (261)

Perhaps Edward IV's indecisiveness contributed to friction between Gloucester, Northumberland, and the Stanleys. On September 7, 1481, Northumberland ordered the city of York to send troops to Northallerton, but Gloucester overrode Northumberland's order and sent York's troops to Durham. (262) The Stanleys claimed that Gloucester's failure to coordinate forces had left Stanley troops dangerously isolated at Berwick before October 1481. Whether or not Edward IV's indecision contributed to friction within his army, it tarnished his international reputation. At the end of 1481, Edward IV had little to show for large sums spent on the Scots campaign, while Louis XI continued to encroach on Burgundy, which derived little benefit from its 1480 agreement with England. Detractors joked that the English king had chosen bed and banquet over battlefield. (263)

A bad harvest intensified financial problems and contributed to disturbances in the North. Despite the year's disheartening end, Gloucester maintained the status he'd earned. Northerners continued to look to him for just arbitration. Although Gloucester was deeply involved in the Scots campaign, the abbot and convent of Selby, Yorkshire and the parishioners of Snaith had requested Gloucester's arbitration instead of taking their conflict to an ecclesiastical court. A noteworthy exception to standard procedures, this request demonstrated Gloucester's "extraordinary influence." (264)

On November 19, 1481, the duke of York's nine-year-old wife, Anne Mowbray, died. William, Viscount Berkeley and Howard were coheirs to her estate. If the laws of inheritance had been followed,

Edward IV and the Woodvilles would have lost control of the wealth Anne Mowbray had brought her husband. Unwilling to give up control, Edward IV arranged to disinherit the rightful coheirs. Although Berkeley benefited by relinquishing his inheritance rights in return for a viscount's title and forgiveness of a 37,000 pound debt to the crown, Howard received shabby treatment in return for years of competent service. Having no huge debts to be forgiven, Howard had nothing to exchange for his inheritance and little reward for his naval victories in Scotland. (265)

York's 1482 mayoral election was contentious. Both candidates claimed they'd won, and riots followed. After deciding that Richard York had won the election, the city magistrates petitioned Gloucester to obtain Edward IV's confirmation of their decision. Although the defeated candidate, Thomas Wrangwysch, was considered Gloucester's man, Gloucester supported the magistrates' decision. Balancing competing interests, Gloucester may have decided to act as a friend of the city in this case. On March 12, 1482, York's mayor and aldermen received the king's confirmation. On March 16, York's officials thanked Gloucester at Austin Priory. Within two days, rioters protested the king's confirmation, but Gloucester advised officials to pardon the rioters. York's citizens appreciated Gloucester's clemency. (266)

Exceptionally harsh weather intensified the hardships resulting from 1481's bad harvests. In February 1482, Edward IV granted Gloucester a license to buy grain and vegetables for his troops from any source in England, Wales, and Ireland. Preparations for the 1482 Scots campaign continued. In April, another remarkable tergiversation occurred: James III's rebellious brother, the duke of Albany, exchanged Louis XI's protection and the wife Louis XI had found him for an alliance with Edward IV. Despite his failure to lead in 1481, Edward IV announced that he would lead the 1482 Scots campaign. (267)

While preparing for war, Gloucester continued to earn northerners' good will. After learning that his treasurer's servant, Thomas Redeheid, had harassed a citizen of York, Roland Pudsey, at Middleham, Gloucester turned Redeheid over to the mayor and aldermen of York for punishment. On April 12, 1482, he authorized Sir Ralph Assheton to conduct Redeheid to York. (268) During May, Gloucester and his raiders burned Dumfries and other towns in southwest Scotland. This was the

latest in a series of raids which had earned Gloucester his troops' respect. (269) Despite Gloucester's popularity, York officials were sensitive to any expression of disrespect for the duke. Reports that a saddler, Roger Brere, had scoffed that Gloucester would do nothing for York's citizens but grin at them led to an official investigation in June. Brere denied the gibe, and William Melrig denied hearing it. (270) Officials may have been exceptionally sensitive to ridicule because they were anticipating Gloucester's arrival with Edward IV's army.

After raiding southwest Scotland, Gloucester joined Edward IV at Fotheringhay, where he witnessed the king's agreement with Albany. In return for English aid in deposing his brother, Albany agreed to render homage to Edward IV, return Berwick and other disputed borderlands to England, cancel all alliances with Louis XI, and marry Edward IV's daughter, Cecily. Albany's marriage to Cecily depended, however, on his ability to divorce the wife Louis XI had provided for him. Although Edward IV had announced that he would lead the 1482 Scots campaign, he made Gloucester lieutenant-general on June 12 and returned to London. Deteriorating health may have contributed to this transfer of leadership. (271) But an entry in the Canterbury city records, which has been interpreted as a contemporary view of Edward IV's decline, may have been added later. (272) Evidently the king was healthy enough to send his physician, William Hobbes, with a retinue of eight surgeons, to Gloucester for a month. An account roll entry records a payment of thirteen pounds and six shillings for their expenses "in the King's service against the Scotch." (273) Was this a public relations ploy? Did Gloucester need Edward IV's physicians more than he did?

Gloucester's commission gave him authority over the Scots campaign. Northumberland and Stanley were his lieutenants. Two Herringtons, Sir James and Sir Robert, fought under Gloucester; Sir James was one of the army's left wing commanders. Apparently Edward IV's troops disbanded, because most of the 20,000 troops Gloucester led to Scotland were northerners. (274) On June 18, 1482, York's mayor, aldermen, and craftsmen welcomed Gloucester and Albany. By July 2, England's first courier system was carrying messages between Gloucester and Edward IV. Modeled on Louis XI's courier system, it extended from Berwick to London. Campaign progress reports, carried by couriers

stationed at twenty-mile intervals, reached their destinations in two days. (275)

Couriers were soon able to relay the news that the town of Berwick had opened its gates to the English. Since the defenders of Berwick Castle continued to resist, Gloucester left Stanley with troops to continue the siege. Under Gloucester's command, the main army looted and burned a large area of Roxburghshire and Berwickshire. Instead of defending their land and people, Scotland's lords fought each other. The more powerful faction imprisoned James III on July 22, 1482. Instead of facing the English, the Scots army settled at Haddington, eighteen miles east of Edinburgh. (276) On July 31, 1482, Gloucester took control of Edinburgh. After forbidding his troops to loot, he began negotiations with the lords who had custody of James III. Since the king's captors lacked legitimate authority to govern, Gloucester's ability to make agreements with them was limited. Informing them that he had no authority to accept their peace proposal, Gloucester named the return of Berwick Castle and Cecily of York's dowry as preconditions for any future Anglo-Scots agreement. On August 4, 1482, Edinburgh's officials guaranteed repayment of Cecily's dowry if Edward IV decided to cancel her marriage contract with the heir to Scotland's throne; they hopefully added fulfillment of the contract between James III's sister, Margaret, and Rivers to this guarantee. (277)

At this point, Albany committed another tergiversation. Breaking his Fotheringhay agreement with Edward IV, Albany exchanged his claim to Scotland's throne for a pardon and restoration of his rights and lands. Despite Albany's tergiversation record—within three months he'd broken agreements with Louis XI and Edward IV—Gloucester accepted Albany's written, contradictory promise that he'd keep his Fotheringhay agreement and enforce repayment of Cecily's dowry. Apparently Albany was planning to double-cross the Scots, and it's remarkable that he gave Gloucester proof which the English could have used against him. (278)

On August 11, 1482, Gloucester dismissed all but 1,700 of his troops. On August 12, he and his lieutenants created new knights and knights banneret. One of those promoted to knight banneret was Sir Robert Herrington. (279) After Berwick Castle surrendered on August 24, Gloucester began a major rebuilding program. Repairs to castle and town walls were enhanced by construction of 120

new houses. Berwick's recovery was England's primary benefit from the 1482 campaign. It raised northerners' morale and enhanced Gloucester's reputation. (280) Morale at the Calais garrison also benefited. As lieutenant of Calais and supervisor of the English army's ordinance, Hastings authorized celebrations, including a procession, gunfire salutes, and bonfires. (281) Edward IV's letter to Pope Sixtus IV also celebrated Gloucester's accomplishments: "Thank God, the giver of all good gifts, for the support received from our most loving brother, whose success is so proven that he alone would suffice to chastise the whole kingdom of Scotland." (282)

Not all Englishmen were satisfied with the campaign's outcome. The Croyland chronicler expressed the view of contemporaries who felt that Englishmen had received poor value for two years' high expenditures. (283) Yet twentieth-century historians have demonstrated that Gloucester effectively balanced competing interests in Edinburgh. Gloucester's decision to forbid looting may have been a concession to Albany's interests. English looting would have eroded what little support Albany found on his arrival; he lacked enough to displace James III, and his decision to settle for a pardon with restoration of his rights and lands limited Gloucester's options. Another limit on Gloucester was money; he'd received enough to pay 20,000 men for four weeks' campaigning and 1,700 men for another two weeks. Without Scots booty or payment from the notoriously slow English exchequer, Gloucester had nothing to sustain his troops. Returning to England on time and within budget was in his army's best interests, especially since the Scots army was following the example of the evasive French armies which had drained English resources during the 1430s and 1440s. Perhaps his father's experiences as Henry VI's lieutenant of Normandy influenced Gloucester's decisions as much as any reading he'd done. Whatever influenced his decisions, Gloucester fulfilled the ideals of moderation and discipline recommended in *The Tree of Battles*, a legal handbook on just warfare. (284)

While Gloucester's victory was being celebrated, Louis XI's representatives paid another installment of Edward IV's pension. Confident that Edward IV would withhold aid, Louis XI increased pressure on Burgundy by publishing a secret Anglo-French truce extension. (285) Publication of this extension intensified conflict precipitated by Mary of Burgundy's death on March 27, 1482. Although

Mary of Burgundy's will named Maximilian as regent for their son, Philip, many Lowlanders wanted a regency council to govern during Philip's minority. Weary of French depredations, many also favored Louis XI's offer of a marriage alliance: in return for a marriage between Louis XI's thirteen-year-old heir and Maximilian's three-year-old daughter, Margaret, France would take control of the bride's dower lands, including Artois and the county of Burgundy, and cease attacking the remainder of Burgundy's territory. Maximilian's opponents had taken custody of his children, Philip and Margaret, at the castle of Ten Waele. Without Edward IV's aid, Maximilian and Margaret of York couldn't prevail against those who wanted a regency council and French alliance. As Margaret of York's chamberlain, Olivier de La Marche, expressed it: "Our lord the archduke is like St. Eustace, a wolf [Louis XI] had seized his daughter and a lion [of Flanders] had taken his son." (286) Unless Maximilian and Margaret of York could prevent their opponents from imposing Louis XI's Franco-Burgundian marriage alliance, Elizabeth of York's future as queen of France was extinguished. Yet Edward IV failed to support Maximilian and Margaret of York.

Although the Scots entanglement and French pension payments seem to explain Edward IV's failure, questions remain unanswered: Had Edward IV's intelligence network failed to inform him of Louis XI's plan to replace Elizabeth of York with Maximilian's three-year-old daughter? Could Margaret of York and Maximilian have failed to warn Edward IV that many Lowlanders wanted to trade Maximilian's daughter and her dower lands for relief from French attacks? Did Edward IV and his councilors refuse to believe that Louis XI would replace a dowerless Elizabeth of York with a child endowed with rich Burgundian territories? Did Louis XI's pensions influence Edward IV's councilors as Charles VII's bribes had influenced Philip the Good's councilors in 1436?

Whatever Edward IV and his councilors thought about a Franco-Burgundian marriage alliance, they decided to continue England's campaign against Scotland. In October 1482, both marriage contracts—between Cecily of York and James III's heir and Rivers and James III's sister—were cancelled. The brief Anglo-Scots truce was allowed to expire on November 4, and parliament was summoned to provide funding for a new Scots campaign. (287) Before Christmas 1482, Gloucester arrived in London. News that the Scots parliament

had made Albany lieutenant-general of Scotland had no visible effect on English campaign plans. News that Maximilian had signed his own treaty of Arras on December 23, 1482 was as consequential as news of the 1436 treaty of Arras had been. Some of Edward IV's contemporaries attributed his subsequent decline to chagrin over the loss of Louis XI's pension and the Anglo-French wedding alliance. (288) Yet the 1482 treaty of Arras was unlikely to have inflicted a sudden shock on Edward IV. Louis XI and dissident Lowlanders had been eroding Maximilian's power since Mary of Burgundy's death. There had been time and opportunity for the English to counteract the erosion, if Edward IV and his advisors had decided to do so.

York officials seem to have been more decisive than Edward IV and his councilors. After receiving another allegation that citizens were criticizing Gloucester, officials investigated. Apparently they feared that the 1483 mayoral election might be as contentious as the 1482 election. In January 1483, nine witnesses testified that Robert Rede had not spoken disrespectfully about Gloucester while discussing the election with Stephen Hoghson at the Eden Berries alehouse. After Hoghson remarked that Thomas Wrangwysh was the candidate that "my lord of Gloucester will doo for," Rede allegedly replied that "... if Gloucester wold have him mair, the commons wold not have him mare." But all nine witnesses testified that Rede had actually said "my lord of Gloucester wold not be displeid whomsomewyr it pleside the Commons to ches for thar mare." (289) Rede was correct. John Newton defeated Wrangwysh in a relatively peaceful election, and Gloucester continued to work harmoniously with York's officials.

On January 20, 1483, parliament opened. One parliamentary act gave the nine-year old duke of York a hereditary title to Berkely's share of the Mowbray inheritance and a life interest in Howard's share, disinheriting Howard unless York died first. Another act authorized taxes for defense against the French and the Scots. (290) While parliament was meeting, Edward IV's negotiators tried to renew the 1482 Fotheringhay agreement with Albany, Scotland's current lieutenant-general. On February 11, 1483, they concluded a new agreement: in return for English aid in supplanting James III, Albany would replace the Franco-Scots alliance with an Anglo-Scots alliance and his French wife with one of Edward IV's daughters. Albany also agreed to acknowledge England's right to Berwick. Five

weeks later, Albany committed another tergiversation. He cancelled his agreement with Edward IV in favor of reconciliation with James III. (291)

Albany's latest tergiversation may have resulted from his realization that England's parliament had approved a provisional county palatine for Gloucester in southwestern Scotland while English ambassadors were negotiating with Albany. If Gloucester could conquer and hold "the Contreys and grounde in Scotlande called Liddalesdale, Esdale, Ewsdale, Anandirdale, Waltopdale, Cliddesdale, and the Westmerches of Scotland, whereof grete part is nowe in the Scotts handes," Albany's crown was likely to cost him a lot more than he'd agreed to pay. (292) In addition to his provisional county palatine, Gloucester received upgrades to the authority he already held. Parliament made his wardenship of the west marches, his shrievalty of Cumberland, and his lordship of Carlisle hereditary. Parliament also transferred all royal lands in Cumberland, plus the authority to appoint Cumberland's escheator to Gloucester and his heirs. Ten thousand marks "in ready money" were allotted for Gloucester's expenses in Cumberland as well. (293) Although the upgrades made Gloucester more powerful than his predecessors had been, he was still responsible for enforcing royal decisions in "a notoriously difficult region." (294) His authority depended on the king's support. On February 18, 1483, parliament ended, and Gloucester returned to his responsibilities in the north. During Lent, Gloucester paid a customary visit to York, which welcomed him warmly. (295)

On February 6, London goldsmith Bartholomew Reed had replaced Hastings as master of the royal mint. (296) Hastings lost this office about the time that Rivers' authority over the Prince of Wales was increased. Along with this increase, Rivers obtained authorization to raise troops. Soon after returning from parliament, Rivers asked his agent, Andrew Dymmock, to send copies of the authorization letters to Ludlow. Although Rivers wasn't supposed to delegate his authority as deputy constable of the Tower to anyone else, he delegated his authority to Dorset. (297) Rivers' unauthorized delegation of authority demonstrates that the Harringtons, Hastings, and Gloucester were not the only Yorkists who disobeyed Edward IV.

News of Edward IV's death added the threat of civil conflict to England's conflicts with Scotland and France. An erroneous report of the king's death

arrived at York three days before he died. (298) The first report to reach Gloucester has not survived, but the courier system that he and Edward IV used from July to October 1482 suggests that Gloucester maintained an efficient information network. Even if Gloucester couldn't attend the services held for Edward IV at York Minster on April 7 and 8, he was likely to have known about them. By the time of Edward IV's actual death, April 9, Gloucester was likely to have been on alert. When Hastings' and Buckingham's messengers arrived, Gloucester was likely to have been considering his response to the crisis. Gloucester's mother may have sent him information as valuable as any he received from Hastings or Buckingham. (299)

Perhaps news from his mother and his own affinity members contributed to Gloucester's moderate response to the crisis. In York, Gloucester summoned nobles to a memorial service for Edward IV. At an oath-taking ceremony, Gloucester was first to take the oath of loyalty to Edward V. (300) Despite lack of official notification from London, Gloucester sent letters to Elizabeth Woodville and the interim council. In his letter to the interim council, Gloucester emphasized the dangers of ignoring precedents set in earlier minorities. He arranged for his retinue to join Edward V's retinue on their way to London. Although Buckingham offered to bring Gloucester 1,000 men, Gloucester accepted only 300. Departing from York around April 20, Gloucester and his 300-man retinue traveled at a moderate pace. (301)

While Gloucester was preparing his approach to London, Hastings was confronting the Woodvilles. Unlike Katherine of France or Margaret of Anjou—who were denied any direct participation in minority governments—Elizabeth Woodville may have attended at least one interim council meeting during April 1483. Whether or not the queen's unprecedented attendance was permitted, her brothers, Sir Edward Woodville and Lionel, bishop of Salisbury, plus her elder son, Dorset, represented her interests. Although “more prudent members of the council ... were of the opinion that the guardianship of [Edward V] ... ought to be utterly forbidden to his uncles and brothers by the mother's side,” the council accepted the Woodville plan for a May 4 coronation. (302) Compared to Henry VI's first coronation, which was held seven years after his father's death, Edward V's coronation date was set remarkably close to his father's death. This haste could have been interpreted as a Woodville power

grab. The large escort proposed for the young king's journey from Ludlow to London was also provocative. Hastings threatened to follow the earl of Warwick's example as captain of Calais unless the king's escort was reduced. Since Warwick's captaincy of Calais had contributed to Henry VI's deposition, the council made a concession to Hastings: they limited Edward V's escort to 2,000 men. (303) An escort of 2,000 was almost two-thirds of the 3,370 reinforcements sent to protect Henry VI on his journey through hostile territory to his Paris coronation. (304) Edward V's escort alone outnumbered the combined retinues of Gloucester and Buckingham by 1,400 men. Sir Edward Woodville and Dorset had received funding for another 3,000 men; before Edward IV died, his council had approved a fleet to protect English ships from French attacks, and Sir Edward Woodville had been appointed commander. This fleet was expensive. Surviving records state that it exhausted Edward IV's cash reserves, a total of 3,670 pounds. (305) This expenditure may account for rumors that the Woodvilles had raided Edward IV's treasury. The Woodvilles' 5,000 men amounted to nearly half of the 11,500 men who had accompanied Edward IV to France in 1475. (306) These numbers raise questions: How many men did Rivers contribute? Did his February authorization letter enable him to contribute more than he could normally have contributed? Who were these 5,000 men expected to fight? Were they intended to intimidate Woodville critics? Did any of them actually defend the English coasts and ships against French raids?

Circumstances in April 1483 encouraged doubts and suspicions. Although Edward IV's health may have been deteriorating, his death seems to have been sudden and unexpected. (307) No one seems to have prepared for a minority government. This lack of preparation combined with Edward V's age to intensify difficulties. Edward V was too young to govern, but the anticipated end of his minority would hamper his minority government. Competition for the maturing king's favor threatened political stability. Whoever controlled access to Edward V held a powerful advantage. Although accepted political theory stated that good kings made themselves accessible to all of their subjects and based their decisions on the common good, political practice gave a king's closest associates priority over more distant noblemen, clergymen, merchants, craftsmen, and soldiers. (308) Henry VI's 39-year reign had given England an experience of favoritism

at its worst. Englishmen of all ranks had reason for concern.

Gloucester had exceptional reasons for concern: officials' failure to notify him of Edward V's death, the impending coronation, Edward V's 2,000-man escort—all suggested a Woodville effort to exclude him from Edward V's government. Apparently officials in London knew before Gloucester that Edward IV's will had named him Edward V's protector. If Gloucester learned about Edward IV's intentions from unofficial sources, he had even stronger reasons for concern. Even if Edward IV's intentions were honored, Gloucester faced immense difficulties. International and domestic conflicts threatened England's prosperity. Woodville opposition could interfere with his ability to balance competing interests as effectively as he had in the north. If appearances reflected the Woodvilles' true intentions, Gloucester's protectorship would be short and ineffective, since a king's coronation ended a protectorship. (309) Duke Humphrey's protectorship had lasted for seven years; if Edward V was crowned on May 4, Duke Richard's protectorship would last less than a month.

Events in Henry VI's reign foreshadowed threats to Gloucester's personal safety as well. Although Duke Humphrey survived the end of his protectorship for eighteen years, Henry VI's decision-makers and profit-takers finally silenced him at the Bury St. Edmunds parliament of 1447. (310) Duke Humphrey's death was ominous for Duke Richard's father, who also became a critic of Henry VI's government. Despite increasing opposition from Henry VI's decision-makers, York served as Henry VI's protector three times. York's rank won nobles' assent to his protectorships, but it didn't win the cooperation or time he needed to solve England's problems. Henry VI's decision-makers ended York's third protectorship at the battle of Wakefield. (311)

Gloucester's surviving books suggest that he shared his contemporaries' respect for historical knowledge. (312) It is both possible and likely that Duke Richard compared his own situation to his father's and Duke Humphrey's. He might even have considered the suspicious death of Buckingham's ancestor, the fourteenth century duke of Gloucester. Some of Duke Richard's contemporaries might have been making similar comparisons; they "might well have caught their breath at a Duke of Gloucester being named Protector." (313) It wasn't the kings' deaths that might have caused them to catch their

breath. Both Richard II and Henry VI outlived their protectors. Shakespeare's line, "Gloucester's dukedom is too ominous," accurately reflects Duke Richard's situation in April 1483.

Before Gloucester arrived, the interim council debated limits on the protector's authority. Responding to councilors who felt that Gloucester should be present, Dorset asserted: "We are so important that even without the King's uncle we can make and enforce these decisions." (314) Although "we" might have included the council members Dorset was trying to influence, it might reflect Dorset's overconfidence in Woodville control of troops and funds. Whether or not Dorset's "we" included non-Woodville council members, it suggests that he and his allies intended to inflict on Duke Richard the same treatment inflicted on his predecessors—exclusion and death.

On April 26, 1483, Gloucester and his retinue arrived at Nottingham. From there Gloucester invited Buckingham to join him at Northampton, where he expected to meet the king's forces. Gloucester's alliance with Buckingham raises questions: Did Gloucester override fourteen years of experience in Wales and the north when he assessed Buckingham's value as an ally? Did Gloucester disagree with Edward IV's reasons for excluding Buckingham from meaningful offices? How did Buckingham's return home from the 1475 French campaign affect Gloucester's expectations of Buckingham? How did Buckingham's role in Clarence's execution affect Gloucester's opinion of Buckingham? Why didn't Gloucester's recent experience with Albany's tergiversations make him cautious about Buckingham? Did Gloucester consult his own councilors or Hastings about accepting Buckingham as an ally? If so, did he accept or reject their advice?

At Northampton, Gloucester and Buckingham found that Edward V and his retinue had advanced to Stony Stratford, fourteen miles closer to London. Rivers' explanation for changing plans was unconvincing. Gloucester asserted his authority as Edward V's protector and constable of England. Next morning, he arrested Rivers. Despite being outnumbered at Stony Stratford, he arrested the queen's son, Sir Richard Grey, and Edward IV's household treasurer, Sir Thomas Vaughan. After dismissing the 2,000-man escort, he returned to Northampton with Buckingham and Edward V. (315) From there Gloucester notified officials and citizens that he had assumed his responsibilities as protector. The Woodvilles' reaction confirmed fears

that they had been planning a power grab. On the nineteenth anniversary of her marriage to Edward IV, Elizabeth Woodville and her supporters tried to raise troops against Gloucester and Hastings. Their failure reflected widespread opposition to another dynastic war. Most Englishmen wanted peace, and they viewed Gloucester's protectorship as the best way of keeping it. (316) Consequently, the Woodvilles took sanctuary at Westminster Abbey.

Just as Duke Humphrey's military and administrative skills had earned Henry V's confidence, Duke Richard's had earned Edward IV's. While Henry V and Edward IV were alive, both dukes of Gloucester served effectively; without royal backing their effectiveness waned. Duke Richard was more successful than Duke Humphrey in overcoming loss of royal support. Unlike Duke Humphrey, who was outmaneuvered and isolated by "the rich cardinal," Henry Beaufort, Duke Richard made alliances which enabled him to subdue his opponents during his protectorship. (317) Since 1471, Gloucester had balanced competing interests in the north with the demands of national offices; by May 1483, he was an experienced member of the Yorkist establishment. As protector, Gloucester emphasized the necessity of continuity and cooperation for preserving peace and prosperity. (318) His characterization of Woodville actions as self-serving threats to peace and prosperity was both accurate and effective.

On May 2, 1483, a letter in Edward V's name commanded the archbishop of Canterbury to take responsibility for the Great Seal, the Tower of London, and any treasure remaining in the Tower. Another letter informed the mayor and aldermen of London that Edward V would enter London on May 4. (319) Edward V signed his first grant at St. Albans on May 3; it made his favorite chaplain at Ludlow rector of the parish church at Pembrigge. (320) Perhaps the parchment bearing Gloucester's and Buckingham's signatures and mottoes beneath Edward V's signature was inscribed at this time. (321) Although later events made Gloucester's *loyaultie me lie* seem bitterly ironic, his decision to use it on this occasion may have been a genuine attempt to reassure his nephew. Gloucester may have considered loyalty a balance of commitment to impersonal ideals with commitment to individuals. (322) When he placed his signature and motto beneath Edward V's signature, he may have expected to balance commitment to the common good with loyalty to his nephew.

The timing of Edward V's arrival at London simultaneously extended Gloucester's protectorship and delayed the coronation. (323) Interrupted by the events of April 30-May 1, preparations for a May 4 coronation had to be cancelled. The consequences for grocers, butchers, bakers, vintners, mercers, tailors, pageant-planners, actors, carpenters, musicians, and other providers may have been expensive, although some could have cut their losses by selling to customers who watched Edward V's procession enter London. Howard's account book records the cost of a room he rented in Cheapside for a good view of the procession, as well as a pint of malmsey wine for refreshment. (324) Howard and his wife saw a colorful event: the coarse black mourning worn by Gloucester, Buckingham, and their retinues created an effective background for Edward V in blue velvet; the mayor and aldermen of London wore scarlet, and 500 citizens wore violet. At the bishop of London's palace, noblemen, mayor, and aldermen took a loyalty oath to Edward V. After the ceremonies, Edward V stayed with the bishop; Gloucester went to his London residence, Crosby Place. Apparently reassured by the day's outcome, Howard sent thirty of his men home. (325)

On May 7, Gloucester met the archbishop of Canterbury, Hastings, Stanley, Morton, and four other executors of Edward IV's will at Cecily Neville's residence, Baynard's Castle. (326) Some of the 1483 executors replaced some named in Edward IV's 1475 will, and discussions held before Gloucester reached London reflected the existence of an updated will. As recently as 1844, a copy of Edward IV's last will was cited in Nichol's collection of royal wills at Lambeth, but that copy appears to have been lost. (327) Although a copy of Henry V's last will was rediscovered at Eton College in 1978, Edward IV's last will remains missing. (328) Since there wasn't enough money to pay his bequests, Edward IV's will wasn't executed. Paying for the king's funeral took priority. After the archbishop of Canterbury accepted responsibility for Edward IV's seals and jewels, the executors agreed to sell 1,496 pounds worth of Edward IV's remaining goods to pay his funeral expenses. (329)

Gloucester may have been more concerned with Edward IV's instructions for a protectorship than with asset distribution. Even if Edward IV had included a codicil making Gloucester Edward V's protector, existing precedent didn't give a protectorship priority over a conciliar minority government. In 1427 Duke Humphrey's adversaries

had asserted that no king could delegate authority to govern through his will unless the Three Estates approved. (330) Duke Richard's supporters set the 1427 interpretation aside. The Three Estates weren't called to ratify Duke Richard's protectorship. Supporters of the 1483 protectorship gave peace priority over anything that threatened to renew dynastic conflict. The consensus supported Duke Richard's protectorship as the best means of keeping peace.

Cecily Neville's willingness to host Edward IV's executors at Baynard's Castle suggests that she remained politically active. Did she try to balance her youngest son's interests with her grandson's? Was she more concerned about Gloucester's interests than Edward V's? Did Cecily Neville encourage Gloucester to supplant Edward V because she felt Edward IV had dishonored his family? Did she believe that Gloucester would govern more responsibly than Edward V? Did she influence any of Edward IV's executors in Gloucester's favor? Was she as influential as she had been in 1471?

Although no formal record of Gloucester's appointment to the protectorship has survived, he began to use the title as early as May 8, 1483. (331) The form of Gloucester's title varies slightly on surviving documents. Like the flexibility of fifteenth century spelling, this variation reflects the difference between fifteenth and twentieth century attitudes towards consistency. Some documents use the phrase, "by thadvise of our derest oncle the duc of Gloucester, protectour and defensour of this our royalmé during our yong age;" some use "by thadvise of the lordes of our counsaile." (332) All reflect the protector's duty to represent the young king and cooperate with his council while he balanced competing interests.

One of the council's earliest decisions was to change Edward V's residence from the bishop of London's palace to the Tower. In 1483, this was not an ominous decision. The four sons of Henry IV had left their refuge in the Tower for active adulthoods. The Tower was the traditional departure point for a king's coronation procession to Westminster. Edward V would have more freedom at the Tower than at the bishop's palace, and the bishop would be relieved of extra expenses and responsibilities. At an unrecorded time between May 10 and May 19, Edward V relocated to comfortable royal apartments in the Tower. (333)

Gloucester's confirmation as protector was another high priority. According to the Croyland

chronicler: "... the duke of Gloucester received the same high office of Protector of the kingdom, which had been formerly given to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, during the minority of King Henry. He was accordingly invested with this authority, with the consent and good-will of all the lords, with power to order and forbid in every matter, just like another king, and according as the necessity of the case should demand." (334) If the chronicler's description is accurate, the councilors gave Duke Richard considerably more authority and cooperation than Duke Humphrey ever received.

After he was confirmed on May 10, Gloucester filled the three great offices of state: John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, replaced the discredited chancellor, Thomas Rotherham; Gunthorpe, one of Duke Humphrey's scholarly beneficiaries, succeeded Russell as keeper of the privy seal; and undertreasurer John Wode advanced to the treasurer's office, vacated by the elderly earl of Essex's death. Gloucester reconfirmed judges and exchequer officials in their offices. Although "royal secretaries were notoriously vulnerable to dynastic change," Gloucester kept Edward IV's secretary, Oliver King, in office. (335) When he considered it necessary to replace Woodville supporters, he substituted Edward IV's servants, rather than members of his own affinity. Gloucester's decisions reflected his intention to maintain continuity and peace.

In order to keep the peace, the council and the protector needed to recover the fleet from Sir Edward Woodville. Instead of defending England from the French, the fleet had hidden off the coast of Kent. On May 10, the council ordered Sir Edward Woodville to disband the fleet. After sending the king's representatives to supervise defenses at the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Dover, and Sandwich, Gloucester sent Thomas Fulford and Edward Brampton with five ships to capture Sir Edward Woodville. By offering the crews pardons, Fulford and Brampton persuaded all but two ships to return to Edward V. The resistant ships carried Sir Edward Woodville and his supporters to exile in Brittany. (336)

Even before the fleet returned to London, the council decided that the coronation could safely be held on June 24 and that Edward V's first parliament should meet on June 25. If the precedent set by Henry VI's reign had been followed in 1483, Gloucester's protectorship would have ended with Edward V's coronation. But a speech drafted by

Chancellor Russell suggests that the council had decided to extend Gloucester's protectorship until Edward V's minority ended. Planned for the June 25 parliament, Russell's speech compared Gloucester, as Edward V's protector, to the Roman, Lepidus, who had proved himself an exemplary protector of Egypt's minor king. Enacting *fides publica*, loyalty to the commonwealth, Gloucester would defend England against external and internal enemies until Edward V was mature enough to exercise royal authority. Emphasizing the protectorship's contribution to stability and peace, Russell's speech described confirmation of Gloucester's protectorship as the highest priority of Edward V's first parliament. (337)

Stability and peace depended on international relations as well. On May 11, Gloucester sent ambassadors to negotiate a truce with France. A formal agreement between England and Burgundy followed Maximilian's offer of friendship. (338) Internal conflicts seem to have kept the Scots from taking advantage of England's troubles. Conditions on the border with Scotland allowed Northumberland to lead troops to London when Gloucester called for them. No large-scale Scots attacks were reported in 1483.

In addition to normal government operations, Gloucester and the council had to manage Edward V's coronation and first parliament. Council members met in the Star Chamber; they formed sub-committees which met at various places. Chancellor Russell's sub-committee planned the coronation at Westminster. A sub-committee including Hastings, Stanley, Rotherham, and Morton planned for parliament at the Tower. An administrative sub-committee that helped Gloucester draft documents for Edward V's signature also met at the Tower. (339)

Although preparations took place under relatively peaceful conditions, Gloucester faced destabilizing financial problems. Rebuilding and maintaining Berwick and its castle increased the burdensome costs of the Scots campaigns by 1,600 pounds. As much as 3,670 pounds, allotted to defend England's coasts and ships, may have been lost on Sir Edward Woodville's misappropriated fleet. The addition of 300 troops to the Calais garrison increased monthly expenses to 627 pounds. By the time the council confirmed Gloucester as protector, military expenses may have emptied the exchequer. Income was reduced by the loss of Louis XI's pension, taxes suspended until Edward V's first

parliament regranted them, and revenues held by officials because Edward IV's household treasurer, Vaughan, was imprisoned. Gloucester alleviated the growing deficit by serving without pay and by contributing 800 pounds for Edward V's household expenses. (340)

Patronage was another destabilizing factor. Gloucester attempted to maintain stability by granting most lands and offices to former servants of Edward IV. Participation in Edward IV's government had acquainted Gloucester with most of Edward IV's servants; this acquaintance enabled him to distribute limited patronage effectively. On May 14, he made one of Edward IV's most versatile, hard-working servants, Howard, chief steward of the duchy of Lancaster South of Trent. (341) This appointment put Howard in control of substantial patronage, compensated him for years of poorly rewarded service, and motivated him to support Gloucester's protectorship. Gloucester's restraint in rewarding members of his own affinity reflected his commitment to continuity and peace. Like his father, Gloucester refrained from making disproportionate grants to members of his own affinity. Grants to Francis, Lord Lovell and Richard Huddleston were limited to regions in the Thames Valley, Lancashire, and Cumberland, where they were already influential. (342) But grants to Buckingham counteracted efforts to maintain continuity. On May 15, Gloucester began a series of grants that replaced Edward IV's network of royal servants in Wales and southwest England with Buckingham. Although it was necessary to fill the power vacuum left by the Prince of Wales' defunct council, this could have been done by redistributing offices among Edward IV's experienced servants. Gloucester could have compensated marcher lords--who, like Buckingham, had been excluded from the Prince of Wales' council--by including them in the redistribution. Such redistribution would have been consistent with Gloucester's other patronage decisions. Instead, Gloucester granted Buckingham an unprecedented concentration of offices: constablerships and stewardships of all royal lands in Shropshire, Herefordshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire with power to raise troops in these five counties; justiciarships and chamberlainships of North and South Wales; constablerships and stewardships of all royal lands throughout Wales as vacancies occurred. (343)

During Edward V's minority, Buckingham was authorized to distribute royal patronage throughout

Wales and the earldom of March; he was also delegated authority over the earldom of March's chancellor. Between May 16-26, additional grants made Buckingham constable, steward, and receiver of the honour of Monmouth, clarified his authority in the lordship of Ludlow, extended his authority to Welsh estates taken from Vaughan and Richard Haute junior, and authorized salaries for all of the offices granted to Buckingham. (344) In less than two weeks, Buckingham acquired such exceptional power that some historians have described him as a "virtual viceroy" or "quasi-regal." (345) Buckingham's newly granted powers seem to have been a "deliberate partition of authority" with Gloucester. (346) This power-sharing arrangement suggests a shift in the balance of power between the protector and the council as well. Duke Richard was distributing patronage on a scale that Duke Humphrey had never been allowed to approach. Buckingham's newly granted powers also exceeded the limits imposed on Duke Humphrey. Evidently Edward V's councilors didn't share their predecessors' determination to maintain the appearance of equality among all council members.

Although Gloucester granted Buckingham unprecedented authority in southwest England and Wales, he continued to balance competing interests in the north. Ownership of Holderness in the East Riding of Yorkshire should have qualified Buckingham for regional commissions during Edward IV's reign, but he had been excluded. When Gloucester expanded the commission of the peace in May 1483, he included Buckingham and his retainer, John Constable of Holkham, among the seven new members. The other new members--Northumberland's retainer, Edmund Thwaites; two members of Gloucester's affinity, Lovell and William Chamberlain of Bugthorpe; and two neutral members--reflected Gloucester's usual balancing practice. (347) By confirming Northumberland as warden of the east march, Gloucester remained consistent with his effort to maintain stability and continuity, except for an unprecedented term limit. Northumberland's appointment lasted just one year, a significant reduction in the usual five- to twenty-year grants. Northumberland's five-month appointment as constable of Berwick Castle emphasized the contrast between his stasis and Buckingham's unprecedented advancement. These term limits suggest that Edward IV's death may have diminished Northumberland's cooperation with Gloucester, who may have been warning

Northumberland to resume full cooperation if he wanted to remain in office. (348)

Hastings regained the master of the mint's office that he'd lost in February, but he received no new offices. His nephew became a sheriff. His feoffee, Thomas Kebell, became an attorney for the duchy of Lancaster, and another feoffee, William Chantry, took Gunthorpe's place as dean of the king's chapel. (349) While Gloucester may have believed he was distributing limited patronage fairly, Hastings may have disagreed. If Hastings felt that Buckingham's advancement was unfair, he may have begun to consider new alliances as early as mid-May.

A more contentious issue than patronage may have contributed to Hastings' considerations. By mid-May, Edward IV's precontract with Eleanor Butler may have escalated from a dangerous secret to a political crisis. An undated command bound between documents dated May 16 and May 19, 1483, may refer to the precontract. Described as "an indication of crisis and the attempt to find a responsible solution," this document states: "The king to the very reverend father in Christ [Thomas Bourchier] Archbishop of Canterbury, greeting. Having carefully considered and weighed certain difficult and urgent matters intimately concerning us and the state of our realm of England and the honour and benefit of the English church, we command ... and ... require that you should cause to be summoned all and singular the bishops of your province, deans, and priors of cathedral churches, abbots, priors, and other elected heads exempt and non-exempt, and archdeacons, chapters, convents and colleges, and all the clergy of any diocese of the same province to appear before you in St. Paul's Church, London ... with all convenient speed and in due manner to treat, agree and conclude on the foregoing and other matters which will be expressed more clearly then and there on our part" (350)

Although Hastings' alliance with Gloucester may have been deteriorating when this command was sent, Hastings was likely to have known what the phrase "certain difficult and urgent matters intimately concerning us and the state of our realm" referred to. If it referred to Edward IV's precontract with Eleanor Butler, Hastings may have decided to realign himself with anyone opposed to disqualifying Edward V as Edward IV's heir. Loyalty to Edward IV and Edward V may have combined with self-interest to precipitate Hastings' remarkable alliance with the Woodvilles. When Hastings committed this tergiversation, he may have believed he was

defending Edward V against a collective tergiversation, the disinheritance process. (351)

If certain difficult and urgent matters were financial rather than legal, the clergymen's conference was no threat to Edward V. Horrox has interpreted Edward V's command to the archbishop as a fund-raiser: "In anticipation of a grant," the clergy raised 1,680 pounds. (352) Horrox claims that the conference never took place, since no surviving records confirm that the archbishop carried out Edward V's command. Yet no surviving documents confirm that the urgent and difficult matters concerned fund-raising rather than the precontract. It is possible that the conference was held and its records were destroyed. "If its purpose was urgently to consult a cross-section of the clergy on the matter of the precontract, and if their advice was that the children of the Woodville marriage would be adjudicated illegitimate in an ecclesiastical court, there would be nothing more natural than for Henry Tudor, when he came to power, to have all records of its discussions destroyed (as he did other inconvenient records). For such purposes he had the ideal henchman in John Morton, Bishop of Ely in [Gloucester's] day, who was promoted by Henry to Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor, positions that gave him access to evidence of all matters discussed by the clergy of the southern province." (353) Questions arise: Was the archbishop of Canterbury more likely to have failed to execute Edward V's command? Or was Henry VII's chancellor more likely to have destroyed inconvenient documents at Henry VII's command?

Uncertainty about the clergymen's conference is complicated by uncertainty about Gloucester's knowledge of the precontract. When did he learn that Edward IV's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville was bigamous? Before Clarence's death? As late as June 1483? How long did Gloucester have to consider his response to the precontract? Years? Days? When did he discuss the precontract with Stillington? How much of Stillington's claim did he believe? When he wrote *Loyaute me lie* under Edward V's signature, did he believe that Edward IV's precontract with Eleanor Butler absolved everyone from their loyalty oaths to Edward V? When Gloucester met Edward IV's executors at Baynard's castle, had he and his mother agreed that Edward IV's precontract disqualified his sons from inheriting the throne? If Gloucester knew about the precontract before Edward V's mid-May command was sent to the archbishop, did he deceive the subcommittee that

drafted the command? Did he deceive Edward V? Did Gloucester mislead the archbishop or royal council about the conference's purpose? If Gloucester was planning to supplant Edward V, wouldn't such deception have defeated his plans? If he had revealed the precontract at the clergymen's conference without warning, wouldn't clergymen have resisted Gloucester's claim to the throne?

No evidence that clergymen denounced the protector for deceiving them has been published. What have been published are conflicting interpretations of Edward V's command to the archbishop of Canterbury. Another document from late May 1483 has inspired equally diverse interpretations. The Corporation of London's *Journal* 9, fo. 23v, reported that high-ranking government officials published an oath to respect the queen's safety if she left sanctuary. Citing this journal in connection with the Crowland chronicler's version of events, Horrox suggests that "Gloucester may not have been sorry" that the queen remained in sanctuary, since she "would probably have been considerably more of an embarrassment at large, and the Crowland chronicler implies that Gloucester did not really want to resolve the question." (354) Carson interprets the same journal entry as evidence that Gloucester "initiated negotiations with [the queen] at an early date, at least by 23 May according to the minutes of the City of London, yet she refused to leave sanctuary until the following spring. It seems perverse to blame [Gloucester] for this." (355) These conflicting interpretations raise questions: Did officials only circulate the oath for public relations benefits, or did they actually send negotiators, which the queen rebuffed? Did the offer of safety apply to everyone in sanctuary with the queen? Was the offer a ploy to separate the queen from her brother and her son? Or was it a genuine reconciliation offer? How did the precontract affect this impasse? Was Gloucester using the oath—or actual negotiations—to fill the interval between the king's command for a clergymen's conference and the conference's decision on the king's legitimacy? Or was Gloucester only hoping for generous loans from the clergymen while he made a genuine effort to include the Woodvilles in Edward V's coronation?

Gloucester had good reason to request financial aid from the clergy. Government revenues were steadily declining. The Merchant Adventurers protested that Edward IV's death had nullified the parliamentary act granting customs revenues to the government. At a meeting with the protector, the

chancellor, and council members on June 2, the Merchant Adventurers' lawyers convinced the chancellor to suspend collection of customs taxes, because no parliamentary act entitling Edward V to customs revenues existed. Until a parliament granted Edward V customs revenues, one of his government's main income sources was discontinued. (356)

Anne Neville joined Gloucester at Crosby Place on June 5. Unfortunately she brought little relief from financial and political pressures. On the day of her arrival, Gloucester sent a letter to York's city officials, explaining that his protectorship responsibilities had left him no opportunity to ask the king to reduce York's annual taxes. Although York needed relief from the financial burdens imposed by the war with Scotland, the national revenue shortfall made it unlikely that Gloucester could reduce York's taxes soon. All Gloucester could do was promise to help when he could and praise their messenger for exceptional performance. (357)

According to Simon Stallworth's letter to William Stoner, preparations for the coronation were proceeding as expected on June 9. But Stallworth's reference to a four-hour council meeting held at Westminster may have warned Stoner that unanticipated events were approaching. (358) Although Stallworth didn't explain what occupied the protector, Buckingham, and "all the other lords spiritual and temporal" for four hours, Horrox has concluded from her study of a surviving financial notebook that they discussed financial issues. (359) Perhaps the difficulties of paying for Edward V's coronation and household were great enough to occupy all spiritual and temporal lords for four hours; but it's possible that the precontract, which threatened Edward V's accession to the throne, claimed a significant percentage of those four hours. Carson has suggested that Stallworth's reference to lords spiritual and temporal told Stoner that a Great Council was considering political issues; his observation that none spoke with the queen may have indicated that the precontract took precedence over finances. (360) Yet his next sentence reflected the widespread hope for continuity and peace, and Stallworth may not have realized that the coronation would be postponed.

Although Stallworth was a member of the chancellor's household, he may have known less about the precontract than the Woodvilles, whose interests were directly involved. Even if none of the

lords who attended the four-hour meeting on June 9 spoke to the queen, Woodville allies may have kept the Woodvilles well-informed about its results. If Stillington had given testimony which convinced the lords that Edward IV's precontract disqualified his sons as heirs to the throne, the Woodvilles may have decided the time to eliminate Gloucester had come.

Gloucester apparently believed that the Woodvilles intended to kill him and his allies. In a letter to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of York, dated June 10, Gloucester accused the queen and her supporters of forecasting the destruction of "the old royal blood" of England. (361) Gloucester's use of the word "forecasting" alleged that the Woodvilles were using witchcraft against legitimate heirs to the throne. Although Henry V's and Henry VI's officials had used witchcraft accusations to raise money or discredit an outspoken critic, occult practices seem to have continued despite the risks. Public belief in witchcraft evidently made such accusations worthwhile. Describing witchcraft accusations as a "standard late medieval smear," Horrox remarked that "it would hardly be surprising if [the Woodvilles] had been hopefully dabbling in witchcraft." (362) Perhaps the Woodvilles' hopes of raising supernatural powers against Gloucester, Buckingham, and other legitimate heirs are unsurprising; but their ability to practice witchcraft in Westminster sanctuary might surprise some of Horrox's readers. Woodville allies might have been free to foretell the future and cast spells in their own homes, but how did the queen manage to conduct such treasonous activity undetected? Was Lionel Woodville, bishop of Salisbury, assisting the queen in her spell-casting? Did sanctuary officials and servants turn a blind eye to their pagan rituals? Did Gloucester believe the Woodvilles were practicing witchcraft in sanctuary? If so, why did he follow Henry V's moderate, rather than Henry VI's harsh, example? Why didn't Gloucester have the Woodvilles declared ineligible for sanctuary, extracted, and condemned, as Eleanor Cobham had been in 1441?

Even if Gloucester was only using the witchcraft accusation to justify his call for military aid, he may have believed the Woodvilles were planning to kill him by natural methods. On June 11, he sent a letter, requesting as many troops as could be raised, to Lord Neville of Raby. Appealing only to Neville's self-interest and patriotism, this letter omitted the witchcraft accusation. (363) Perhaps its bearer, Richard Ratcliffe, spoke to Neville about a witchcraft

threat; or perhaps he confined the unwritten part of his message to logistics. If Gloucester expected York's and Neville's troops to protect him from the Woodvilles, he couldn't have believed attack was imminent. He knew how much time the troops needed to assemble and march to London. He also knew that every soldier who came to his defense in London was one less soldier to defend northern England against the Scots. It seems very unlikely that Gloucester called troops away from the north to make a show of force against a non-existent threat from the Woodvilles. Even if he used the witchcraft accusation cynically, Gloucester was likely to have balanced the cost of reducing English forces in the north against the doubtful benefits of casting them as supporting actors in his own invented conspiracy plot. If Gloucester made such a cost-benefit calculation, he was likely to have invented a faster, less expensive way to make his fictional conspiracy believable. Since he summoned the northern troops to London, it's likely that he had valid reasons to believe the Woodvilles and their allies were planning to kill him.

Historians who claim that Gloucester invented a conspiracy to justify killing or imprisoning his opponents have omitted the costs of reducing troops in the north from their calculations. In a statement representative of this claim, Ross asserted that: "... it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Hastings and his friends had to be removed because [Gloucester] now planned to usurp the throne for himself." (364) This conclusion is less difficult to avoid if the high costs of transferring troops from the north to London are considered along with the state of national finances and international relations. Unless the Woodvilles and their allies posed a real threat to his life, Gloucester was unlikely to have added those costs to existing financial burdens.

Before northern troops could leave for London, Gloucester's men in London counteracted the Woodville threat to Gloucester's life. Commanded by the earl of Surry and northerners Sir Robert Harrington and Charles Pilkington, Gloucester's men arrested Hastings at the June 13 council meeting. Hastings may have been killed during a struggle in the council chamber, although some versions of his death claimed he was beheaded without trial. Later versions of this event claimed that Stanley was wounded during the struggle, although three contemporary sources omitted Stanley. After being arrested, Rotherham was released, but Morton remained in custody. (365)

In his June 21 letter, Stallworth told Stoner that more of Edward IV's associates had been arrested, including his mistress, "Chore;" his secretary, Oliver King; and the queen's treasurer and receiver general, John Forster. In his register, Abbot Wallingford of St. Albans recorded Forster's imprisonment with the comment that "it was said Hastings deserved his fate." (366) In Stallworth's letter, Hastings' fate was beheading rather than death while resisting arrest. This eventful letter also described Richard, duke of York's departure from sanctuary on June 16. A "great plenty" of men in armor accompanied the archbishop of Canterbury as he escorted York from sanctuary. At Westminster Hall, Russell, Buckingham, and other nobles met York before Gloucester spoke "many loving words" to him at the Star Chamber door. Then the archbishop escorted York to the Tower. Stallworth's poignant remark, that York was, "blessed be Jhesu, merry," suggests that Stallworth still hoped for a peaceful coronation as late as June 21; but his comment on the 20,000 peacekeepers Gloucester and Buckingham were said to have called to London suggests that he shared others' doubts. In his postscript, Stallworth reported that all of Hastings' men had entered Buckingham's service--an abrupt shift in power which may have intensified public doubts. (367)

The lords who attended the four-hour meeting on June 9 may have kept their decisions secret as long as possible. If this four-hour meeting concerned the precontract as well as financial problems, Gloucester, the archbishop, and the lords who met York on his way from sanctuary to the Tower may have concealed their decision to disqualify Edward IV's sons as heirs to the throne. Or they may only have decided to postpone the coronation until a less painful compromise could be made. The lords who participated in York's transfer from sanctuary to the Tower may have believed that united support of Gloucester was their best hope of keeping the peace while a compromise was being arranged. (368) Whatever the lords had decided in that four-hour meeting, later events made the ceremonies accompanying York's departure from sanctuary seem bitterly ironic.

Evidently the council had agreed to postpone the coronation before York left sanctuary for the Tower. Surviving writs, dated June 16, cancelled the June 25 parliament and rescheduled the coronation for November 9, 1483. This postponement seems to have been "common knowledge in official circles and beyond. Many Londoners were involved in the

preparations for the coronation, and the new date was recorded in the College of Arms chronicle.” (369) The second coronation delay within seven weeks was likely to have generated widespread comment, especially among suppliers and craftsmen who faced another financial loss. Some Merchant Adventurers may have welcomed prolonged suspension of customs taxes, but prudent citizens from all professions may have deplored the interim government’s escalating debts.

Although many historians have omitted suppliers, craftsmen, and merchants from their versions of Edward V’s waning days, some have cited the decline in official activity as evidence that Englishmen realized Edward V might not be crowned. No privy seal writs were issued in Edward V’s name after June 9. (370) Edward V’s signet office dated its last surviving letter June 11. The last grants to receive the great seal were issued to the chief baron of the exchequer on June 14 and two serjeants at law on June 15. These dates reflect office-seekers’ awareness that Edward V’s grants might not benefit them; as soon as they realized Edward V would not be crowned in June, they stopped submitting petitions. Although the exchequer operated normally on June 16, only two small customs receipts were recorded on June 21. By the time a chancery official dated the last surviving bond on June 21, some Englishmen may have doubted that Edward V would be crowned on November 9. (371)

Uncertainty might have been intensified by Gloucester’s decision to stop sending out writs of *supersedeas* cancelling the June 25 parliament. Cancellation notices received at York and the borough of New Romney have survived. (372) Evidently Gloucester decided that potential benefits of changing course outweighed the costs. He may have seen the representatives who expected to attend parliament as potential supporters at a meeting of the Three Estates. (373) Only London was allowed as many representatives as York, whose increased representation may have reflected Gloucester’s desire for support. The additional representatives offered York an exceptional opportunity to promote its own interests; the city was still waiting for tax relief, and new military expenses were accumulating while its parliamentary members were travelling to London. It seems unlikely that they were still in York when the writ of *supersedeas* arrived. York’s record-keeper noted the writ’s arrival on June 21, the same day that 300 armed men left York under the

command of aldermen Thomas Wrangwyche and William Welles. Until they reached Pontefract, the troops wore only York’s badge. City officials had decided their soldiers should wear Gloucester’s badge with York’s only between Pontefract and London. (374) Their decision seems to reflect the times’ uncertainties.

When Dr. Ralph Shaw preached on the text “bastard slips shall not take root” at St. Paul’s Cross, his message officially confirmed public apprehension. On June 22, suppliers, craftsmen, merchants, and officials learned that they had twice prepared for Edward V’s coronation in vain. As word about Shaw’s sermon spread, the reasons given for cancelling the coronation may have been misunderstood or purposely misinterpreted. Conflicting interpretations of Shaw’s message may have obscured decision-makers’ explanations for replacing Edward V with Gloucester; but the lords who attended Shaw’s sermon with Gloucester and Buckingham demonstrated that official support had shifted. (375) Evidently the lords spiritual and temporal were convinced that Gloucester was the rightful heir to the throne.

After comparing surviving records with chronicles, sixteenth century antiquarian John Stow concluded that Gloucester’s accession process was an election rather than a usurpation. On June 23, Buckingham made a speech about Gloucester’s accession to a meeting of lords. At the guildhall the next day, London’s mayor, aldermen, and justices heard Buckingham explain Gloucester’s claim to the throne. On June 25, a joint session of lords and commons listened to a reading of Gloucester’s claim to the throne at Westminster. (376) Mancini, the Croyland chronicler, and Vergil omitted this joint session from their versions of events. Despite the lack of contemporary coverage, J.C. Wedgwood’s *History of Parliament* reported that forty-four lords spiritual, thirty-two lords temporal, sixty-six knights, and thirty elected commoners attended this joint session. (377) Collectively known as the Three Estates, this group of lords spiritual, lords temporal, and commoners considered a petition asserting that Gloucester’s claim to the throne was more valid than his nephews’. Stillington, self-admitted witness of Edward IV’s marriage to Eleanor Butler, may have drafted this petition; but it’s possible that members of Gloucester’s legal team drafted it. Because this entire petition was included in *Titulus Regius*, the 1484 parliamentary act confirming Richard III’s

claim to the throne, the argument accepted by the Three Estates has survived. (378)

After contrasting conditions during Edward IV's reign with a mythical golden age, this petition described Edward IV's "pretensed marriage" with Elizabeth Grey as representative of the "haynous mischiefs and inconvenients" committed against Edward IV's subjects. Criticism of Edward IV's "grete presumption" in marrying Elizabeth without "the knowing or assent of the lords of this lond ... in a private chamber, a profane place, and not openly in the face of church" appealed to shared values, rather than legal disqualifications. A reference to "sorcerie and wichecrafte, committed by the said Elizabeth and her moder, Jaquett Duchesse of Bedford," echoed accusations made against Henry IV's widow, Joan of Navarre, and Duke Humphrey's wife, Eleanor Cobham, for financial and political purposes. Although the duchess of Bedford had been acquitted of witchcraft charges in 1470, Gloucester and his advisors evidently considered it useful to revive witchcraft allegations in 1483. (379) The more cogent legal disqualifier led to a harsh conclusion: "... at the tyme of contract of the same pretensed marriage, and before and longe tyme after, the said King Edward was and stode marryed and trouth plight to oone Dame Elianor Butteler, doughter of the old Earl of Shrewsbury, with whom the saide King Edward had made a precontracte of matrimonie, longe tyme before he made the said pretensed marriage with the said Elizabeth Grey ... it appeareth evidently and followith that all th issue and children of the said king beene bastards, and unable to inherite or to clayme anything by inheritance, by the lawe and custome of England." (380)

Since Clarence's attainder disqualified his heirs from the succession, "...once King Edward V had become, by the will of lords and commons, no more than Edward the Lord Bastard, what [Gloucester] petitioned to occupy was an empty throne." (381) Evidently the oaths of loyalty to Edward V—sworn from York to London to Calais—were considered as empty as the throne. Joining Gloucester in one of the fifteenth century's most controversial tergiversations, lords and commoners rescinded the inheritance rights of Edward IV's sons in hope of preserving peace and prosperity.

On the same day that the Three Estates accepted Gloucester's petition, Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey were executed at Pontefract Castle. As constable of England, Gloucester was authorized to try, convict,

and execute them. He may have delegated this authority to Northumberland, although no record of this has survived. Rivers' request for Gloucester to supervise the execution of his will raises questions. Was Rivers acknowledging that Gloucester's sentence against him was fair? Or was he asserting his innocence? Was he trying to disguise his motivations? In the poem he wrote while awaiting execution, Rivers held contrary Fortune, rather than human decisions, responsible for his downfall. (382)

The Three Estates acted promptly on their decision to accept Gloucester's claim to the throne. On June 26, 1483, Buckingham led the Three Estates' delegation to Baynard's Castle, where Edward IV had awaited Londoners' acceptance of his claim to the throne in 1461. (383) Joined by the mayor, aldermen, and other prominent citizens of London, the Three Estates' delegation petitioned Gloucester to ascend the throne. After Gloucester accepted, delegates and citizens accompanied him to Westminster Hall.

In the court of King's Bench, sitting in the king's marble chair, Richard III commanded the assembled judges to administer his law "without delay or ffavour." (384) From Westminster Hall, the ceremonies moved to the door of Westminster Abbey, where Richard III received St. Edward's scepter. At St. Edward's shrine, the king concluded the day's ceremonies with an offering.

Richard III exchanged an ominous dukedom for a troubled kingdom. The good reputation he'd earned as duke of Gloucester was eclipsed by the circumstances of his accession. Misunderstandings, rumors, distortions, and rebellions overclouded the Three Estates' election. In a kingdom preoccupied by inheritance conflicts, one of the fifteenth century's most controversial tergiversations cast Richard III as the stereotypical wicked uncle.

Duke Humphrey's detractors couldn't apply the wicked uncle stereotype to him because Henry VI was crowned in London and Paris. Despite opposition, parliament passed a bill rehabilitating Duke Humphrey while Richard III's father served as Henry VI's protector. Oxford University built a library commemorating Duke Humphrey's exceptional book donations. Generations of London workmen honored his memory at Old St. Paul's on May Day. Although some historians have debunked what they call the Good Duke Humphrey Myth, others have demonstrated that Duke Humphrey has been almost as misrepresented as Richard III. The rediscovery of the codicils to Henry V's will has

shown that Duke Humphrey's claim to be Henry VI's protector was valid. These codicils have contributed to a more balanced and accurate evaluation of Duke Humphrey.

Richard III's reign was too short for the good laws passed in his only parliament to establish his reputation as "Good King Richard." Scattered after his death, Richard III's books formed no memorial library, although they have inspired scholarly studies. York officials' tribute to Richard III has survived in the city's records, but Tudor officials may have destroyed most other records validating Richard III's accession and reign. Traditionalists have dismissed the copy of *Titulus Regius*--which survived Henry Tudor's command to destroy all copies--as evidence for Richard III's rehabilitation; but its rediscovery offers hope that corroborating documents are waiting to be found. Rediscovery of such documents would add a hopeful interpretation to Shakespeare's line about Gloucester's ominous dukedom. Duke Humphrey's rehabilitation could be a good omen for Richard III's.

Notes

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218. Ibid., p. 62; Ross, Charles., *Edward IV*, Berkeley & Los Angeles: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1974, p. 202.

219. Kendall, P.M., *Richard III*, pp. 157-158 and p. 532, n. 7.

220. Ross, C. *Edward IV*, p. 248; Hammond, P. W., and A. F. Sutton, op. cit., pp. 68-70; Kendall, P.M., *Richard III*, p. 147.

221. Ashdown-Hill, John, *Eleanor, the Secret Queen*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: History Press, 2009, p. 152; Hammond, P. W., and A. F. Sutton, op. cit., p. 70.

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223. Ibid., pp. 69- 70.

224. Sutton, A. F., "A Curious Searcher for Our Weal Public," p. 71.

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Did the Woodvilles Raid the Treasury?

Susan Higginbotham

Of all the stories that have circulated about the Woodville family, surely one of the most damning, and one of the most beloved by the Woodvilles' modern-day detractors, is the story that Elizabeth Woodville, her son Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, and her brother Edward helped themselves to the royal treasury after Edward IV died. But does the story stand up to scrutiny?

The story comes from a single contemporary source: *The Usurpation of Richard the Third* by Dominic Mancini. After discussing the French raids against English ships following the death of Edward IV, Mancini notes that on the day before Elizabeth Woodville went into sanctuary, Edward Woodville had put out to sea as captain of a fleet of twenty ships. As Mancini tells it, "in the face of threatening hostilities, a council, held in the absence of the duke of Gloucester, had appointed Edward: and it was commonly believed that the late king's treasure, which had taken such years and such pains to gather, was divided between the queen, the marquess, and Edward." (1)

In looking at this statement, it should first be noted that Mancini is not giving an eyewitness account, but merely reporting that the story of the treasury raid was "commonly believed." A common belief does not necessarily mean that the thing believed is true; it could merely reflect the current gossip—or propaganda—about the Woodvilles' doings. Mancini himself gives no indication of whether he shared the common belief or whether he thought it to be well founded.

Even more important, Rosemary Horrox in her examination of the financial memoranda of Edward V's reign has concluded that there was very little treasure to be divided. In *Richard III: A Study in Service*, she writes that the measures against the French, costing £3,670, had depleted the cash reserves left by Edward IV and that these expenditures likely were the source of Mancini's tale of a Woodville treasury raid. (2) Moreover, as Horrox notes in her article, "Financial Memoranda of the Reign of Edward V," Edward IV's cash

reserves were low to begin with, thanks to two years of war with Scotland. (3)

If there was any treasure to be divided up, there is no evidence that Elizabeth Woodville had any share of it; as Horrox points out, she was living in straitened circumstances in sanctuary. (4) Moreover, Richard III took no steps, either as protector or as king, to recover any treasure from Elizabeth. Had there been any in her possession, he would have certainly required her to disgorge it either on May 7, 1483, when the Archbishop of Canterbury ordered the sequestration of Edward IV's goods, jewels, and seals (5), on June 16, 1483, when Richard sent numerous armed men to Westminster Abbey to help persuade Elizabeth to surrender her youngest son to Richard's custody (6), or no later than March 1, 1484, when Elizabeth agreed to leave sanctuary and was given a pension by Richard. (7) It is hardly comprehensible that Richard, who was actively seizing Woodville lands as early as mid-May of 1483 (8), would have sat back passively and allowed Elizabeth to keep treasure to which she had no legal right.

As for Edward Woodville, it's important first to remember that there was a genuine French threat against England at the time Edward Woodville went out to sea, supposedly with his share of the treasure. Especially pressing was the matter of Philippe de Crevecoeur, also known as Lord Cordes, who was staging raids on English ships. (9) Nothing indicates that when Edward went to sea on orders of the council, he had anything else in mind other than performing his appointed task of fighting the French raiders.

By the middle of the month, Edward and his fleet were gathered at Southampton, where Edward did acquire treasure: on May 14, 1483, he seized £10,250 in English gold coins from a vessel there as forfeit to the crown. (10) There was nothing secretive about this seizure. Edward gave an indenture in which he bound himself to repay the sum in English merchandise should the gold not be found to be forfeit; if the gold was found to be forfeit, he bound himself to answer to the king for this sum. (11) At

the time Edward made this indenture, he likely had no reason to believe that anything was amiss with Edward V or the rest of his family; he had put to sea on April 30, the same day his brother Anthony Woodville and his nephew Richard Grey were arrested by Richard. (12) The news of the arrests did not get to London until that evening (13), and Edward might well have embarked from a location other than London anyway. Thus, there is no reason to believe that when he made the indenture he intended to appropriate the coins for any reason other than for the benefit of the crown.

Meanwhile, on May 10, Richard ordered men to "go to the Downs among Sir Edward and his company." (14) On May 14, the same day that Edward Woodville seized the gold coins, Richard issued a more explicit instruction: Edward Brampton, John Welles, Thomas Grey, and others were to go to the sea with ships to arrest Edward. (15) (Had Edward been in possession of treasure stolen from the Tower, it seems likely that the arrest order would have come much earlier.) Edward and two of his ships escaped their would-be captors. Presumably Edward took the gold coins with him upon his escape, for nothing more is heard of them. Once Edward learned of the orders for his own arrest, and probably learned also that his brother Anthony and his nephew Richard Grey were in custody, he must have feared for the safety of Edward V and the rest of his family and could hardly be expected to leave the coins behind to fall into the coffers of a government controlled by the man who had ordered the arrests.

That brings us to the third person said to have absconded with the royal treasure, Thomas Grey, the Marquess of Dorset. Simon Stallworth wrote a letter on June 9, 1483, stating, "Wher so evyr kanne be founde any godyse of my lord Markues it is tayne. The Prior of Westminster wasse and yet is in a gret trobyll for certeyne godys delyvered to hyme by my Lord Markues." (16) Armstrong has interpreted this letter to mean that Richard was attempting to recover Dorset's share of the treasure (17), but it's noteworthy that the reference is to "godyse of my lord Markues," i.e., to the Marquess's own goods, not to goods in his possession belonging to the crown. It seems more likely, then, that Richard's agents were simply rounding up property belonging to the Marquess, as part of the seizure of Woodville property in which Richard was engaged. (Dorset was evidently believed to have taken to sea with Edward Woodville, for Richard in ordering Edward's arrest

had specifically excluded Dorset from those who could be received by Richard's agents if they chose to make their peace with the regime. [18]) The "certain goods" delivered to the Prior of Westminster could refer to stolen treasure, but it could also simply mean that Dorset was attempting to conceal or safeguard his own property by leaving it with the prior. Thus, all Stallworth's letter tells us is that there was royal interest in Dorset's goods, but it furnishes no clue as to their nature.

The other main contemporary source for the events of 1483, the Crowland chronicler, mentions no Woodville treasury raid; indeed, he writes that in 1484, Richard III was better prepared to resist his enemies "not only because of the treasure which he had in hand—since what King Edward had left behind had not yet all been consumed." (19) Thomas More, on the other hand, did pick up on the rumors about the treasury, though he of course was writing years after the events in question. He has Richard and the Duke of Buckingham telling Edward V "that the lord marquis had entered into the Tower of London, and thence taken out the king's treasure, and sent men to the sea." (20) More makes it clear, however, that the dukes were misrepresenting Dorset's intentions: "All which thing these dukes wist well were done for good purposes and necessary by the whole council at London." (21) *The Great Chronicle of London*, a later source not particularly sympathetic to the Woodvilles, makes no mention of a treasury raid, but claims that Richard "had spent & govyn largely away the Tresour & goodys off kyng Edward to purchase hym ffreendys." (22)

So that leaves us with the rumor reported by Mancini, to be set against Horrox's evidence that there was very little in the treasury at the time the Woodvilles were supposedly robbing it. There's no evidence that Elizabeth had any treasure with her, no evidence that Edward Woodville had any treasure other than the gold coins he seized on May 14, 1483, and no evidence as to what sort of goods of Dorset's were being sought after or as to what goods Dorset had given to the Prior of Westminster. One really must wonder if such evidence could even get a charge of theft to a modern jury, much less win a criminal conviction—yet the story of the Woodville treasury raid continues to be reported uncritically as undisputed fact.

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Notes

1. Armstrong, p. 81.
2. Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 91.
3. Horrox, "Financial Memoranda," p. 210.
4. Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 91 n.7.
5. Sutton and Hammond, p. 17.
6. Pronay and Cox, p. 159.
7. Horrox and Hammond, vol. 3, p. 190.
8. Horrox, *Richard III*, pp. 99-100.
9. Wilkins, p. 87; Horrox, "Financial Memoranda," p. 211.
10. Horrox, "Financial Memoranda," pp. 211, 216; Wilkins, p. 94–95.
11. The indenture is reproduced by Horrox, "Financial Memoranda," p. 216, and by Wilkins, p. 177.
12. Sutton and Hammond, p. 16.
13. Sutton and Hammond, p. 16.
14. Nichols, p. 2; Sutton and Hammond, p. 17.
15. Nichols; p. 3; Sutton and Hammond, p. 18.
15. Armstrong, p. 87; Wilkins, pp. 96-97.
16. Reprinted in Armstrong, n. 59, p. 120.
17. Armstrong, n. 59, p. 120.
18. Nichols, p. 3.
19. Pronay and Cox, p. 171.
20. More, p. 20.
21. More, p. 20.
22. Thomas and Thornley, p. 234.

A Letter From the Sales Office

Charlie Jordan

Dear Ricardians,

We have good news on the sales office front! The parent society Executive Committee has responded positively to requests for assistance in restocking the American branch sales office. Richard Van Allen, the Society's public relations officer, has been very receptive in understanding our needs and identifying ways the parent society can help. We are currently arranging to have them ship stock which will be a big boost to efforts to have items on hand that will be of interest to Ricardians.

As you may know, volunteer sales efforts are always a challenge. We have learned that the current sales contact has not been well and may face some health challenges in the near future. I've been asked to assist with the sales effort and have jumped in—somewhat blindly. I am joined in that effort by Ruth Stich and Victoria Pitman who have agreed to assist as a “sounding board.” They have volunteered to provide input and guidance; I very much appreciate their willingness to help me and more so, the Society.

We have done a brief survey of members of the email group looking for input as to what members want of a sales office and to identify members' priorities. (Survey results are available as a Word file on the Yahoo group forum; see below for details or contact me for a printed copy.) Ricardians who are not members of the email group did not receive the survey. I realize that this limits their ability to provide input; given the circumstances, I felt the need to gather some feedback quickly.

Current priorities are to build stock, issue a “catalog” so that we can actually begin selling, identify vendors of items to sell in the future, and organize material so that the sales effort is transparent and sustainable. (I hope that we are able

to “stock the shelves” in time to have a catalog issued online in late January and include a catalog in a future issue of the *Register*.)

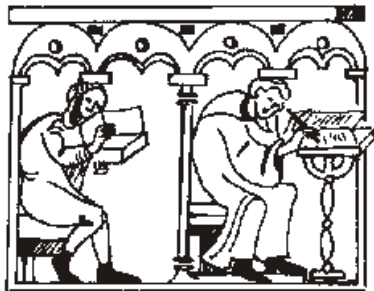
Feedback indicated that members prefer an online sales effort—somewhere members can “visit” online to view and actually order items. I “hear and obey” . . . but not yet. There is much to do before we go online and that effort will bring its own challenges. That said, an online presence is something that will be of benefit to members and should offer tools to more easily manage the sales effort. Stay tuned on this, please.

Continuity and sustainability are important elements of a sales effort. Toward that, it is important to have members actively engaged in the Society and with the sales effort; that's one reason I appreciate Victoria and Ruth's willingness to pitch in. And to further those elements, we will use the Yahoo group file space online to store vendor contacts and sales information. I don't plan on getting hit by a bus anytime soon—who does? —but I do feel that it is important to share information.

Find sales information online at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/richard3/files/>. (You'll need a free Yahoo ID.) Or contact me and I'll happily mail you notes, mission statement, or survey results.

Feel free to contact me at sales@r3.org or by phone/mail at:

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Ricardian Reading

Myrna Smith

Earlier this year, I had an operation for gallstones. While poking around in there, the surgeon discovered that my appendix was a bit inflamed, and took that out as well. What was surprising was that my appendix was in the wrong spot. It seems that babies are often born with the lower colon and appendix on the 'wrong' side, but these migrate as they mature. Mine never did – just a case of arrested development. So if you Gentle Readers have gotten the impression that your Reading Editor was a bit strange, you were quite correct.

Yet with all the x-rays, CTs, MRIs, etc, that I have had over the years, nobody apparently noticed my misplaced appendix, I suppose because they just weren't looking for it. Which is a perfect illustration of the phenomenon of **THE INVISIBLE GORILLA: And Other Ways Our Intuitions Deceive Us** (Christopher Curtis & Daniel Simons, Crown, NY, 2010). The authors conducted a psychological test by asking people to watch a brief film of basketball players, and having them count the number of passes made by the team in white uniforms. After watching it, they were asked if they had noticed anything unusual. More than half said they had not. They hadn't seen, possibly, a gorilla? Many refused to believe it until the film was run again, and sure enough, a person in a gorilla suit had walked across the screen for nine seconds. (Count it out – one thousand one, one thousand two, etc.) They had been concentrating so hard on their counting task that they simply hadn't seen the gorilla. Similarly, people talking on cell phones did not see a clown unicycling across a campus.

For this, the authors won a Nobel Prize, or rather an Ig-Nobel prize, which they take with good grace. Even if the establishment doesn't take them too seriously, this is an important study of logical thinking and observation. Why does the weatherperson say "There is a 75% chance of rain"? What is the difference between correlation and

causation, or does ice cream cause an increase in death by drowning? You can see the correlation there, but in other cases it is not quite so obvious.

Why is this book being reviewed here, aside from giving me an excuse to talk about my operation, and just being fun to read? Because I'm sure that people in the 15th century, or any other century, also suffered from this syndrome, and went through life as we do, not seeing things right in front of their faces. – m.s.

I occupy the impartial position of historian.

At times of crisis, myths have their historic importance.

The chronicler of ill-recorded times has nonetheless to tell his tale. If facts are lacking, rumour must serve. Failing affidavits, he must build with gossip.

For my part, I consider that it will be found much better by all Parties to leave the past to history, especially as I propose to write that history myself.

Over the past couple of years, there have been a number of books published about the Tudors, as 2009 was the 500th anniversary of the accession of Henry VIII, which some regard as the real start of the dynasty, or at least when it started to get interesting. **The Tudors: The Complete Story of England's Most Notorious Dynasty**, by G.J. Meyers, was reviewed here previously, and here are a few more.

THE OTHER TUDORS: Henry VIII's Mistresses and Bastards (Philippa Jones, New Holland Publishers, UK, and Metro Books, NY, 2009) is just what the title suggests, although Ms. Jones also gives passing attention to Henry VII. There are some intriguing items in his expense books for 1493 ("to the young damsel that danceth") and 1497 ("to a little maiden that danceth"). The author says: "(T)he

annual salary of a lady-in-waiting for one performance (or even several) seems a trifle excessive if dancing was all that was on offer.” It also seems excessive for sex. There could be other explanations – blackmail, maybe. One can speculate, assuming it was the same girl in both cases, that they were payments for the keep of an illegitimate daughter, who would not and could not be acknowledged because her mother was from the dregs of society, or outside of it altogether, perhaps a traveling entertainer. But this is only speculation, with no proof whatever, and all of the possible bastards listed in this book, with the exception of Henry Fitzroy, are speculative. The mistresses are better documented. When a possible bastard by Anne of Cleves is mentioned, this would seem to be taking speculation about as far as it can go. Even the author doesn’t take it seriously. Still, the general thesis of the book is interesting, there are good family trees and some illustrations, and a Tudorphile, or Tudorphobe, or just a history buff, will find it entertaining.

THE RED QUEEN: The Cousin’s War, Book Two, by Philippa Gregory (Touchstone, NY, 2010) is a re-hashing of the period covered by Book One, **THE WHITE QUEEN**, and is in the formula that Gregory favors: first person, present tense. One sample of this formula is in, e.g., **THE OTHER QUEEN** (Touchstone, 2008), though this is atypical in that there are three narrators: Bess of Hardwick, a self-made woman (“and proud of it”); her unwanted prisoner, Mary of Scots, spoiled, treacherous, but fascinating; and Bess’s husband George Talbot, a good and honorable man caught in the middle.

Margaret Beaufort, the Red Queen of the title, at first has ambitions to be an apprentice saint. She gives up that idea, and her plan to become a real queen are forestalled by Edward IV’s marriage to Elizabeth Woodville, so she tries for the position of power behind the throne – her son’s. Margaret is shown as scheming and conniving, not at all sympathetic, but the reader can’t help sympathizing with her at times, especially on her delivery. (“I grieve for the suffering of Our Lord, of course. But if He had tried a bad birth He would know what pain is.”) Margaret’s second is an almost ideal husband, and she misses him when it’s too late, but she decides that what she wants for a third try is a thoroughly unprincipled man. She finds one to her specifications in Thomas Stanley.

There are a few anachronisms – high heels were not worn at this period, for example – but generally this is faithful to the period, faithful to the character of Margaret Beaufort as we have come to know and love her, and a real page-turner.

Note: Ms. Gregory’s story of Elizabeth of York, **THE WHITE PRINCESS**, has been put on hold for a while, as she has become distracted by Jacquetta of Luxembourg, Elizabeth Woodville’s mother, and the next novel will be about her. How many different ways the author can tell basically the same story from varying points of view is still unknown.

A more pleasant Margaret Beaufort is contained in **LORD PROTECTOR**, by Clayton Spann (R.P. Turner Books, pb, 2003). Margaret knows of a time tunnel to later periods, courtesy of her wizardly father-in-law, Owen Tudor, and uses it to good effect to pave her son’s way to the throne. Unwilling to stain her conscience by killing the princes, she transports them to the late 20th century, and goes there from time to time to check on them, and also to get some dental work done. In the meantime, Roger Ward, the anti-hero of a series of books (including **RESTORER OF THE WORLD** and **EXPELLED**) has discovered the conduit from the other end, and goes back in time to plant evidence at the Tower of London in order to make his name as an historian. There is a side-trip to an alternative future, and a final clash. Exciting and interesting.

One hazard that a biographer may fall into is the tendency to fall in love with the subject, if that subject is at all likeable. This is a pitfall that Arlene Naylor Okerlund has not avoided in **ELIZABETH OF YORK** (Palgrave Macmillan, NY, 2009). There may also be a halo effect on that subject’s close associates, in this case Elizabeth’s husband and mother (not so much her mother-in-law). The author’s contention that there was no proof the Queen Dowager was being punished for anything when she went into Bermondsey Abbey is quite correct; there is only a strong inference. That Henry imprisoned her son, the Marquis of Dorset, at about the same time *may* be only coincidence. It is also possible that Elizabeth Woodville did simply want to retire from the hurly-burly of court life, but there is no proof of that either, and it doesn’t seem to fit with her character as revealed in her earlier years. It

is not surprising that Ms. Okerlund has written a biography entitled **ELIZABETH WYDEVILLE: THE SLANDERED QUEEN**.

We owe the author thanks for reproducing the notorious letter to Lord Howard in its entirety, or what is left of it. Buck's transcription from memory was damaged by fire, and the blanks filled in by his great-nephew. Due to a modifier misplaced by either Elizabeth or one of the Bucks, the letter is ambiguous, and could refer to almost anybody or nobody. It is even possible that Richard was arranging a marriage for her, but she wanted to enjoy her freedom for a while longer. The last line, however, is a damning one: "she feared the Queene would nev..." "Die" was added by Buck's nephew, which would indicate "a selfish, uncaring spirit." But what other word fits? "Never get better," perhaps, which amounts to the same thing. Unless there was an implicit or explicit thought of "The Queen is still clinging to life. Nobody expected her to live this long, poor lady." Ms. Okerlund does admit that the letter *might* have referred to Richard, and finds reasons why Elizabeth might have been in love with him. This is also a possibility. Folks madly in love are not known for their good sense.

Elizabeth's tenure as queen was eminently sensible, if somewhat passive. She was dominated, whether deliberately or incidentally, by Henry VII and Margaret Beaufort. Her biographer does find evidence of a positive contribution to the arts, both as a patron and a creator. That she trimmed the King's Garter mantle "with her own hands" may or may not be a sign of affection; it is more certainly a sign that this was something she was good at and enjoyed doing. A less "feminine" accomplishment was her input to the design of the rebuilding of Richmond Palace and the remodeling of Greenwich. (Illustrations of a model of Richmond are shown.) Much of the text is taken up with descriptions of the pageantry surrounding Elizabeth, her clothing, etc., mostly for lack of anything more substantial to recount. But it is fitting that this, too, can be an expression of the queen's artistic bent. The author concludes: "Her love of the arts – music, dancing, pageantry, architecture – stimulated the creativity so important to the emerging aesthetics of the English Renaissance." Elizabeth of York has some claim to being a godmother of that Renaissance. –m.s.

I am not a pillar of the church but a buttress – I support it from the outside.

In the past year I have appointed no less than six bishops. If that is not spiritual inspiration, what is?

Before leaving the Tudor area, let's take a side excursion north of the Border, to the Scotland of 1493. **ST MUNGO'S ROBIN** (Pat McIntosh, Carroll & Graf, NY, 2007) is one of a series featuring Gil Cunningham, notary of Glasgow, but really the equivalent of a modern police detective. His future father-in-law, Pierre, is the equivalent of today's medical examiner. If you think that makes this story rather anachronistic, it's not, but if you enjoy police-procedural mysteries, you will feel right at home here. Gil is called upon to solve the murder of the warden of St. Serf's almshouse, a rather unpleasant character. We follow him as he interviews the other residents of the almshouse, retired churchmen, some of whom are rather senile. We get a look at Gil's private life, and wonder with him at the increasing jitteriness of his bride-to-be. Another attractive aspect of the story is the depiction of lowland Scottish society, much more egalitarian than that of England. If you like cozies, or *roman policiers*, this is a bit of both. –m.s.

To return to the Plantagenet era, Dale Summers has produced a wholesale lot of reviews, but in the interest of always having something in the kitty, I am saving some back for next time. For now, here is a trilogy of her reviews of Margaret Frazer's Joliffe the Player series.

It is better to be making the news than taking it, to be an actor rather than a critic.

A fully equipped duke costs as much to keep as two dreadnoughts, and dukes are just as great a terror and they last longer.

A PLAY OF KNAVES – Margaret Frazer, Berkley Prime Crime, NY, 2006

A PLAY OF LORDS - Margaret Frazer, Berkley Prime Crime, NY, 2007

A PLAY OF TREACHERY - Margaret Frazer, Berkley Prime Crime, NY, 2009

In the spring of 1436 the players of Joliffe's troupe are off on a mission for Lady Lovell. A prioress of her patronage suspects trouble on lands owned by

the priory, and the players are to seek out the cause and culprit. This is the background of **A PLAY OF KNAVES**.

The fact that both Joliffe and Dame Frevisse are creations of Ms. Frazer inevitably invites comparison. Although I have been an admirer of Frevisse for years, I must admit that I like Joliffe better. Frevisse is fully human. Conscientious in her responsibilities, alert to details unnoticed by others, compassionate to those in need, but also impatient and annoyed with extreme holiness and stupidity. Joliffe is a far more complex character, and therefore more intriguing. He is an adult who can joke with an 11-year-old on the child's level, but will poke fun on a more adult level at the touchier, more defensive players. He is gentle with the elderly horse that pulls the cart, even more than with the humans. He is gallant but never seductive with the female member of the troupe. He has some education, and is the author of their plays. His intelligence and curiosity, as well as his compassion for a defenseless young girl, drive him to solve the mystery. The reader knows that Joliffe is a good and honorable man, but the players have a freedom that Frevisse, despite her many adventures outside the cloister, will never have.

LORDS is a little bit earlier in time, autumn 1435, and the players, under the patronage of Lord Lovell, are in London. Joliffe, taking advantage of the animosity against the Duke of Burgundy, writes a play with a thinly disguised Burgundy as humiliated villain. He is summoned by the Beaufort Bishop of Winchester and commissioned to write a play, in just six days, which will lessen the general anger against the Burgundians and ease the tension on the wool trade with the Flemish. Joliffe can hardly say no; a heavy purse is even more convincing.

London is a dangerous city, and Joliffe witnesses the murder of another player in the Duke of Gloucester's troupe. The murderer is in the pay of an Italian. Joliffe turns the matter over to the bishop, who then drafts Joliffe as his spy. More interesting even than this plot are the glimpses the reader gets into Joliffe's character. A player's training teaches him to disguise his feelings behind a mask. He is annoyed by his own ignorance of the wool trade, and knows himself well enough to know that he will not be satisfied with knowing the *what* of an anomaly until he knows the *why*. He is well aware of the power of wealth, but

not envious of it. Alert, intelligent, curious, he is a player because he chooses to be, for reasons not yet revealed. To sum up: There is solid history here, as well as good detection and excellent character development.

At the end of **A PLAY OF LORDS**, Joliffe had little choice but to promise to be the man of Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. In the aptly-named **A PLAY OF TREACHERY**, the bishop loans Joliffe to Louys de Luxembourg. As John Ripon, sent away in disgrace for drunkenness, he travels to Normandy to be the English secretary of the Lady Jacquetta, the widowed Duchess of Bedford. In addition to the duties of a secretary, he is to be trained as a spy: to learn weaponry, ciphering, and the reading of maps. The Duke of Burgundy is the enemy, and it is known that there are Burgundian spies in the court, so Joliffe will need all his natural alertness.

The role of John Ripon brings new challenges to Joliffe. Despite Master Wydville, his master at court, and Master Doncaster, his master at weaponry, he feels that Joliffe has ceased to exist and only John Ripon is there. Always alone, he feels a longing for 'home' when he has no real home, which he sees as missing the players. He is taught to kill, an idea which is repugnant to him, both in general and in the specific context of this dispute. He is always aware of the danger of war and the danger of being discovered. So caught up is the reader in the danger and intrigue of Joliffe's position, the murder is almost a shock. One of the Duchess's ladies-in-waiting is found murdered in a garden. The *what* is the murder. It is the *why* that always activates Joliffe's mind.

The lives and secret marriage of the Duchess and Sir Richard Wydeville, son of Joliffe's master, and the impending birth of their child, are protected for the moment by Joliffe's quick action. He is much troubled, however, by the killing of a would-be assassin, and disappointed that he will not be returning to England soon.

Joliffe comes uncharacteristically close to love here. He has adventures with a lovely woman, also a spy. When he thinks he will return to England, he asks her to come with him. She refuses, but the reader must wonder what would have happened if she had said yes.

In all these books, Frazer has a freedom of description that is poetry in prose. They are well-written and very pleasant reads. In fact, not to be missed. – Dale Summers.

We live in a world of “ifs.”

Last but not least, there is **WAS NAPOLEON POISONED? AND OTHER UNSOLVED MYSTERIES OF ROYAL HISTORY** (Peter Haugen, John Wiley & Sons, NJ, 2008) Aside from the titular mystery, and others, including King Tut, the Man in the Iron Mask, and Queen Victoria and John Brown, there is the appeal to Ricardian readers of a chapter on the Princes in the Tower and one on Perkin Warbeck. Both are well reasoned, if rather dependant on secondary sources (as are the other chapters) and both are, on balance, favorable to Richard III.

The headings in this column come from **THE DEFINITIVE WIT OF WINSTON CHURCHILL**, edited by Richard M. Langworth (Perseus Book Group, NY, 2009). No one could think of more ways to politely call someone a liar than Sir Winston. As a public service, I am adding

a few here, for the future use of any Gentle Readers who may need them.

I like the martial and commanding way with which the Right Honourable Gentleman treats facts. He stands no nonsense from them.

In wartime, Truth is so precious that she should always be attended by a bodyguard of lies.

(There is) some risk of terminological inexactitude. Occasionally he stumbled over the truth, but hastily picked himself up and hurried on as if nothing had happened.

I should think it was hardly possible to state the opposite of the truth with more precision.

The Honourable member is never lucky in the coincidence of his facts with the truth.

New in the Nonfiction Library

David Baldwin, *Stoke Field: The Last Battle of the Wars of the Roses*

Michael Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses*

David Hipshon, *Richard III*

Elizabeth Norton, *Margaret Beaufort, Mother of the Tudor Dynasty*

Desmond Seward, *The Last White Rose: Dynasty, Rebellion, and Treason*

From Our Readers

To the Editor:

Unfortunately some necessary shortening of my contribution to the pages ‘Remembering Carole’ in the spring/ summer edition (pp 8 – 9) resulted in the omission of a relevant source, which was also incorrectly quoted. The line alluding to Queen Margaret in the original is that “The queen is a great and strong LA-BOURED woman” and the following observations on this were made by Alison Hanham in her article “Home or Away: Some Problems with Daughters,” *The Ricardian* Vol XIII 2003 p 242.

Hopefully, by now, American members will have received the September 2010 issue of the *Ricardian Bulletin*, which includes, on its correspondence pages, a “cautionary tale” (p 45) from author Annette Carson on the reliability of using Internet sources. Whilst I am fully aware that for the majority of overseas members no other alternative is available, its fallibility is also highlighted in the same issue of the *Register* in the St Albans article by Dorothea Preis (pp 10 – 17). It seems a common fault that when instigating such research, the authors invariably choose to ignore the most obvious choice to consult first, the Society’s own libraries, both in the US and UK, the latter woefully underused. Their catalogues are all online (that of the UK Papers Collection, under new management, is currently being revised), and the librarians themselves always keen to offer advice on suitable relevant material. In this case, by using an apparently out of date source, V. H. Galbraith, the author is unaware of the unreliability of Abbot Wheathampstead as a source (pp 11–12). Though often referred to as an “eye-witness” to the events he chronicles, such as the battles of St Albans, his accounts should not be taken at face value. The extant copy is probably a revision dictated some years after the events, as he was going blind, and is not objectively written, but with a definite propaganda purpose - in this case Yorkist, as he exaggerates the atrocities said to have been perpetrated by the queen’s troops on their southward march, and alleged destruction of certain towns and cities, which can be disproved by other contemporary, local sources. This is all set out in meticulous detail by B. M. Cron in “Margaret of Anjou and the Lancastrian March on London, 1461,” *The Ricardian*, Vol. XI no 147 (1999) pp 590–615.

Similarly, it is unfortunate that we also have the oft-repeated assertion that Cardinal Morton was responsible for the taxation system known as “Morton’s Fork” (p 14) but again, if only the current volume 39 of the Oxford DNB pp 421 – 425 (available online though probably at a price!) had been consulted, it would be seen that although “Morton was widely blamed for the heavy taxation which characterized the first twelve years of Henry VII’s reign . . . that famous device ‘Morton’s Fork’ was certainly an invention of the early 17th century historian Francis Bacon, rather than of the archbishop.” (Chris Harper-Bill).

—Geoffrey Wheeler

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NEW YORK-METRO AREA

Maria Elena Torres
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ROCKY MOUNTAIN

Chapter moderator wanted
Please contact: Eileen Prinsen
16151 Longmeadow St - Dearborn MI. 48120
313-271-1224 • eileenprinsen@wowway.com

SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

Joseph Wawrzyniak
3429 Chalfont Drive • Philadelphia, PA 19154
(215) 637-8538 • jwawrzyniak@worldnet.att.net

SOUTHWEST

Roxane C. Murph
3501 Medina Avenue • Ft. Worth, TX 76133
(817) 923-5056 • afmurph04@aol.com

If you are interested in forming a chapter, contact Eileen Prinsen, Chapter Co-ordinator, Eileen Prinsen ecp6@sbcglobal.net.

Mr. Mrs. Miss _____

Address: _____

City, State, Zip: _____

Country: _____

Phone: _____

Fax: _____

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