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Richard III's heroic charge at the Battle of Bosworth.

Mary Kelly

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Articles: Lambert Simnel and the King from Dublin • Proposed changes to the American Branch Bylaws • Traditional Britttish Christmas Pudding

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Lambert Simnel and the King from Dublin

Gordon Smith

Throughout his reign (1485-1509) Richard III's supplanter Henry VII was troubled by pretenders to his throne, the most important of whom were Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck.[1] Both are popularly remembered perhaps because their names have a pantomime sound to them, and a pantomime context seems a suitable one for characters whom Henry accused of being not real pretenders but mere impersonators. Nevertheless, there have been some doubts about the imposture of Perkin, although there appear to have been none before now about Lambert.[2] As A.F. Pollard observed, 'no serious historian has doubted that Lambert was an impostor'.[3]

This observation is supported by the seemingly straightforward traditional story about the impostor Lambert Simnel, who was crowned king in Dublin but defeated at the battle of Stoke in 1487, and pardoned by Henry VII. This story can be recognised in Francis Bacon's influential history of Henry's reign, published in 1622, where Lambert first impersonated Richard, Duke of York, the younger son of Edward IV, before changing his imposture to Edward, Earl of Warwick.[4] Bacon and the sixteenth century historians derived their account of the 1487 insurrection mainly from Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*, but Vergil, in his manuscript compiled between 1503 and 1513, said only that Simnel counterfeited Warwick.[5] The impersonation of York derived from a life of Henry VII, written around 1500 by Bernard André, who failed to name Lambert.[6] Bacon's York-Warwick imitation therefore looks like a conflation of the impostures from André and Vergil. Yet neither of these two chroniclers detailed the change of fraud found in Bacon, and both disagreed with an even earlier chronicle, written by Jean Molinet [7] about 1490! Not only did Molinet fail to name Lambert, but he also regarded the king crowned in Dublin as genuinely Warwick and not an impostor at all.

Thus three chronicles written within a generation of the crowning of 1487 give three different identities for the king from Dublin: Molinet's Warwick, André's false York, and Vergil's false Warwick. The survival of the traditional story, in spite of this fact, owes much to the high reputation of Polydore Vergil, as reflected for example in Wilhelm Busch's classic treatment of Henry VII's reign.[8] The deception of Lambert Simnel as Warwick which Vergil related seems so patent, that this story has been constantly repeated, usually with Bacon's additions. The traditional story says that an Oxford priest, Richard Simons, taught his pupil, Lambert Simnel, to imitate Richard, Duke of York, son of Edward IV, who, with his brother Edward V, was said to have been murdered in the Tower of London by his uncle Richard III. Simons and Lambert escaped to Ireland, where a conspiracy developed around them which came to the attention of Henry VII at the end of 1486. By the time Henry's council met at Sheen (now Richmond, Surrey) in February 1487, Lambert's imposture had become that of Edward, Earl of Warwick. The real Warwick was exhibited by Henry VII, who deprived his own mother-in-law Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Edward IV, of her property. Lambert, supported by, rebel Yorkists and Margaret of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV and Richard III, was crowned Edward VI in Dublin in May 1487, but his invading army, composed mainly of Irish and German mercenaries, was finally defeated at East Stoke, near Newark on Trent in Nottinghamshire, on 16 June 1487. Lambert and

Simons were both captured but spared, and the English rebels were attainted by parliament in November 1487. The Irish rebels later submitted to Henry VII, but Margaret of Burgundy continued to oppose him by supporting Perkin Warbeck as Richard, Duke of York.

This traditional story has seldom attracted investigation. Since Pollard's biographical essay on the supposed deceiver in the Dictionary of National Biography, investigations devoted solely to Simnel have included Mary Hayden's on Lambert in Ireland, and the publications to commemorate the quincentenary in 1987 of the battle of Stoke. The only full-scale study among these publications was Michael Bennett's book about Lambert and the battle, and he was the first author conveniently to collect the key sources of the 1487 rebellion, arranged in an appendix in chronological order, through to Vergil.[9] Bennett was sceptical about some of the evidence on the rebellion, especially concerning Simons and Simnel themselves. Pollard had already pointed out a discrepancy over Lambert's age, and this and other discrepancies led Barrie Williams in 1982 to question specifically the reliability of Vergil's account about Lambert Simnel.[10]

Recently, doubts have also begun to emerge about the identity of the pretender himself. In 1935 G. W. suggested that Lambert Simnel was really York, whose place was later taken by Perkin Warbeck. Williams's paper could be read as implying that the Irish king might genuinely have been Warwick. Bennett believed that it was unfathomable who the pretender was, or whom he was impersonating, but thought the pretender was a fake because he survived at the court of Henry VII. On the other hand, Henry himself claimed that the pretender was Lambert Simnel impersonating Edward, Earl of Warwick. No-one has yet discovered who the Irish king's supporters claimed he was.[11]

The king from Dublin, then, could have been York, Warwick, or someone else, and might have been a fake or genuine. How does one decide? If only one candidate is considered as king, one can easily proceed to interpret the events of the 1487 rebellion, as can be most clearly seen in Vergil's narrative. Considering all the possible candidates, however, means that the identity of the Irish pretender must be regarded as an open question. One cannot fruitfully proceed with all the candidates together in the same way as with a single one, but the procedure can be reversed: first one examines what happened in the rebellion, and then one tries to see how what happened might suggest the suitability of each candidate. This can be done by comparing both the main events of the story outlined above and the candidates given by Molinet, André, Vergil and Bacon, not only with each other, but also with other sources from the appendix to Bennett and elsewhere. If the king from Dublin was an impostor (like the Lambert Simnel of Vergil and Bacon). whom was he impersonating: York (André), Warwick (Vergil), or both (Bacon)? If he was genuine (like Molinet's Warwick), who was he?

York and Warwick before 1486

Ignoring whether they were genuine or impersonated, there are two candidates in the chronicles for the pretender from Dublin: York or Warwick. Richard, the younger son of the Yorkist king Edward IV and his queen Elizabeth Woodville, was born at Shrewsbury in August 1473, and created duke of York the following May.[12] The other candidate Edward was born at Warwick Castle in February 1475, the only son of Edward IV's brother George, duke of Clarence, and his wife Isabel, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, known as the Kingmaker.[13] The death of Isabel in December 1476 was followed by the last treason of Clarence against his brother the king, during which Clarence tried to send his infant son abroad.[14] While Clarence was being detained, there took place the childhood marriage of York to Anne Mowbray, heiress to the duchy of Norfolk who later died. By this marriage Edward IV confirmed the dignity and the estates of the Mowbrays in his son York as duke of Norfolk. A month later, in February 1478, Clarence was finally

executed, allegedly at the prompting of Edward IV's queen and her Woodville clan, and against the wishes of the king's surviving brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester.[15] Bacon wrote that touched with remorse for his brother's death, the king created Clarence's three-year-old orphan son earl of Warwick and kept the boy honourably at court. Warwick actually became the ward of the grasping Thomas Grey, Marquess Dorset, son of Elizabeth Woodville and Edward IV's stepson.[16]

When Edward IV died in April 1483, he was succeeded by his elder son, the prince of Wales, as Edward V, the younger son York becoming heir presumptive. In the ensuing power struggle Gloucester seized the boy king, and the boy's mother Elizabeth Woodville fled to sanctuary in Westminster Abbey with the duke of York and her daughters. In June, after the failure of an alleged plot involving her and Lord Hastings, Edward IV's queen surrendered her son York to Gloucester, and the flight of Dorset delivered Warwick into Richard's hands. Gloucester then assumed the crown as Richard III, and his *titulus regius* stated that Edward IV's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville had been invalid and therefore their children were illegitimate, and that the young earl of Warwick was excluded from the throne because of his father Clarence's attainder for treason.[17]

Richard III's heir apparent was his only legitimate child, Edward of Middleham, who died in April 1484. According to Rous, Warwick then became heir presumptive, but the terms of the *titulus regius* make this appear doubtful, and Rous's statement is uncorroborated. Richard seems to have chosen as heir presumptive his nephew John, Earl of Lincoln, son of his sister Elizabeth, Duchess of Suffolk.[18] Moreover, Bacon wrote that although Warwick was honourably treated by Edward IV, and was brought up at court till nearly ten years old, Richard III confined him. When Edward IV died in April 1483, however, Warwick was only eight; it was York who was nearly ten.[19]

In the first weeks of Richard III's reign, a plot was formed to release Edward V and York from the Tower of London, but rumours were spread that these little princes had already been killed by the new king their uncle. The rumours about this crime spread amongst the rebels planning to overthrow Richard III, and later abroad. The dates for the crime vary from June 1483 to April 1484, and the earlier date could mean that York was killed before his title of duke of Norfolk was bestowed on John, Lord Howard, on 28 June 1483. The supposed murder of Edward V and York led to the recognition of their sister and Edward IV's eldest daughter Elizabeth as the heiress of the house of York. The pretender Henry Tudor, as heir to the house of Lancaster, promised to marry Elizabeth of York and thus unite the warring royal houses. Her mother, Elizabeth Woodville, was induced to approve the match, and the plot originally to release the princes became part of a larger rebellion against Richard III, led by the king's former ally Henry, Duke of Buckingham.[20]

Buckingham's revolt failed in October 1483, and the duke was executed. Surprisingly, by March 1484 Elizabeth Woodville had reached an agreement with Richard III under which she and her daughters left sanctuary, and she later persuaded her son the Marquess Dorset to try abandoning Henry Tudor. Furthermore, the rumoured proposal of marriage between Richard III and his niece Elizabeth of York in the spring of 1485 may have had her mother's approval. Her rapprochement with the king could be seen as evidence that Elizabeth Woodville accepted that Richard III was not responsible for the death of her sons Edward V and York, or indeed that she believed that the boys were still alive. Their survival in secret could explain the disappearance of the sons of Edward IV during the reign of Richard III, which ended when Richard was killed at the battle of Bosworth in August 1485 by the forces of Henry Tudor.[21]

Immediately after the battle the victorious Henry ordered a force to Richard's castle at Sheriff Hutton to seize Elizabeth of York and a boy whom Vergil described as 'Edward,

the fifteen-year-old earl of Warwick, sole survivor of George duke of Clarence'. As Barrie Williams was the first scholar to point out, the boy was not fifteen but only ten.[22] Warwick was destined for the Tower of London, and his cousins York and Edward V were supposedly missing. Henry Tudor was proclaimed Henry VII, and a parliament called in his name in November 1485 confirmed his title and repealed the *titulus regius* of Richard III unread.[23] The marriage of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville was thus validated and their children legitimized, and therefore Henry married Elizabeth of York in January 1486. One of the papal bulls, confirming dispensation for the marriage, prohibited disturbances about the succession to the throne under pain of ipso facto excommunication and the greater anathema.[24] The bull strengthened Henry's claim to the throne, although many supported him because of his wife's.[25] If the claim of Elizabeth of York was legitimate, however, then so were the superior claims of her brothers Edward V and York, if they were still alive.

The Conspiracy in Favour of York

Some people did not believe that Richard III had murdered Edward V and York in the Tower, and André linked rumours of the survival of the sons of Edward IV with what seems to have been a plot to impersonate York.[26] It has been suggested that André confused Lambert Simnel with Perkin Warbeck, a later alleged impersonator of York.[27] Bacon also linked the plot, however, with whisperings that at least one of Edward IV's sons was still living.[28] Even Polydore Vergil admitted, not indeed in his earliest narrative from the manuscript of 1512-13 but in printed texts from 1534 onwards, that it was rumoured that the boys had escaped abroad, and that the Oxford priest, Richard Simons, hoped that his pupil Lambert Simnel might imitate Warwick or one of Edward's sons.[29] André's version of the 1487 rebellion seems thus to have persisted after Vergil's first version was circulating, and could have influenced Vergil's revisions for later printed texts. It would therefore be unwise to dismiss a conspiracy surrounding one of the two supposedly murdered princes out of hand.

Because, unlike Warwick, the princes in the Tower apparently disappeared in late 1483 or early 1484, a conspiracy to imitate one of them could have begun in the reign of Richard III. This would provide a time-scale conveniently long enough to accommodate comfortably Bacon's account of Simnel's initial impersonation of York and a change to that of Warwick.[30] Knowing nothing of such a change, however, André merely said that seditious men put up a son of a baker or a shoemaker as the son of Edward IV, and did not mention Lambert, Simons, Oxford, nor an escape to Ireland, all found in Vergil.[31] Indeed André's pretender, like Molinet's Warwick, may have been in Ireland for some time.[32] André related that once the conspiracy had started, a rumour was circulated that Edward IV's second son had been crowned in Ireland. This chronicler only mentioned 'second son' in connection with this coronation, and the son was not actually named as York; elsewhere the pretender was simply dubbed Edward's son. Busch identified this coronation with that of May 1487, and therefore regarded André's statement as incorrect, but the crowning was only rumoured, and clearly did not happen so early in the conspiracy.[33]

André said that Henry VII sent various messengers across to Ireland, including a herald who failed to trap the pretender when he questioned him on his knowledge of the times of King Edward. The chronicler admitted that the boy was accepted as Edward's son, and that many died for this belief. Nevertheless André insisted that the Irish pretender was an impostor under instructions, but did not explain who in Ireland would have had the detailed knowledge of English court life necessary to deceive a herald. The failure of the herald's trap suggests that the pretender may have been genuine, and a detailed knowledge of the times of Edward IV may suggest he was an older boy or young man.[34]

Bacon confused the age of Warwick in 1483 with that of York, and York's age rather than Warwick's would suit his Lambert Simnel better. For his Lambert was about fifteen years old, which would have made him about a year older than York would have been in 1487. This calculation was perhaps the basis for A.F. Pollard's statement that Bacon gave Lambert's age as fifteen in 1487, but the mention of the lad's age at the beginning of Bacon's 1622 narrative of the rebellion might lead one to suppose that his Simnel was fifteen when the plot began in 1486 or even 1485.[35] Bacon's age for the Irish pretender of sixteen or seventeen in 1487 would be consistent with Molinet's description of Warwick as being nearly full grown and in the flower of manhood. It also fits Vergil's mistaken age for Warwick of about fifteen at the time of Bosworth and this age, as Barrie Williams has pointed out, corresponded closely to that of Edward V, who was born in November 1470.[36] Edward V would also fit the older boy or young man suggested by André's narrative.

Why, then, did André's conspirators suborn their pretender to impersonate York rather than the deposed monarch himself, and why did they spread a false rumour that York had been crowned? It was not in their interest to do either, and André's evidence must therefore be looked at in a new way. A false rumour would benefit Henry VII and not the conspirators, and the English government would encourage it because a crowned pretender would discourage others, especially those with a better claim. The only better claimant than York, however, was Edward V.[37] The deposed monarch should therefore be added beside York and Warwick to the list of candidates for the Irish king.

The Start of the Conspiracy in favour of Warwick

Molinet regarded the Irish claimant as truly Warwick, but this chronicler's mistake about the age of the earl, who was only twelve in 1487, tends to confirm the traditional imposture of Warwick related by Vergil and Bacon.[38] Both stated that the impostor Lambert Simnel was the pupil of Richard Simons, a priest at Oxford, and Bacon also agreed with André that the pretender was the son of a baker.[39] According to Bacon, Simons caused the lad to impersonate the second son of Edward IV (York), but changed his mind while the plot was in progress.[40] According to Vergil's earliest account, however, Simons made Lambert imitate Warwick, and then both mentor and pupil went to Ireland.[41] If there had been a previous impersonation of York, then following Vergil's chronology, it would have been confined to England. The imposture would therefore have probably been unknown to the Irish, and this could explain their mistaken support for Vergil's false Warwick. The chronicler did not make this telling point; on the contrary, he insisted that the Irish knew their pretender was an impostor.[42] By contrast, André's York or 'son of Edward IV' was already in Ireland, and therefore a change to the false Warwick would have had to occur there. Consequently the Irish could have known that this Warwick was an impostor, and this would reduce the chances of a successful change of imposture from a son of Edward IV to Warwick, if indeed such a change was made.

Why should any new impersonation have been thought necessary? A false imitation of York would be more likely to succeed than one of Warwick. Since Richard III's supplanter, Henry VII, singularly failed to find any convincing evidence that his dead predecessor had murdered his nephews the little princes in the Tower of London, he could not refute the candidature of York or of Edward V, whether impersonated or real. The story of changed imposture is not found in Vergil's original narrative where, after Warwick had been brought from Sheriff Hutton, it was rumoured that he had been murdered in the Tower.[43] This rumour prompted Richard Simons to adopt the impersonation of Warwick for Lambert Simnel, and to claim in Ireland that he had saved the earl from death. Neither the rumour of his murder nor of his escape from the Tower, however, is sufficient reason

for counterfeiting Warwick. The rebels would have no way of proving if either rumour were true. For the impersonation of Warwick to succeed, they would need to have proof that the earl was either dead or had both escaped and then disappeared. Yet there were apparently rumours in the summer and autumn of 1486 that Warwick, or at least a son of the duke of Clarence, was out of England. In these circumstances an impersonation of Warwick would be difficult, unless of course the Irish pretender really was a son of Clarence.[44]

Vergil said that Lambert Simnel's imposture based on Warwick was the work of one corrupt priest, but it is hard to imagine how the 'lowborn' priest, Simons, could have possibly taught the 'ignoble' Lambert the necessary courtly manners at all.[45] The account in the late sixteenth-century Book of Howth, of how the priest prepared his pupil for the role of Warwick, has been dismissed as 'probably quite fanciful'.[46] Vergil wrote that Henry VII was disturbed to hear that the conspiracy was merely the work of a single priest, and later commentators have tended to disbelieve that Simons had no outside help in the plot.⁴⁷ Bacon, who considered Simons's enterprise 'scarcely credible', tried to make the plot more plausible by hinting at the collusion of Elizabeth Woodville, the queen dowager.[48]

Barrie Williams has suggested that the fifteen year-old Edward murdered in the Tower was Edward V, and that this murder led the queen dowager and fellow Yorkists to support Warwick for the crown against Henry VII. Perhaps some support for this view can be found in Vergil's stylistic distinction between the captive at Sheriff Hutton as the earl of Warwick and the pretender as the duke of Clarence's son.[49] Williams has provided a rational motive for the collusion of Elizabeth Woodville in favour of Warwick, but this would pre-empt support for her sons, one of whom was still alive, if the rumour from Ireland related by André was true. The dowager would also have been more use in an imposture of one of her sons rather than of Warwick.

The Council at Sheen

The evidence so far examined would seem to imply that the pretender in Dublin was not a false Warwick (Vergil and Bacon), but a son of Edward IV (André) whether real or impersonated. The evidence for the pretender being truly Warwick (Molinet) is perhaps doubtful. In a letter to Sir Richard Plumpton dated 29 November 1486, Thomas Betanson wrote that little had been heard about Warwick, but that it was said that more would be heard of him after Christmas.[50] The letter made no mention of any murder or escape of Warwick, nor of any conspiracy surrounding him, and the hint that the government might be ready to use the young earl is supported by the issuing about this time of writs summoning Henry VII's council and the convocations to meet the following February.[51] Henry's council then met at Sheen, and according to Vergil three important decisions were taken: the proclamation of a general pardon, the exhibition of Warwick, and the confiscation of Elizabeth Woodville's property.[52]

The Exhibition of Warwick

Henry VII's proclamation 'pardoned and excused from punishment all who were accused of treason or any other crimes', and was designed to prevent the Irish rebellion spreading. Messengers from Ireland had already been sent to known supporters of Richard III, 'to implore them to remain loyal and decide upon supporting the boy', and to Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy.[53] Margaret, sister of Richard III and Edward IV, and hence aunt to Warwick and the princes in the Tower, had lately been joined by Francis Lord Lovell, one of Richard's chief supporters. Henry's proclamation was aimed at winning over Sir Thomas Broughton of Furness Fells and others, but it was unsuccessful because they joined Lovell in Flanders.[54] That 'he himself was with Lord Lovell in Furness fells' was part of

the confession of a twenty-eight year old priest William Simmons before the convocation of Canterbury in St Paul's cathedral in London on 17 February 1487. Previously 'he himself abducted and carried across to places in Ireland the son of a certain organ-maker of the university of Oxford; and this boy was there reputed to be the earl of Warwick'.[55]

This confession could be regarded as corroborated by the subsequent public showing of

Warwick, also at St Paul's, as described in Vergil. Edward, the duke of Clarence's son, was publicly led from the Tower of London to the cathedral. After the service there, the boy 'spoke with many important people, and especially with those of whom the king was suspicious, so that they might the more readily understand that the Irish had based their new rebellion on an empty and spurious cause.'[56] The exhibition in St Paul's was probably too high a risk for Henry VII if the boy seen there were not Warwick, and this suggests that the king's prisoner was genuinely Warwick. The city of Oxford, mentioned in Simons's confession, was connected with alleged conspirators. The university protected Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was arrested in March 1487 and kept in custody for life.[57] Oxford was also close to Ewelme, the family seat of Richard III's heir Lincoln who, after the exhibition of Warwick, fled to Flanders to join Margaret of Burgundy [58]

Henry VII's government probably thought that, by Simons's confession and Warwick's exposure, it had proved that the real earl was in London and a fake one in Dublin, but the proof is not wholly convincing. Simons's confession rested on known facts (the treason of Lovell and Furness Fells) or ones which could not be checked practically (the organ-maker), and it is odd that Simmons did not divulge the name of his impostor nor of the impostor's father. The escape to Ireland and the acknowledgement of the pseudo-Warwick look like what the English government wanted people to believe, and Bennett, who realised its importance, treated the confession with considerable scepticism.[59] Furthermore, despite Bacon's assertion that the earl was brought up in a court where infinite eyes were upon him, Warwick had probably been kept from public gaze. The boy would therefore not be easily recognised by those at St Paul's, and they might have acknowledged him out of expediency. He might be said to have failed to impress Lincoln, who was the lord who knew Warwick best.[60]

This exhibition of Warwick has been questioned by Barrie Williams because it is only found in Vergil. The chronicler may have confused it with a later joint showing of Warwick and Simnel, for which there is contemporary evidence. Given Henry VII's gift for propaganda, however, two exhibitions cannot be ruled out.[61] Leland mentioned a rumour that Lincoln noised abroad that he knew Warwick should be in Ireland, but it could be difficult to decide whether the rumour was true.[62] The real Warwick may have escaped, according to rumour, but the Dublin pretender seemed to be five years older than the earl. Williams remarked that people in high places may have forgotten how young the earl was, but this remark could hardly apply to Lincoln or to Margaret of Burgundy, who would have known Warwick well enough to know his real age.[63] The connection of Oxford with the alleged conspirators is not conclusive evidence in favour of Simons' s confession. The city also had links with Henry VII's close adviser, Archbishop John Morton, who presided over the meeting of convocation before which the priest appeared, and who could have rigged Simons's confession.[64]

None of the arguments against the exhibition of the real Warwick in London seems conclusive. But does this mean that the pretender in Dublin was a fake, as claimed in Simons's confession? The arguments for and against the true Warwick being held by Henry VII presuppose Bennett's position that in 'the spring of 1487 there were two boys claiming to be the earl of Warwick, one in London and one in Dublin', and either one could have been the puppet. This presupposition rests on the English government's assertion that the

Dublin pretender claimed to be Warwick, whereas the pretender himself might not have been making any such claim.[65] The need of the English government to convince people how the Irish had adopted a false Warwick could explain the unlikely story of the start of the conspiracy in favour of a pseudo-Warwick, the stories of Warwick's murder or escape, the rumour about Lincoln, and Simons's inadequate confession. No-one previously seems to have argued that the existence of the genuine Warwick in London does not preclude the Irish pretender from being a son of Edward IV. It had been apparently the revelations of Stillington in June 1483 which resulted in the marriage of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville being declared invalid.[66] This bishop could therefore have been arrested by Henry VII at this time because he had some knowledge of Edward IV's sons, in the same way as their mother was deprived of her property and immured in Bermondsey Abbey.

The Deprivation of Elizabeth Woodville

Polydore Vergil gave the former queen's surrender of herself and her daughters to Richard III as the reason for her deprivation under Henry VII, but it is hard to demur from the view of commentators that this reason is incredible.[67] Consequently some have proposed that the dowager was not deprived at all, but that she retired voluntarily to Bermondsey, and her reasonable relations with her son-in-law are reflected in the language of the grants she received.[68] In terms of hard cash, nonetheless, Elizabeth Woodville fared worse under Henry VII than she did under her supposed arch-enemy Richard III, and her will implies that she died in penury.[69] The notion of the dowager's voluntary retirement is contrary to Vergil and Bacon, and these historians seem vindicated by Henry VII's grant of all of her property to her daughter Elizabeth of York, the king's own wife. His mother-in-law's property passed first into the king's hands 'by thadvise of the lords and other nobles of our counsaill for divers consideracions vs and theym moeuyng'. If the dowager merely wished to relinquish her property on retirement, why should the king not say so, and why should he need the council's advice at all?[70]

Since the king's council had just met at Sheen, Vergil's statement that Elizabeth Woodville had been deprived there seems justified. Apparently no-one has previously considered that Vergil's statement about her agreement with Richard III may have disguised the real reason for her deprivation. In the delivery of York to Richard in June 1483 and her failure to prevent the seizure of Edward V in the previous April, the dowager could be said to have surrendered her sons also. The surrender of her sons rather than her daughters would be relevant to the events at Sheen if she had supported one of these princes against Henry VII.[71]

The suggestion that Elizabeth Woodville knew that at least one of her sons was alive, and was confined by the king to prevent her divulging this secret, has been rejected by her biographer David MacGibbon. He argued that Henry VII would not in this case have concluded the treaty of November 1487 with Scotland, under which the dowager was to marry James III. The treaty was never fulfilled, however, and MacGibbon's argument is considerably weakened by the admission that the marriage 'had already been agreed to by a clause in the Three Years Truce signed on July 3rd 1486'[72] This date was before the dowager could have been accused of any involvement in the Irish conspiracy, and changing the marriage clause later might not have been feasible.

Henry VII's suspicion of Elizabeth Woodville extended to her son Dorset. When after Sheen the marquess supposedly tried to bring his forces to join the king in East Anglia, Henry ordered his arrest by the earl of Oxford. In later editions of his *Anglica Historia*, Vergil gave as Henry's reason for the arrest that, if the marquess was as loyal as he claimed, Dorset would not object to being imprisoned for the duration of the rebellion.[73] The detention of both the dowager and the marquess recalls their rapprochement with Richard

III, which Vergil's excuse for the dowager's deprivation also highlights. The consistency in the behaviour of Elizabeth Woodville and Dorset, mother and stepbrother to the little princes, seems to suggest that they believed in the survival of at least one of Edward IV's sons, and that therefore Henry VII had good reason to distrust both of them.[74] It seems possible, then, that the Dublin pretender was claiming to be Edward V or York, rather than Warwick.

From Sheen to Stoke

Henry VII's claim to hold the true Warwick rests on the assumption that two pretenders claimed to be Warwick, one in Dublin and one in London, and consequently the evidence of Simons's confession and the exhibition in St Paul's seems important. On the other hand, the London Warwick might be genuine or fraudulent if the Dublin pretender were not claiming to be the earl but a son of Edward IV, and therefore the evidence of the silencing of Elizabeth Woodville and Dorset appears more relevant. Bennett, who believed that there were two Warwick claimants, noted nevertheless that from intelligence reported to Henry VII after Sheen, which said nothing about the aims of Lincoln or the pretender, there may have been 'an alternative scheme, based on the impersonation of one of Edward IV's sons'. If there were two Irish pretenders in the spring of 1487, then it is incredible that the English government failed to ridicule the rebellion. Such a scheme would imply that Bacon's switch of imposture occurred very late in the conspiracy, and because of Sheen it is unlikely that the conspirators would have chosen the imposture of Warwick.[75]

The evidence, then, suggests a seemingly impossible conclusion: the pretender in London was Warwick, the one in Dublin claimed to be a son of Edward IV. If this conclusion is correct, then the confession of Simons and the exhibition of Warwick apparently lack any motive, unless it was to counter rumours from the Irish rebels with confusion. The confusion of Edward V and Warwick noted by Barrie Williams seems relevant in this context; Henry VII was using the young earl not because he was Warwick, but because he was called Edward. The confusion of the two Edwards is novel in the context of Sheen, but it could explain what was really happening at the council and afterwards. If the English government had previously circulated the rumour that the Dublin pretender was Richard, Duke of York, when he was in fact the deposed monarch, then there was a serious pressing motive for calling the council at Sheen. The government would be forced to change the pretender's name from Richard to Edward, and therefore would insist that the pretender was now claiming to be Warwick. The identity of the Irish claimant as Edward V can thus be used to explain the major events surrounding Sheen, whether favouring Warwick or a son of Edward IV.

That the Dublin pretender was a child of Edward IV was certainly believed by Margaret of Burgundy, according to André, and she sent letters to the pretender calling him to her, and he obeyed. This visit is not confirmed by other sources but after Sheen Henry VII was clearly expecting trouble from Margaret, and so patrolled East Anglia and had Dorset arrested.[76] The threat to the east coast did not materialise, however, as Lincoln and Lovell crossed to Ireland with an army of about two thousand German mercenaries under Martin Schwartz. According to Molinet, Schwartz and his company arrived to find the 'duke of Clarence' with Lincoln, Kildare, the deputy in Ireland, and the Irish nobles.[77] Vergil insisted that Molinet's duke was Lambert Simnel, 'whom falsely (as they very well knew) they called the duke of Clarence's son'. The lad was crowned, with the agreement of all the people by two archbishops and twelve bishops according to Molinet, in Dublin cathedral on Ascension Day, 24 May 1487, a parliament met at Drogheda, and coinage was minted.[78]

The rebel forces were augmented by the Irish under Thomas FitzGerald, and both Molinet and Vergil concur that the pretender's army landed in north Lancashire close to Furness Fells on 4 June. Molinet described the rebel force's crossing of the Pennines into Yorkshire.[79] André's narrative, on the other hand, gives the impression that the army reached the north coast direct from Flanders, but a section of the narrative dealing with the return to Ireland and the coronation may have been omitted by the chronicler or his amanuensis. André referred to the pretender as 'that miserable kinglet crowned, as I have said, in Dublin', whereas previously his narrative had only mentioned the rumour of a coronation early in the conspiracy.[80]

Few joined Lincoln and the rebel army in their progress through Yorkshire, despite both the Irish and the Germans announcing, according to Vergil, that 'they had come to restore the boy Edward, recently crowned in Ireland, to the kingdom'. 'Restore' would seem to suggest Edward V as the Irish king rather than Warwick.[81] The rebel army had reached Masham by 8 June, for on that day the city of York received a letter from the pretender, whom the civic records called 'king Edward the sixth', requesting that the city should open its gates. The records tell of an unsuccessful assault on the city gates in the name of king Edward by Lord Scrope of Masham and his relation, Lord Scrope of Bolton. According to Molinet, however, the rebels pushed back the forces of Sir Edward Woodville, Lord Scales, and after rumours about the retreat of Henry VII's vanguard, the city of York declared for the Irish king, and in London houses of Henry's supporters were ransacked.[82] Molinet's uneven account is not always corroborated, but it does reflect the confusion which preceded the battle of Stoke. Henry VII's actions, if anything, added to the confusion. The king had previously issued a proclamation against rumourmongers, but although these people were punished, their rumours were not denied or corrected by proclamation. The uncertainty was such that the king's camp was beset by spies, tumults and desertions. Despite this, the Stoke campaign was apparently fought without any denunciations of the impostor Lambert Simnel and his treasonable imitation of Edward, Earl of Warwick.[83]

When battle was joined in the fields around the village of East Stoke, near Newark upon Trent in Nottinghamshire, on 16 June 1487, superior numbers triumphed, and possibly only the royal vanguard under the earl of Oxford engaged with the rebels.[84] Vergil recorded Lincoln, Lovell, Broughton, Schwartz and FitzGerald as slain, whereas Molinet mentioned the deaths of Lincoln and Schwartz; perhaps Lovell and Broughton escaped.[85] According to Molinet only 200 of the rebel army escaped, of whom the Irish and English captured in the following two days were hanged, and only the foreigners dismissed.[86]

All of our four chroniclers recorded the capture of the rebel king. Molinet styled him 'King Edward', but André called him a good-for-nothing fellow. Both Vergil and Bacon recorded the capture of Lambert Simnel and his mentor, Richard Simons, and the capture at least of the pupil seems confirmed by Leland's transcription of the contemporary battle herald's account.[87] From Molinet's narrative one must assume, despite evidence to the contrary, that Henry VII only imprisoned Warwick permanently after the battle of Stoke. Other continental sources suggested that Warwick had escaped or was killed.[88]

The silence surrounding the rebel cause apparently persisted after the battle. According to

André the rebel king confessed that he had been forced into becoming an impostor by 'certain men of his own shameless sort', and that his family and parents were common 'and in lowly occupations, unworthy of being inserted in this history'. André had forgotten that he himself had already said that the boy's father was a baker or shoemaker, and the meagreness of the supposed confession showed that André had discovered little or nothing about the boy.[89] Vergil noted that the false king Lambert and his mentor, Richard, were granted their lives; the boy was too young to have committed any offence, and his mentor

was a priest.[90] Bacon opined that Henry VII did not take the boy's life because 'if he suffered death he would be forgotten too soon, but being kept alive he would be a continual spectacle and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of people in time to come'. The priest was 'heard of no more, the king loving to seal up his own dangers'.[91] Vergil claimed that the king had commanded during the battle of Stoke that Lincoln should be captured alive, so that Henry might learn more about the conspiracy. The king failed to punish those who killed Lincoln, however, and apparently did not interrogate anyone else who could have told him about the plot. Vergil's claim therefore seems unlikely, and may be regarded as reinforcing the silence elsewhere, inasmuch as the claim sounds rather like a feeble excuse for the inability of the king clearly to identify the enemy whose defeat had occasioned so much slaughter.[92]

The Act of Attainder after Stoke

Henry VII failed to conduct a public investigation into the rebellion after the battle of Stoke, presumably because of the pardon of Lambert and Simons mentioned by Vergil. Parliament meeting in November 1487 described the false pretender as Lambert Simnel, a child of ten years of age, son of Thomas Simnel, late of Oxford, joiner. This description squared with Simons's confession of the previous February to the extent that the impostor came from Oxford, but the occupation of joiner is more common than that of organ-builder. What was new in original English official sources was the impostor's name, his age, and the name of his father.[93]

The surname of Simnel seems otherwise unknown before this time in England or abroad, but echoes the surnames of Simons, the impostor's mentor, and of Fitzsimons, the archbishop who crowned the boy.[94] 'Simnel' means light grain, and simnel cakes were eaten during Lent. Hence, André's occupation of baker for the impostor's father might be seen as a corroboration of the surname.[95] Lambert was a very rare Christian name in England. St Lambert was buried at Liege, an area well known for the making of organs close to Burgundy. The name Lambert could thus be linked to the occupation of the impostor's father, and to the Duchess Margaret.[96] On the other hand, Bennett pointed out that the maiden name of Edward IV's mistress Elizabeth Shore, better known as Jane Shore, was Elizabeth Lambert. A new interpretation of the name Lambert could therefore be that it was a reference to a bastard of that king and Jane.[97] Henry VII left Sheen early in Lent after the council there, and a Lenten pretender (Simnel) who was Edward IV's bastard (Lambert) might have been Henry's explanation for the continuing rumour that the Dublin claimant was the Yorkist king's son. Hence 'Lambert Simnel' might have been a pseudonym used not by the conspirators, as Bennett thought, but by the English government, and the pseudonym may have been retained for consistency in the act of attainder.[98]

If 'Lambert Simnel' was a nickname, then there can be no certainty about the name of the father who, being dead or not traced ('late of Oxford'), could not vouch for his own name and occupation, nor for the name of his supposed son. The occupations attributed to the father are so diverse that the impersonator is sometimes described as the son of an Oxford tradesman.[99] Moreover, the boy's parentage must be regarded as doubtful when Henry VII seems to have told the pope after the battle of Stoke that the boy was illegitimate.[100] Although Polydore Vergil adopted the name of Lambert Simnel and used it throughout his narrative of the rebellion, he did not follow the act of attainder in giving either the name or occupation of the father, or the son's specific age at the passing of the act.[101]

None of our four chroniclers assumed, as did the attainder, that Lambert was as young as ten, although this agrees with Vergil's statement that the impostor was spared because he was too young to have committed any offence. It would also be difficult to make the

boy more than ten if the English government had previously been trying to insinuate that the Dublin pretender was a bastard of Edward IV and Elizabeth Shore, since the annulment of her marriage on the grounds of her husband's impotence occurred as late as 1476.[102] The four chroniclers suggest an age for the pretender of around seventeen at the time of Stoke, and Vergil later changed 'boy' to 'adolescent' in several places in his text.[103] Adolescence normally covers the ages of thirteen to eighteen, and if 'boy' is synonymous with 'adolescent' as Vergil's change implies, the boy Lambert should not have been less than thirteen. The description could be applied to a lad of sixteen or seventeen, but hardly to the ten-year-old specified in the act of attainder.[104] With some latitude 'adolescent' might fit the real Warwick, who was twelve in 1487. Pollard assumed that Lambert was born in 1475 from his impersonation of Warwick, who was born then. It is a plausible inference that an impostor should be the same age as the person being imitated, but none of the early sources confirm that Lambert was twelve at the time of Stoke.[105]

The Real Impostor?

Whatever its shortcomings, however, the truth of the attainder seems supported by the later existence of a person claiming to be Lambert Simnel, the king from Dublin. He survived as turnspit and later falconer to Henry VII and Sir Thomas Lovell, and his survival had the persuasive propaganda value hinted at by Bacon. Vergil said the impostor was still alive when he wrote, a statement which, even if restricted to Vergil's first text, implied that Lambert Simnel survived until about 1513. A 'Lambert Symnell, yeoman' attended the funeral of Sir Thomas Lovell in May 1525, so Vergil's statement is probably correct for his printed edition of 1534, and a Richard Symnell, canon of St Osith's in Essex in 1539, could have been Lambert's son.[106] The death of Lambert is not recorded, but the survival of a supposed traitor until the age of fifty is unusual, especially when compared with the executions of other alleged impostors under Henry VII like Ralph Wilford (or Wulford) and Perkin Warbeck, or of the probably genuine Warwick, or even of the real pretender Suffolk.[107]

If the impostor survived the battle of Stoke, however, a consistent story would need to be told to fill the silence left by the death or disappearance of the conspirators, and by the lack of any public investigation. The varying narratives of Molinet, André and Vergil suggest there was no such consistency and, indeed, the new facts about the impostor's name, age and parentage in the act of attainder added to the confusion. A. F. Pollard sought to excuse this confusion surrounding Lambert by saying that 'the discrepancy between the various accounts suggests that the government and the chroniclers alike were ignorant of his real origin'.¹⁰⁸ But the excuse is a nonsense. An impostor calling himself Lambert Simnel was resident at Henry VII's court, to which both André and Vergil had access.[109] If the government and these chroniclers wished to discover the impostor's origin, then surely all they would have had to do was ask him. André's story of the impostor's confession after Stoke rather suggests that the lad confessed to anything the English government asked of him.[110]

However unsatisfactory the statements of Lambert may have been, the English government should have been able to use the confession of the impostor's captured mentor Simons. A puzzling problem first raised by Bennett, however, needs to be solved beforehand: how could Simons have been captured at the battle of Stoke, when he had already made his confession in captivity some four months previously? Bennett has suggested that there were two Simons brothers, both priests, the one William who was captured and confessed at the time of Sheen, and the other Richard who was taken at Stoke. No source supports this view, which contradicts Vergil's insistence that the Irish plot was

the work of one priest. No Simons was mentioned in the attainder, and both William and Richard disappeared for ever.[111]

The problems about the mentor priest must raise the question of whether he was ever at the battle of Stoke, and if he was there, of whether he survived the battle. Indeed, the wholesale slaughter at Stoke related by Molinet and hinted at by Vergil would make the survival of either the pretender or Simons seem unlikely.[112] Furthermore, the age of the pretender according to the chroniclers would have been sixteen or seventeen before the battle, but according to the attainder only ten after it. No-one has previously highlighted this discrepancy. The impossibility of losing six or seven years in the course of a battle implies that the pretender before Stoke was a different person from the court impostor after it. Consequently there is no convincing evidence that Lambert Simnel was the king from Dublin, although the Lambert at the court of Henry VII was clearly an impostor. The replacement of the Irish pretender presumably killed at Stoke could have been managed by the English government, and this would explain not only the impostor's survival and his propaganda value, but also the failure to provide a consistent account of the 1487 conspiracy. The imposture was created by Henry VII.[113]

Bellingham and the Irish

This argument in favour of a government impostor leaves open the question of the identity of the Irish pretender, although the Tudor imposture might suggest that the pretender had been genuine and, from the evidence given above, could have been a son of Edward IV, probably the elder, rather than Warwick. If the Dublin king perished at Stoke, then the court impostor must have been substituted after the battle. This battlefield substitution seems to be contradicted by the evidence of the boy's captors, and of the well-known banquet of Lambert Simnel with the Irish. The capture of Lambert was first described in the almost contemporary herald's report of Stoke transcribed by Leland, which does not mention the capture of Simons. The boy's name also was not given as Lambert. In his examination of the original manuscript, Bennett found that the herald had written, 'And there was taken the lad the rebels call King Edward, whose name was indeed John, by a valiant and gentle squire of the king's house, called Robert Bellingham'. A 'King Edward' impersonated by a John seems to be a spontaneous invention recorded shortly afterwards. It would explain why the battle herald failed to record any later confession that the captured boy claimed he was the Dublin pretender, and his name was really Lambert. It also tends to confirm the government use of 'Lambert Simnel' as a pseudonym, but probably means that a real person bearing that name never existed.[114] Furthermore, as a member of the king's household, the boy's supposed captor Bellingham would have been in an ideal position to make a battlefield substitution without being challenged. A few weeks after Stoke, on 2 September 1487, Robert Bellingham abducted the heiress Margery Beaufitz and, although imprisoned for a while, later climbed in Henry VII's favour. The squire's escapade looks suspiciously like seizing his own reward for an action which made the king indebted to him. Providing Henry with a stooge rebel king is a possibility.[115]

Some years after Stoke, when Henry VII gave audience to the earl of Kildare and the other Irish lords, he derided them with 'My masters of Ireland, you will crown apes at length'.[116] One day when the visitors were dining, they were told that their 'new King Lambarte Symenell brought them wine to drink, and drank to them all'. No Irish lord rose to the challenge except the Lord of Howth. He was a merry gentleman who could appreciate the joke, because he had never acknowledged Lambert's imposture. He accepted the challenge, and drank for the wine's sake, declaring that Lambert Simnel was a poor innocent.[117]

If Howth had never been a party to the impersonation, however, he had probably not met Lambert, and would therefore have been in no position to identify the boy serving wine as the king from Dublin. Howth is said to have prided himself on being an informant for Henry VII, to whom he could claim to be related. The king confirmed his lordship of Howth and gave him a large sum of money. Consequently it was perhaps collusion and bribery which induced the merry lord to play-act, in what seems to have been the deliberately staged scene of the banquet, and to acknowledge Lambert as the Dublin king, even if he knew such an acknowledgement was untrue.[118] The other Irish lords needed to be informed in advance that the serving boy would be Lambert, and such information seems to presuppose that they might not have realised that he had been the lad they had crowned in Dublin. Henry VII's jest about crowning apes may really have been a threat to force the Irish to acknowledge falsely that his ape Lambert was their king. Possibly the Irish, except for Howth, were prepared to remain silent over the identity of the Dublin claimant, but balked at the perjury of identifying him with Simnel.[119]

The name 'Lambert Simnel' also seems to have been little known even among the Irish loyal to Henry VII. The annulment of the acts of the rebel parliament of 1487, enacted at Drogheda in 1494, referred to the claimant merely as a 'ladde'. Similarly a petition by Thomas Butler to the Irish parliament of 1496 called the Dublin king an unknown lad, not Lambert Simnel. The evidence derived from sources close to the Butlers and other opponents of the 1487 rebellion seem to make the Irish king younger than the ten-year-old Lambert in the attainder of November 1487. This doubtful Irish evidence fails to compensate for the lack of official records, since the 1494 parliament successfully ordered the complete destruction of all records of the rebel assembly at Drogheda in 1487 on pain of treason. The retention of some records naming the Irish king as the earl of Warwick would have been helpful to Henry VII. The failure to retain any records at all suggests that the Dublin pretender did not claim to be the earl, and that Henry's allegation that the pretender was a false Warwick could only succeed in silence enforced by fears of trials for treason.[120]

This enforced silence was helped by the co-operation of the pope after Henry VII's complaints about the conduct of the Irish bishops in the 1487 rebellion. A bull forbade any Irish rebellion against Henry on pain of excommunication.[121] Contemporary Irish sources are scant. The 'son of the duke of York' who occurs in the Annals of Ulster would best fit Edward V, since he is described as a young man and in exile.[122] Coinage issued during the rebellion simply called the Irish king Edwardvs.[123] Edwardus is found in a patent witnessed by Kildare as that king's Lieutenant. If he was known as Edward, the identity of the Irish king as Richard, Duke of York, would be ruled out. The patent is dated 13 August 'in the first year of our reign' and its seal appears to be that of Edward V. The most unforced interpretation of the evidence of the patent would seem to be that it was issued under Edward V in 1486.[124] The addition of 'the sixth' to 'Edward' in the York civic records is apparently not found in Ireland. There seems to be no extant contemporary Irish evidence, therefore, for 'Edward VI' (Warwick or pseudo-Warwick), and Irish evidence on its own, though favouring Edward V, is inconclusive as to the positive identification of the king from Dublin. Ironically in this situation the pretender's identity claimed by the English government needs some corroboration from the conspirators, who were scattered or dead after the battle of Stoke.[125]

Margaret of Burgundy

The single major conspirator known not to have come to terms with Henry VII at this time was Margaret of Burgundy. She supported not only the alleged imposture of Lambert Simnel, but also later that of Perkin Warbeck. In 1493 Henry sent his envoys, Sir Edward Poynings and Dr William Warham, to her to protest about Perkin, and in the pretender's

presence Warham, later archbishop of Canterbury, taxed the childless Margaret with having given birth to two princes aged 180 months, which is exactly fifteen years old.[126]

Warham's insult was said to have been directed against Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, and the jibe about giving birth suggests that both the alleged impostors were fifteen when Margaret could first have recognised them. Perkin impersonated York, who would have been exactly fifteen in August 1488, but there is no clear evidence at present that Margaret acknowledged this pretender so early.[127] This would seem to imply that it was the king from Dublin (allegedly Lambert Simnel) who was exactly fifteen when Margaret recognised him. Previously the identity of Margaret's claimant has been unknown, and Molinet, André, and Vergil each stated that the duchess had recognised his candidate (Warwick, pseudo-York, pseudo-Warwick) as the Dublin pretender.[128] In contrast to the chroniclers, does Warham's remark about his age reveal the identity of Margaret's claimant?

As mentioned above, the *titulus regius* of Richard III excluded from the throne the children of Edward IV through illegitimacy, and Warwick because of his father's attainder. From the time of the repeal of the *titulus* in November 1485, therefore, Margaret could have recognised the claims of Edward's sons, and of Warwick, and her claimant would then have been fifteen. The earl of Warwick was not fifteen until February 1490. Richard, Duke of York would have only been twelve in November 1485, and August 1488 when he was exactly fifteen was over a year after the battle of Stoke. Moreover, if she had backed the Dublin pretender as York, Margaret would have recognised two Yorks in this pretender and Perkin, and Warham could hardly have failed to deride such a double imposture. Warham's insult fails to fit either Warwick or York, the prime candidates for the Dublin pretender. There was, nevertheless, a son of Edward IV who, being born in November 1470, was exactly fifteen in November 1485 - he was Edward V.[129]

The Real Pretender Transformed?

The king from Dublin, then, was not Lambert Simnel, but could have been Edward V. This possibility has not been canvassed before, and is disturbing. It is consistent, nevertheless, with the examination, with as few preconceptions as possible, of the 1487 rebellion. The conspiracy in favour of York could have been in favour of either of Edward IV's sons, and a false rumour about York's coronation could have been spread to stop Edward V. Upon examination the story of a conspiracy in favour of Warwick was found to be unlikely, but Henry VII certainly wanted such a story believed from the evidence of the council at Sheen. Henry's exhibition of Edward, Earl of Warwick, and Simons's confession have to be set against Henry's deprivation of Elizabeth Woodville for perhaps supporting one of her sons. The conflicting evidence surrounding Sheen can be resolved if the Dublin pretender was one of Edward IV's sons whose name was Edward; that is, Edward V. An attempt to bastardize a son of Edward IV as the Irish pretender could be the derivation of the name 'Lambert Simnel'. The silence of the English government between Sheen and Stoke, the conflicting evidence from the battle and the attainder, and Henry VII's efforts to induce the Irish to recognize Lambert, have to be set against Irish evidence which could favour Edward V. Warham's coded insult against Margaret of Burgundy seems to suggest she supported the deposed monarch.

An obvious argument against the possibility of the king from Dublin being Edward V is that the former king was not one of the candidates of the four chroniclers: pseudo-Warwick (Vergil, Bacon), pseudo-York (André), or Warwick (Molinet). One is tempted, therefore, to fall back on the traditional story derived from Vergil, and to judge with Busch that Molinet's account was poetical and imaginative, André was more interested in rhetoric than history, and Bacon was derivative and untrustworthy.[130] Even if true, however, such judgements do not explain adequately why there are three different candidates as the

Irish pretender. Moreover, attempts to reconstruct the events of the 1487 rebellion as if the pretender were one of these three candidates run into difficulties. In the case of the pseudo-Warwick of Vergil and Bacon, the difficulties include the initial adoption of the candidate, the motive behind the exhibition of Warwick, and the seemingly considerable errors of Vergil, possibly compounded by Bacon.[131] Molinet's genuine Warwick presents problems about the time of his escape, his wrong age, and his recapture at Stoke.[132] André's pseudo-York seems only supported specifically by a false rumour about his coronation, but there is evidence to support the Dublin pretender being a son of Edward IV.[133]

If Edward V was the king from Dublin, on the other hand, how could it happen that his candidature has not survived? To answer this question, the events of the 1487 rebellion have to be reconstructed as if the Irish pretender were the deposed monarch. Faced with André's rumour about a son of Edward IV, the government of Henry VII spread a counter-rumour of a crowned York to discourage support for Edward V.[134] The counter-rumour was bound to fail when the rebellion became serious, and the name of the pretender had to be acknowledged as Edward and not Richard (York). At least by the time of Sheen the government changed the name to Edward, but by the ruse of declaring that the pretender was now claiming to be Warwick, whom Henry VII conveniently held in prison. The ruse of the two Edwards (Edward V in Ireland and Edward, Earl of Warwick, in London) could have fooled Molinet into believing that the Edward in Ireland was truly Warwick.[135] Thus the identity of the Irish pretender was diverted early on by Henry VII to York and Warwick, although his real identity can still be recognised as a son of Edward IV (André) whose name was Edward (Molinet); that is, Edward V.

Sheen established the English government position that the Irish claimant was pseudo-Warwick, and in the light of that position rumour-mongers, and those like Elizabeth Woodville who knew otherwise, had to be dealt with, but without revealing the true identity of the pretender.[136] Pseudo-Warwick had to survive the battle of Stoke, and therefore Henry VII needed to eliminate the pretender and his English and Irish support in the battle, and then substitute his own impostor to continue the government story.[137] Survival of an impostor at Henry's court after Stoke has nearly always been regarded as conclusive evidence that the Irish king survived the battle, and was proved to be a fraud.[138] Yet at the time, apart from the doubtful confession in André and the acknowledgement of Howth, it seems no former rebel could be induced to support evidence for an Irish imposture and Henry's impostor Lambert Simnel.[139]

Henry VII may well have feared exposure if he pressed the claims of his impostor too rigorously, and the name of Lambert Simnel, perhaps originally a codename for Edward V, seems to have disappeared for a number of years.[140] Although all known evidence of their king was being destroyed, the Irish failed to adopt Lambert. Warham's insult about Margaret of Burgundy giving birth to fifteen-year-olds could have been used successfully in place of mentioning Lambert.[141] The failure of Henry VII to suppress oral as well as written evidence is reflected in the survival of stories about Warwick and a son of Edward IV, candidates respectively of Molinet and André, neither of whom named Lambert. Almost twenty years after his capture, therefore, the story of Lambert Simnel was still not believed in some quarters, even by those close to Henry VII, and one might still possibly conclude that the Irish pretender was Edward V.[142]

The name of Lambert Simnel was specifically mentioned again in Polydore Vergil, who was compiling his history at the request of Henry VII in the 1500s.[143] The king had just given out that, before his execution for treason, Sir James Tyrell confessed to the murder of the sons of Edward IV in the Tower of London at the behest of Richard III.[144] This

timely confession indicates that the English government felt that, after so many years, it needed a convincing story of the murder of the little princes, and of the rebellions of Simnel and Warbeck. Vergil was to provide such a story, and it has become part of the national myth.[145] With regard to the so-called Simnel rebellion, Pollard opined that, as he 'was in the service of Henry VII', Vergil 'would naturally give the official view, whether true or not'.[146] Yet comparisons between Vergil's original narrative and the government sources of around 1487 (Simons's confession, the act of attainder, the herald's report) reveal that the chronicler's use of such sources was small and could have been gleaned merely from popular knowledge.[147] The popular assumption would have been that, since they supposedly survived the battle, both Simons and Simnel were captured at Stoke. That such an assumption should form the basis of Vergil's narrative bears out Busch's reservation that the chronicler's 'chronological arrangement of events, and his reason for connecting them together, are especially to be regarded with mistrust'.[148]

It could be argued that, despite Busch's reservations, Vergil's narrative provided a coherent framework on which to hang other sources, but the argument would not be a strong one. Personal details about the pretender, which are often inconsistent among other sources, are lacking in Vergil's account of Lambert Simnel. The sources can therefore be seen to fit into the framework of Vergil's story because he avoided conflicting evidence, and not because the story itself was sound.[149] The changes between Simons's confession in February and the attainder of November 1487 tend to confirm that the character of Lambert Simnel emerged at the end of an ad hoc story, invented by the English government in response to the events of the 1487 rebellion. Vergil's narrative transposed Lambert back to the start of the conspiracy, and to this transposition can be attributed Vergil's mistakes (e.g. Warwick's age from Warham speaking about the pretender, and the capture of Simons) and the implausibility of the pseudo-Warwick plot.[150] It is small wonder, then, that Bacon should try to improve the story by involving Elizabeth Woodville, making Warwick two years older, and including a change of imposture from a son of Edward IV to Warwick.[151] Concessions over the age of the pretender and the survival of Edward IV's son, however, had already been made in later printed editions of Vergil, when any supervision by the English government would probably have been removed. By then, Vergil was about to be overshadowed by accounts of later historians derived from his, including that of Bacon.[152]

The conclusion that the king from Dublin was Edward V not only fits the events of the so-called Simnel rebellion of 1487, but also explains the differences in the narratives of Molinet, André and Vergil, and in their candidates for the Irish pretender. The transformation of the pretender from Edward V to Lambert Simnel can be traced through contemporary government invention to Vergil's improvement on this in the 1500s, and to Bacon's improvement on Vergil a century later.[153] This conclusion has been reached, however, at the expense of regarding the story of Lambert Simnel as a legend. If the legend is removed from Vergil's narrative, then there remains a pretender of fifteen or more, whose name was Edward, linked with Elizabeth Woodville, and returning to claim his kingdom. This pretender sounds like Edward V and, if the Simnel story is invented, then the pretender could be genuine.[154] This line of argument, however, could lead to overstatement. If Lambert Simnel was not the king from Dublin but a government impostor, one cannot assume that the king was necessarily Edward V. The pretender could have been another genuine candidate, such as Warwick, although from the difficulties over the claims of the chroniclers' candidates, this seems unlikely. Claims for candidates other than Edward V would need to explain the persistent accounts of the pretender being aged around fifteen, which fits the deposed monarch. If these accounts can be ignored, the identity of the king remains insoluble.[155]

Erring on the side of caution, then, one could say that it is possible rather than certain that the pretender in the Simnel rebellion was Edward V. The deposed monarch's candidature provides a neat solution to the pretender's identity, but nevertheless it raises a controversial complication. For if the Simnel pretender were really Edward V and the Warbeck pretender were really Richard, duke of York, then the sons of Edward IV would have survived Richard III to challenge Henry VII. Doubt would thus be cast on the traditional belief of the murder of the little princes in the Tower and the impostures of Simnel and Warbeck.[156] The need for this belief to justify his crown would be a powerful motive for Henry VII to make accusations of imposture, but the accusations were not necessarily true. Ideally the pantomime names of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck should be avoided by historians if possible, and at present it might be advisable to maintain that the impostures of those bearing these names were alleged rather than proven.[157]

Acknowledgements

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Notes and References

1. Pretenders to the English crown are the subject of J. Potter, *Pretenders*, London 1986, and include Henry VII as the pretender Henry Tudor. 'Pretender' and 'impostor' are often treated as synonymous, but strictly an impostor is someone who assumes another personality with deliberate intent to deceive. A pretender is someone who lays claim to a position, especially a crown, but although the claim may be make-believe, it does not necessarily involve deception, compare *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, under 'Impostor' and 'Pretender' and associated entries. Hence not all pretenders are impostors, and the only impostors meriting their own chapters in Potter's book are Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, both pretenders under Henry VII.
2. The possible identity of Perkin is discussed by A.N. Kincaid in his ed. of Sir George Buck, *The History of King Richard the Third* (1619), Gloucester 1982, pp. 327-29, and by Potter (see n.1), pp. 91-112, among others. The case for 'Perkin Warbeck' actually being Richard, Duke of York, as the alleged impostor claimed he was, has been made by D.M. Kleyn, *Richord of England*, Oxford 1990, but this view is not shared by I. Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy 1491-1499*, Stroud 1994.
3. *The Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *DNB*), under 'Simnel, Lambert, fl. 1487-1525' (A.F. Pollard). The names of Lambert and his teacher Simons are variously spelt.
4. F. Bacon, *The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, ed. R. Lockyer, London 1971 (hereafter Bacon), pp. 53-70.
5. P. Vergil, *The Anglica Historia A.D. 1485-1537*, ed with trans. D. Hay, London 1950 (hereafter Vergil). This gives the earliest Latin text and English translation on facing pages. For the 1487 rebellion (pp. 12-27) the text is a transcription of Vergil's manuscript of 1512-13, and the passages different from this in the printed editions at Basle 1534, 1546, and 1555 are given in footnotes. Vergil's account formed the basis of those of Hall, Holinshed, Bacon, and most modern writers, M. Bennett, Lambert Simnel and the battle of Stoke, Gloucester 1987 (hereafter Bennett), p. 11.

6. B. André, *De Vita atque Gestis Henrici Septimi Historia*, in J. Gairdner, *Memorials of King Henry the Seventh*, London 1858, pp. 1-75 (hereafter André). André's account of the 1487 insurrection, pp. 49-52.
7. J. Molinet, *Chroniques de Jean Molinet (1474-1506)*, ed G. Doutrepoint et O. Jodogne, 3 vols, Brussels 1935-37, vol. 1, pp.562-65 (hereafter Molinet).
8. W. Busch, *England under the Tudors: King Henry VII 1485-1509*, New York 1895 (hereafter Busch), followed Vergil and regarded him as occupying the first rank among authorities, p.395. Busch's classic standing is acknowledged by modern historians, e.g. S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII, London* 1972, rep. 1977 (hereafter Chrimes), pp. xi-xii, and compare Bennett, p. 141, n.4 General histories add little or nothing to his account of the 1487 rebellion, thereby enhancing Vergil's pre-eminence.
9. *DNB* under Simnel; M.T. Hayden, 'Lambert Simnel in Ireland', *Studies: an Irish Quarterly Review*, vol.4 (1915), pp.622-38 (hereafter Hayden). Five quinquenary publications were reviewed by D. Baldwin, *The Ricardian*, vol.8 (1988-90), pp. 26-28, including Bennett. An appendix of key sources, Bennett, pp. 121- 38.
10. Bennett, pp.43-50. *DNB* under Simnel. B. Williams, 'Lambert Simnel's rebellion: how reliable is Polydore Vergil?' *The Ricardian*, vol. 6 (1982-84), pp. 1.18-23 (hereafter Williams).
11. G. W., 'Richard, Duke of York, and Perkin Warbeck', *Notes and Queries*, vol. 168 (1935), pp. 309-11. Williams, pp. 120-21. Bennett, p. 48. I. Wigram, 'Richard III and the Princes by A .J. Pollard: review and comments', *The Ricardian*, vol. 9 (1991-93), p. 217.
12. York was originally thought to have been born in 1472, e.g. according to *DNB* under 'Richard, Duke of York (1472-1483)' (J. Gairdner). 17 August 1473 is given in *The Complete Peerage*. . ., by G.E.C., new ed. V. Gibbs, London 1910-59 (hereafter *CP*), vol. 12, pt. 2, pp. 910-13 under 'York'.
13. *DNB* under 'Edward, Earl of Warwick (1475-1499)' (J. Gairdner) gives the earl's date of birth as 21 February, but *Complete Peerage* has 21 or 25 February. Edward IV is said to have styled the boy as earl of Warwick at his baptism, but the earliest reference to his title seems to be on 27 August 1479, after his father's death, *CP*, vol.12, pt.2, pp. 394-97, under 'Warwick'.
14. Clarence's treason is described in P.M. Kendall, *Richard the Third*, London 1955 (hereafter Kendall), pp. 121-27, and especially in M. Hicks, *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence: George, Duke of Clarence 1449-78*, rev. ed., Gloucester 1992, pp. 114-54. Clarence was alleged to have tried unsuccessfully to suborn the abbot of Tewkesbury and Roger Harwell to substitute a strange child for Warwick, while John Taylor escaped with the real heir, *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ed., J. Strachey, 6 vols, London 1767-83 (hereafter *RP*), vol. 6, p. 194. Taylor was later associated with the Warbeck conspiracy, Arthurson (see n. 2), *passim*.
15. On the Mowbray marriage, see *CP* vol. 9, p. 610, under 'Norfolk'; vol. 12, pt. 2, pp. 910-13 under 'York'; see also A. Crawford, 'The Mowbray inheritance', *The Ricardian*, vol.5 (1979-81), pp. 334-40. Edward IV's brother Gloucester was said to have blamed the Woodvilles for the execution of Clarence, Kendall, p. 454. Their possible suspicion that Clarence could have heard of the rumour of the invalidity of Edward IV's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville may have sealed the duke's fate, *ibid.*, pp. 216-18.
16. Bacon, p. 55; compare n.13 above. Clarence's son, Warwick, could not inherit his father's title because of his father's attainder, but the title of Warwick came through his mother Isabel and her marriage to Clarence, *CP*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p.394. It might be argued that

young Edward did not fully become earl until the death of his maternal grandmother Anne, Countess of Warwick, shortly before 20 September 1492 (p. 396), since in 1450 the earldom was granted to the widow in the event of the earl's death, and the Kingmaker never seems to have been formally attainted (p.392). Nevertheless in official documents the boy is called the earl of Warwick, e.g. W. Campbell, *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII*, London 1877, vol. 2, pp. 37, 40, 59, 65-66, 130, 133, 161, 186-87, 189, 248. *DNB* under Warwick surmised Warwick's care under Gloucester after Clarence's death, perhaps from Gloucester's later protection of the boy when Richard III, but the lucrative wardship of Warwick went to Dorset, *CPR* 1476-85, pp.212, 283-84. The wardship obviously ended as a result of Dorset's involvement in the plot against Richard in June 1483, and the restoration of Dorset's rights and properties in November 1485 specifically excluded the wardship of Warwick, *RP*, vol.6, p. 316. I am grateful to Carolyn Hammond for finding this reference.

17. On Gloucester's assumption of the crown and his claim, compare Kendall, p. 222 and nn., to C. Ross, *Richard III*, London 1981 (hereafter Ross), pp. 89-93. On the illegitimacy of Edward IV's children, alleged by Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, see Kendall, pp. 219 and nn.; see also A. Williamson, *The Mystery of the Princes*, 2nd ed., Gloucester 1981, pp. 53-61 and nn., and A.J. Pollard, *Richard III and the Princes in the Tower*, Stroud 1991, pp. 99-101 and nn. On Clarence's possible knowledge of the invalid marriage, see n.15 above. Richard III's *titulus regius* was confirmed by the parliament of January 1484, *RP*, vol. 6, pp. 240-42.
18. Kendall, pp. 290-91. There is no conclusive documentary evidence that Richard III made Lincoln his heir, but Lincoln's appointment as lieutenant in Ireland seems to indicate this.
19. Bacon, p. 55; compare n. 13 above. The favourable evidence for Richard III's treatment of Warwick is summarized in A. O. Legge, *The Unpopular King: the Life and Times of Richard III*, London 1885, vol. 2, pp. 188-89, 257. Warwick went to Sheriff Hutton shortly after Richard III had invested his son as prince of Wales on 8 September, 1483. The castle was convenient for the Council of the North, which met at or near Sheriff Hutton, and Warwick had become a member of the Council before 13 May 1485, along with Richard's heir Lincoln, *CP* under Warwick; Kendall, pp. 313, 407-08; Kincaid (see n.2), p. 310.
20. The evidence about the murder of the princes remains inconclusive, see e.g. Williamson (n.11 above), and A. J. Pollard (n. 17); earlier discussion in Kendall, pp. 393-418, 495-98, and Ross, pp. 96-104, 233-34. The favoured date for the murder is August 1483, but the killing of Edward V (and presumably of Richard, Duke of York) in June is recorded in the Anlaby Cartulary, C.F. Richmond, 'The death of Edward V', *Northern History*, vol. 25 (1989), pp. 278-80; also in a king list in the Middleton Collection at Nottingham University, P. Morgan, 'The death of Edward V and the rebellion of 1483', *Historical Research*, vol. 68 (1995), pp. 229-32. For criticism of Richmond's paper, see J. A. F. Thomson, 'The death of Edward V: Dr Richmond's dating reconsidered', *Northern History*, vol. 26 (1990), pp. 207-11; M. Hicks, 'Did Edward V outlive his reign or did he outreign his life?', *The Ricardian*, vol.8 (1988-90), pp. 342-45; S. J. Gunn, 'Early Tudor dates for the death of Edward V', *Northern History*, vol. 28 (1992), pp. 213-16. Only Vergil logically linked the murder to the rumours of it by saying that Richard III had the princes executed, and then encouraged rumours of their slaughter to reconcile the people to his rule, H. Ellis, ed., *Three books of Polydore Vergil's English history*, London 1844, pp.188-89. The rumours, however, seem to derive from Richard's enemies. Commynes may have relied on hearsay from the court of the exiled

Henry Tudor, Kendall, p. 421. Henry's ally John Morton, then bishop of Ely, was active in Flanders, and could be the source for Molinet, see C. Weightman, *Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503*, Gloucester 1989, p. 145; also for Adrien de But, *Chroniques relatives à l'Histoire de la Belgique sous la Domination des Ducs de Bourgogne*: [tome I]: *Chroniques des Religieux des Dunes*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels 1870, p. 596. No contemporary rumour matches the detail of the traditional story of the princes' murder by Sir James Tyrell on Richard III's orders told by Sir Thomas More, see e.g. Kendall, pp. 398-403.

21. On the *rapprochement* and Dorset's attempted escape as evidence of the murder by Buckingham, see esp. Kendall, p. 411-15, but compare Ross, pp. lii, 198, 208 n. 43. The same evidence might be used, however, to support the survival of the princes, see Williamson (see n.17), pp. 121-33. A pact for their survival need be known only to a few: Richard III and his heir Lincoln on one side, Elizabeth Woodville and perhaps her son Dorset on the other. For Henry Tudor to succeed in bolstering his weak claim to the throne by marrying Elizabeth of York, her brothers would have to be dead in fact or by rumour, compare n. 20 above; Williamson, p. 195. Other rumours suggested that the boys were still alive. Elizabeth Woodville never claimed her sons were dead, J. Leslau, 'The Princes in the Tower', *Moreana*, vol. 25 (1988), p. 19. Her will of 1492, shortly before she died, contains no reference to the boys as such, Kendall, p. 495 n 4; Williamson, p. 165.
22. Williams, p. 120; Vergil, pp. 2-3. Chrimes, p. 51, stated that Elizabeth of York was taken from the Tower of London; the passage in Vergil is ambiguous, but the girl being brought to her mother in London' favours her being at Sheriff Hutton, as in e.g. Bennett, p.31. Vergil's statements seem at variance with evidence that Henry VII's mother Margaret, Countess of Richmond, had the keeping of the daughters of Edward IV, the young duke of Buckingham, and the earls of Warwick and Westmoreland, Campbell (see n. 16), vol.1, p. 311. It has been suggested that the countess may have resided in the Tower, Legge (see n. 29), pp. 257-58; alternatively, Warwick could have been taken from her charge and put in the Tower later, M. K. Jones and M. G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby*, Cambridge 1992, pp. 66-67, 74-75.
23. Chrimes, p.66. All copies of the 1484 confirmation of Richard III's *titulus regius* (see n. 17 above) were ordered to be seized and burnt, perhaps because its allegations were true, Kendall, pp 475-77. On the possibility of legitimizing Edward's children under Richard III, see Williamson (see n. 17), p. 129. The *titulus* invalidated Elizabeth of York's claim to the throne, and Henry VII's were of questionable legitimacy, see Bennett, p. 30.
24. For a general description, see Chrimes, pp. 330-31, app. D. The dispensation for the marriage dated 2 March 1486 described Elizabeth of York as 'the eldest daughter and undoubted heiress of the late Edward IV', which implied that her brothers Edward V and York were regarded as dead, and the confirmation of the dispensation on 27 March forbade absolutely disputes over the succession, Calendar of Papal Registers, vol. 14, Papal Letters 1484-1492, ed. J.A. Twemlow, London 1960, pp. 1-2. Henry VII received considerable support from the papacy early in his reign, see C. S. L. Davies, 'Bishop John Morton, the Holy See, and the accession of Henry VII', *English Historical Review*, vol. 112 (1987), pp. 2-30.
25. Bennett, pp. 27-32. Henry is often regarded as minimizing the claims of his wife, e.g. D. MacGibbon, Elizabeth Woodville 1437-1493, London 1938, p. 89; *CP*, vol. 3, p. 441 n. a; Calendar of Papal Registers (see n. 24), vol. 14, p. 2; but compare Davies

- (see n. 24), p. 28. Bacon, p. 55, intimated that because of Henry's treatment of her daughter, Elizabeth Woodville instigated the Simnel imposture. Elizabeth of York was not crowned until November 1487, after the Irish rebellion, Bennett, pp. 08-09, 113. As late as Lent 1488 the loyal city of Waterford validated Henry VII's title by citing precedents for the descent of kingdoms through females, Bennett, pp. 126-27.
26. *Crudesciente iterum filiorum Eduardi regis diro funere*: 'The issue of the cruel death of the sons of King Edward flaring up again', André, p. 49, trans. by Bennett, p. 132. The notion of the boys' survival (see n. 21 above) was not, of course, shared by André.
 27. Hayden, p. 638; Bennett, p. 13. The confusion is apparently supported by *Pierquini confessio* (Perkin's confession) written in the margin of André's account of the 1487 rebellion, André, p. 520. This annotation was regarded as evidence for his theory by G. W., see n. II above. André's description of the Perkin rebellion is extensive (pp. 65-75), and this marginal insertion is almost certainly a mistake. I am grateful to my colleague Mrs Marion Morrison for pointing out the ultimate confusion between Lambert and Perkin in W. C. Sellar and R. J. Yeatman, 1066 And All That, London 1930, ch. 30, also quoted in full by Arthurson (see n. 2 above), p. vii.
 28. Bacon, p. 54: 'And all this time it was still whispered every where that at least one of the children of Edward the Fourth was living, which bruit [rumour] was cunningly formented by such as desired innovation'. The children mentioned were of course Edward's sons and not his daughters, since the girls survived.
 29. Vergil p. 13 n.: quod in uulgo essent, qui suspicarentur filios Edouardi regis aliquo terrarum secreto migrasse: (the fact that among the people there were those who suspected that the sons of king Edward had migrated secretly to some other country). Vergil then related the rumour that Warwick was, or shortly would be, put to death. The rumours about Warwick and Edward IV's sons Vergil considered were wholly idle.
 30. Bennett, p. 42. On the other hand, Hayden, p. 625, noted that the time available to prepare for the imposture of Warwick 'must have been very short, as the plot cannot have been thought of till after Bosworth'. Consequently Simons and Simnel did not arrive in Dublin until 'some time early in the year 1487' (ibid., p. 626), which seems too late.
 31. *quemdam vulgo natum, puerum, sive pistoris, sive sutoris, filium Eduardi Quarti scelerata mente jactaverunt*: 'they maliciously put up a certain boy, lowly born, the son of either a baker or a shoemaker, as the son of Edward IV', André, p. 49, trans. by Bennett, p. 132. Hayden, p. 624, said that the pretender was the son of an actor or a cobbler, perhaps misreading *histrionis* for the *pistoris* of André.
 32. Molinet, p. 562, trans. by Bennett, p. 130. The passage seems to imply that Edward was still alive when the author wrote, but the statement that Edward 'had come on splendidly among the fertile and aristocratic shrubs of Ireland' could be interpreted as sarcasm; was Molinet 'writing a little tongue in cheek', Bennett, p. 145 n. 9?
 33. *Eduardi secundum filium in Hibernia regem coronatum fama retulit*: 'the report went out that Edward's second son was crowned king in Ireland', André, p. 50, trans. by Bennett, p. 132. Busch, p. 395.
 34. André, p. 50, trans. by Bennett, p. 132. The position of the herald's visit in André's narrative suggests that the event happened before the end of 1486, when the Council of Sheen was called.
 35. Bacon could have roughly squared the ages of Warwick (supposedly ten in 1483, p. 55) with that of his impersonator Lambert Simnel ('of the age of some fifteen years', p. 54)

- if the impostor was fifteen in 1487 or thereabouts as A. F. Pollard suggested, *DNB* under Simnel. Warwick's age would still, of course, have been incorrect.
36. Bacon, p.54; compare nn. 22 and 34. Molinet, p. 562, has *quant il a esté parcreu, flourit et eslevé en force*: 'when he was full grown, in the flower of manhood, and raised up in force', trans. by Bennett, p. 130. Williams, p. 120. Edward V was born 2 (or possibly 3) November 1470, *DNB* under 'Edward V (1470-1473)' (J. G. Gardiner); *CP*,
 - Vol. 3, p. 441, under 'Cornwall'. This agreement on the age of the Dublin pretender by Molinet, André and Vergil (with Bacon) is reflected in the fifteen-year old claimant of later sources.
 37. On the coronation André merely wrote that the rumour went out (*fama retulit*, p. 50), which is not necessarily the same as saying that the conspirators spread it.
 38. Vergil, pp. 12-28; Bacon, pp. 49-67.
 39. Vergil, pp. 12-13; Bacon, p. 54, agreeing with André's *pistoris*. see n. 31 above. Vergil nowhere mentions the impostor's father nor the father's occupation.
 40. 'It came into this priest's [Simons's] fancy ... to cause this lad to counterfeit and personate the second son of Edward the Fourth, supposed to be murdered; and afterward - for he changed his intention in the manage - the Lord Edward Plantagenet, then prisoner in the Tower', Bacon, p. 54.
 41. Vergil, pp. 14-15. Later printed editions add that both Lambert and the 'duke of Clarence's son' were of the same age, but not at that point how old the boys were, p. 14 n. The departure to Ireland happened after a rumour that Warwick had been murdered became widespread.
 42. Vergil, pp. 12-13 claimed that Simons trained Lambert to deceive, but wrote later in his narrative that both Margaret of Burgundy (pp. 16-17) and the Irish (pp. 20-21) knew that the boy was an impostor. André seems to have thought the pretender was believed to be genuine, see n. 34 above.
 43. The lack of investigation of the princes' death by Henry VII is considered a factor in favour of the innocence of Richard III, R. Drewett and M. Redhead, *The trial of Richard III*, Gloucester 1984, p. 160; Kendall, p. 409. On the murder of Warwick, see Vergil, pp. 12-13.
 44. Even if Warwick had actually been murdered, Henry VII could have announced that he had died naturally (as Edward IV had done with Henry VI), or produced a substitute. If Warwick had escaped, he could have been recaptured, or made an unexpected appearance. The choice of Warwick for impersonation rather than the sons of Edward IV would therefore have been an inept one, especially if Henry VII really did hold Warwick. Bacon, pp. 53-54, compared the rumour of the murder of Warwick unfavourably with that of the little princes, see n. 20 above. According to Adrien de But (see n. 20), p. 665, the son of the duke of Clarence was seen in Ireland shortly after Henry VII's accession, presumably in late 1485 or 1486. This would suggest that he had not been captured at Sheriff Hutton (see n. 22 above), or had escaped very early on. Rumours of Warwick's escape were heard at the time of Stafford's rebellion in April-May 1486, see C. H. Williams, 'The Rebellion of Humphrey Stafford in 1486', *English Historical Review*, vol. 43 (1928), pp. 181-89, esp. P. 183. For a possible chronology, see Bennett, pp. 49-50.
 45. In his first version, Vergil called Simons *praesbyter uili genere natus*: a priest born from low people, Vergil, p. 12 line 19; hence Hay's translation 'Towborn'. In later editions Simons is presbyter, *homo sordido loco natus*: a priest, a man born of base rank, p. 12 n. At his coronation, Lambert is described as *Lambertum puerum sordido*

- genere ortum*: 'the lad Lambert, of ignoble origin', p. 20 line 23, trans.p. 21 line 25. Bacon, p. 54, strongly questioned the possibility of the priest's instruction, especially as Simons did not know the real Warwick.
46. Hayden, p. 625. The Book of Howth in Calendar of the Carew Papers preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, ed. J.S. Brewer and W. Bullen, London 1871, vol. 5, p. 188: Simons 'craftily feigned King E. 4's two sons was [sic] away fled, and thought to feign this scholar [Lambert] to be one. This crafty and subtle priest brought up his scholar with princely behaviour and manners, literature, declaring to this child, what lineage he was of and progeny'; see also Bennett, p. 42.
 47. Vergil, pp.16-17. Although the various conspirators are perceived to have intrigued separately and become one conspiracy later on, this perception does not rule out the more probable unity of the movement from the beginning, Busch, p. 326.
 48. Bacon, p.54.1. Wigram (see n. 11), p.217, thought it 'inconceivable' that Elizabeth Woodville 'would support the claim of Clarence's son'.
 49. Williams, pp. 120-21. In his earliest account of the seizure of the boy at Sheriff Hutton, Vergil described the captive as the earl of Warwick (see n. 22 above); elsewhere the boy is not called Warwick but merely the duke of Clarence's son. I am grateful to Mrs Diana Kleyn for the suggestion that a fifteen-year-old son of Clarence could have been a bastard, which is interesting in view of the later printed description of the captive, which omitted that he was the sole surviving son, Vergil, p. 2 n. Hicks (see n. 14), p. 114, has found no evidence, however, that Clarence was unfaithful to his wife.
 50. *The Plumpton Correspondence*, ed. T. Stapleton, London 1839, pp. 53-54 (letter 15): 'Also here is but litle spech of the erle of Warwyk now, but after chistenmas, they say ther wylbe more spech of.' Chrimes, pp. 75-76 n. 1, judged that this remark was 'too vague to build any theories upon', but the government use of Warwick in the new year 1487 (e.g. at Sheen in February) is probably a safe inference.
 51. Writs of summons for the convocations of Canterbury and York to meet in February 1487 were issued on 16 December 1486 according to Campbell (see n. 16), vol. 2, pp. 77-78. The bishop of London's certificate of 12 February 1487, however, dated the royal writ as 16 November, C. Harper-Bill, ed., *The Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury 1486-1500*, vol. 1, York 1987, p. 24, item 86. Presumably writs to individual members of the king's council were also issued in November and December 1486.
 52. Vergil, pp. 14-19.
 53. Vergil p. 14 lines 16-20 (Latin) = p. 15 lines 20-25 (English).
 54. J. M. Williams, 'The Political Career of Francis Viscount Lovell (1456-?)', *The Ricardian*, vol. 8 (1988-90), pp.382-402; S. O'Connor, 'Francis Lovel and the Rebels of Furness Fells', *The Ricardian*, vol. 7 (1985- 87), pp. 366-70.
 55. Bennett, p. 121, translating D. Wilkins, ed., *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hibemiae* A.D. 466-1718, 4 vols, London 1737, vol. 3, p. 618. Wilkins's text has been corrected in places by A. F. Pollard, *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources*, 3 vols, London 1913-14, vol.3, p. 247; also translated and annotated, Harper-Bill (see n. 51), Vol. 1, p. 25, item 89.
 56. Vergil, pp.18-19. The convocation of Canterbury met on 13 February 1487 at St Paul's Cathedral in London, where Warwick was also shown, compare nn. 50 and 51 above.
 57. Bennett pp.53-54; see also D. A. Luckett, 'The Thames Valley conspiracies against Henry VII', *Historical Research*, vol. 68 (1995), pp. 164-72.

58. Bennett, p. 51, Vergil, pp. 18-19.
59. Bennett noted that February 1487 was certainly a convenient time for a key figure like Simons to fall into the hands of the English government, p. 44. Nevertheless Henry VII oddly failed to discover much about the plot, or the government was unwilling to divulge a satisfactory account of the conspiracy, which suggests that Simons was not an important conspirator, pp. 48-49. The government seemed to behave as if it did not know who the pretender was, but pretended it did, p. 44. Simons was probably 'a minor figure or even a government stooge', p. 50.
60. Bacon, p. 55. Bennett examined points both for and against the boy at St Paul's being Warwick, pp. 43-44, and the involvement of Lincoln in the conspiracy, p. 51. Both Lincoln and Warwick were members of Richard III's Council of the North, and perhaps both resident therefore at Sheriff Hutton, see n. 19 above.
61. Williams, p. 121; R. Firth Green 'Historical notes of a London citizen', *English Historical Review*, vol. 96 (1981), p. 589, where 'the duke of Clarence son and the other child that was in Erleland' were shown at St Paul's in London on 8 July 1487.
62. Williams, p. 120. Lincoln fled to Flanders 'noysing in that Countrey, that thErle of Warwik shulde be in Irelande, whiche himselfe knew, and daily spake with him at Shene afor his Departing', J. Leland, *De rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, 2nd ed., London 1770, vol. 4, p. 209. If true, Lincoln and Warwick would have been at Sheen before the council meeting of February 1487. This would rule out an escape in the reign of Edward IV, compare n.14 above, and Vergil's perpetual imprisonment of the boy in the Tower after Bosworth, nn. 22 and 43 above. Rumours of Warwick's escape date back to the summer of 1486, see n. 44 above, which seems too early and is contradicted by Betanson's letter, see n. 50 above. Lincoln's statement, however, was made by Henry VII's herald and therefore a hostile source, whose intelligence about rumours in Flanders may have been surmise. The statement could have been a government rumour to make Lincoln's defection to pseudo-Warwick appear more plausible.
63. Williams, p. 120. It seems hardly likely that Margaret and Lincoln would only have discovered the discrepancy in age after they had committed themselves to the conspiracy.
64. After his arrest for his part in the Hastings conspiracy of June 1483, the university of Oxford interceded for the release of Morton, then bishop of Ely, D. Mancini, *The Usurpation of Richard III*, ed. C. A. J. Armstrong, Gloucester 1984, p. 126 n. 82. Morton was elected chancellor of the university early in 1495, *DNB* under 'Morton, John'.
65. Bennett p. 43. Wigram (see n. 11), p. 217, has recently pointed out that 'it was not known for certain who the boy in Ireland was claiming to be'.
66. See nn. 17 and 23 above, but see also S. B. Chrimes, *English constitutional ideas in the fifteenth century*, Cambridge 1936, p. 266 n. 4.
67. Vergil, pp. 16-17; and compare n. 21 above.
68. The idea of Elizabeth Woodville's voluntary retirement is found in e.g. MacGibbon (see n. 25), pp. 191-93. It is favoured by some traditionalists, e.g. Chrimes, p. 76 n. 3, but by no means all; the idea is not found in e.g. J. D. Mackie, *The Early Tudors*, Oxford 1952. Busch, p. 327, noted that the idea ran contrary to the very precise old account, and hinted that her punishment was for trying to change sides again, pp. 35-36.
69. Kendall, p. 495.

70. Campbell (see n. 16), vol. 2, pp. 148-49, transcribed the deprivation of 1 May 1487, and took Bacon to task for insinuating that Henry VII benefited from the confiscation (p. xxi; and see Bacon, p. 60), whereas the beneficiary was his wife Elizabeth of York (Campbell, p. 142). The only property which Elizabeth Woodville had was apparently granted to her by Henry in satisfaction of her dower, MacGibbon (see n. 25), p. 190. The grant of 10 March 1488 to the 'right dere and right welbeloved Quene Elizabeth, late wif vnto the noble prince of famous memory King Edward the IIIIth, and moder vnto oure derrest wif the quene', Campbell (see n. 16), p. 273, and compare also p. 555; this sounds unctuous rather than sincere. For other grants, see pp. 225, 319-20, and 322.
 71. Legge (see n. 19), p. 51, suggested that Henry's treatment of the ex-queen 'disclosed his apprehensions that one of her sons was still living'; see n. 21 above, and MacGibbon (see n. 25), p. 194 n. 3.
 72. The treaty was not fulfilled because of the murder of James III after his defeat at the battle of Sauchieburn in June 1488, MacGibbon (see n. 25), p. 194 and n. 2.
 73. Vergil, pp. 20-21 n.
 74. Kendall, pp. 413-15, argued forcefully that the conduct of Elizabeth Woodville and Dorset in 1484 and 1487 was evidence of the guilt of Buckingham, Henry Tudor's co-conspirator of 1483, but it could be seen as evidence that the sons of Edward IV survived, compare n. 21 above. I. Wigram (see n. 11), pp. 216-17, has also linked the survival of
- at least one of the sons with the belief of Elizabeth and Dorset that the Irish pretender was one of them.
75. Bennett, pp. 54-55, where he canvassed a possible link with the future alleged impostor Perkin Warbeck and Perkin's master Sir Edward Brampton, see n. 2 above; also Bennett p. 51, and p. 145 n. 23. Such early support for Perkin as Warwick could explain alleged sightings of the earl on the continent and in the Channel Islands, see n. 44 above; but compare the rumours in nn. 62-64. On the timing of the conspiracy, see n. 30 above.
 76. 'And since she held it for certain that he [the pretender] was the issue of Edward himself, the Lady Margaret, widow of Charles the most famous duke of Burgundy and Edward's sister, sent letters calling him to her; and he secretly slipping away, with a few accomplices in such a great treachery, speedily set out towards her' André, p. 50, trans. by Bennett, p. 132. There is no extant record of a son of Edward IV as such in the Low Countries at this time, but C. Weightman (see n. 20), pp. 158-59 has discussed an intriguing record of July 1486 of a gift of wine to the sone van Claretie uit Ingelant ('the son of Clarence from England'), which looks like André's visit of the pretender but as Warwick. Margaret did not mention any king Edward VI in Dublin, however, the 1487 expenditure referring only to support for Lovell and Lincoln, Weightman, p. 160. The existence of three Warwicks (in London, Dublin, and the Low Countries) is very unlikely; perhaps references to a son of Clarence rather than to Warwick indicate a royal bastard, compare n. 49, but see n. 75 above.
 77. le duc de Clarence, Molinet, p. 563: 'the duke of Clarence (recte his son)', Bennett, p. 130. Molinet failed to realise that Warwick, whom he did not name as such, could not become Clarence because of his father's attainder, see n. 16 above.
 78. Vergil, pp. 20-21. Molinet's account is perhaps somewhat exaggerated. In his letter to the pope, Henry VII implored censure against two archbishops (Dublin and Arnagh) and only two bishops (Meath and Kildare), *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, ed. J. Gairdner, 2 vols., London 1861-63 (hereafter LP),

- vol. 1, pp. 94-96, trans. A. F. Pollard (see n. 55), vol. 3, pp. 156-57. The pope ordered an enquiry into the activities of these four prelates, dated 5 January 1488, Calendar of Papal Registers (see n. 24), vol. 14, pp. 30708. The list of pardons for the 1487 insurrection, issued on 25 May 1488, is headed by the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and the bishops of Cloyne, Meath and Derry, besides six abbots and three priors, Campbell (see n. 16), vol. 2, pp. 315-17. Octavian de Palatio, Archbishop of Arnnagh, later declared he had opposed the coronation, Hayden, pp. 626-27; Bennett, p. 66. Hayden, pp. 634-37, showed from list of rebels that nearly all the support came from the Anglo-Irish, and virtually none from the native Irish; the Irish in the rebel army were therefore mercenaries. She suggested that Kildare 'can scarcely have really believed in the false prince' (p.626), but Donough Bryan, Gerald FitzGerald, the great Earl of Kildare (1456-1513), Dublin and Cork 1933, pp. 100-05, maintained that the earl believed that the Irish pretender was genuine. The Irish chancellor Thomas FitzGerald was an enthusiastic supporter, and was to fall at Stoke. The FitzGerald's rivals the Butlers, led by the earl of Ormond, remained aloof, Bryan, p. 106. In contrast to the Irish, the pretender was to gather no noble support in England, except possibly Bodrigan, who had already foiled a warrant for his arrest dated 8 February (compare the date of Sheen); his involvement is questionable, A. L. Rowse, 'The turbulent career of Sir Henry de Bodrigan', History, vol. 29 (1944), p. 26, but compare Bennett, pp. 64, 147 n. 20.
79. The landing at Furness is found in Molinet, p.563, Vergil, pp. 20-21, and RP, vol. 6. P. 397. Bennett, pp. 70-75, has reconstructed the probable route of the rebel army from its landfall on 4 June into Yorkshire.
80. André's narrative, p. 50, trans. Bennett, p. 132, seems to suggest the rebels landed in the northeast, not the northwest. His description of the pretender (*...nebulonum ille regulus in Hibernia ut ante dixi coronatus misellus*, p. 52, trans. Bennett, p. 133) apparently confused the rumour of the coronation with the later reality, see n. 33 above.
81. Vergil, p. 22 lines 23-24: *se uenisse ad restituendum in regnum Edwardum puerum nuper in Hybemia coronatum*. *Restituere* means 'to put back, replace, restore; to reinstate, re-establish; to repair, make good'. The verb is found earlier in *pro restituendo puero in regnum* (p. 141lines 12-13: 'to restore the boy to the throne', p. 15 line 17), and was more appropriate to Edward V, who had lost the throne to Richard III rather than to Warwick, who had still to gain the crown. Also marginally more favourable to Edward V is the remark about Ireland as 'that land, where (so he [Simons] had heard) the name and family of King Edward were always cherished'; p. 15.
82. For the pretender's letter see A. Raine, ed., *York City Records*, York 1941, vol. 2, pp. 20-21; Bennett, pp. 120-21; L. C. Attreed *The York House Books 1461-1490*, 2 vols, Stroud 1991, vol. 2, p. 570. Raine's 'Edward V' is a mistranscription of 'Edward VI', Bennett, p. 141 n. 5. The assault on the gates is described in the city's accounts of the Stoke campaign, Raine, pp. 22-24; Bennett, pp. 123-24; Attreed, *York House Books*, pp. 571- 73. On the Scropes, see L. C. Attreed, 'An Indenture between Richard Duke of Gloucester and the Scrope Family of Masham and Upsall', *Speculum*, vol. 58 (1983), pp. 1018-24, and P. S. Routh, "'Lady Scroop Daughter of K. Edward": an Enquiry', *The Ricardian*, vol. 9 (1993), pp. 410-16. The second wife of Scrope of Bolton was godmother to Edward V, Attreed, 'Indenture', p. 1023 n. 33. The deposed monarch's sister Cecily married Ralph, younger brother of Scrope of Masham but the marriage was dissolved in 1486, Routh, pp. 411-12. Full pardon was granted to both the Lords Scrope in 1489, Attreed, 'Indenture', p. 1024. The accusation that York declared for the rebels is not supported by the city's house books but these records were written

after the rebellion had failed, Molinet, p. 563; Bennett, p. 148 n. 29. From the excuse that the Lords Scrope had been constrained by their followers, which could have been used after the Scropes were captured, the city records may not have been made for quite a few weeks. The appellation 'Edward VI' was therefore almost certainly post-Stoke, and perhaps much later. The ransacking of the London houses of Henry VII's supporters is corroborated by the king's letter to the pope (see n.78 above). The cry of the ransackers 'Vive Werwic au roy Edowart!' ('Long live Warwick. To King Edward'), would seem to imply they recognised the rebel king as Warwick, Molinet, pp. 563-64; Bennett, p. 131. This recognition, however, could have been based on a rumour which was false like that of Henry's defeat.

83. Henry VII issued a proclamation against 'feigned, contrived, and forged tidings and tales' without specifying their subject; see LP, vol. 2, pp. 288-89 (where a note says that the original was headed *Anno Secundo Henrici Septimi*, 1486, but from the regnal year could presumably be before August 1487) or A. F. Pollard (see n. 55), vol. 2, p. 110. Problems amongst the king's army before the battle mentioned in his herald's report given by Leland (see n. 62), vol. 4, p. 213, modernised by Bennett, p. 128, are: 1. 'which evening were taken certain spies, which noised in the country that the king had fled. And some were hanged on the ash at Nottingham bridge end'; 2. 'And that evening there was a great scry [tumult], at which scry there fled many men'; 3. 'That evening there was a great scry, which caused many cowards to flee'.
84. Many of the details of the Stoke campaign are unclear, see, for example, Bennett, pp. 68-103, and the books reviewed by Baldwin (see n. 9), but they have been omitted since they have no bearing on the pretender's identity.
85. Our three earlier chroniclers mentioned the deaths of Lincoln and Schwartz, Vergil, pp. 24-25; Molinet, p. 564, trans. Bennett, p. 131; André, p. 52, trans. Bennett, p. 133. Bacon, p. 67, noted those of Lincoln, Kildare (really his brother Thomas FitzGerald), Lovell, Schwartz and Broughton, but reported that Lovell may have escaped. On the fate of Lovell and Broughton, O'Connor (see n. 54), pp. 368-69; J. M. Williams (see n. 54), pp. 396-97; D. Baldwin, 'What happened to Lord Lovel?', *The Ricardian*, vol. 7 (1985-87), pp. 56-65. Some historians, e.g. Kendall, p. 373, have suggested that Lincoln was using the Irish pretender as a stalking horse to gain the throne for himself, and indeed the *Chronicle of Calais* and Kingsford's *Chronicle of London* mention Lincoln but not Lambert Simnel, Pollard (see n. 55), vol. 1, p. 51. The suggestion derives from Vergil, pp. 22-23, and is more persuasive if the Dublin king was an impostor as in Vergil. Barrie Williams, p. 121, has noted, however, that Vergil also has a far-fetched story that Tyrell in murdering the princes (see n. 20 above) was helping Suffolk, Lincoln's brother, so Vergil's suggestion about Lincoln should be considered as surmise.
86. Molinet seems to be corroborated by Vergil's statement that the fleeing rebels were either killed or captured, Molinet, p. 564, trans. Bennett, p. 131; Vergil, pp. 24-25. Adrien de But (see n. 20), p. 674, also wrote that Henry ordered all the Irish to be hanged, *omnes de Yrlandia captivos strangulari mandavit*.
87. The capture is related by Molinet, p. 564 (trans. Bennett, p. 131), André, p. 52, (trans. Bennett, p. 133), Vergil, pp. 24-25, and Bacon, p. 67. See also Leland (see n. 62), vol. 4, p. 214.
88. Molinet, p. 564, trans. Bennett, p. 131. Molinet did not explain how the pretender could have truly been Warwick if the Stoke captive was a fake, a problem avoided by the earl being killed in battle, as in the 1487 entry in L. Visser-Fuchs, 'English events in Caspar Weinreich's Danzig Chronicle 1461-1495', *The Ricardian*, vol. 7 (1985-87), p.

317. This entry also mentions aid from Margaret of Burgundy, and regarded the pretender as being genuinely the son of the duke of Clarence (as in Molinet), and called George (Clarence's name). Adrien de But (see n. 20), pp. 674-75, confusingly related that the son of Clarence was taken from the battlefield when the odds against his army were seen to be heavy, and carried over to Guines by the earl of Suffolk. The chronicler seems to envisage the boy fighting again against Henry VII, pp. 675, 678; his account is contemporary because Adrien died in 1488, *Chroniques Relatives* (see n. 20), p. xvii.
89. The captive 'who having been asked by what effrontery he dared to commit so great a crime, did not deny that he had been forced to it by certain men of his own shameless sort', André, p. 52, trans. Bennett, p. 133. The marginal note Pierquini confessio (see n.27) occurs here. André is the only chronicler specifically to mention such a confession. As he despised the impostor (see n. 80 above), André seems to have made little or no effort, despite his fine language, to check whether what the boy said was true, or indeed whether the confession actually existed; there is none extant. By contrast, despite his substantial account looking as if it was based on one, Polydore Vergil nowhere mentioned a confession.
90. Vergil, pp. 24-25.
91. Bacon, p. 67.
92. Vergil stated (pp. 26-27) that when Henry VII saw the enemy line broken, the king commanded that Lincoln should be spared. If Henry ever gave the order, one wonders why he left it so late (too late?), and whether the frontline troops ever received it ('it is said that the soldiers refused to spare the earl', emphasis supplied). Was the king truly interested in what Lincoln would have to say after capture?
93. 'oone Lambert Symnell, a child of x yere of age, sonne to Thomas Symnell, late of Oxforde Joynoure', RP, vol. 6, p.397. Compare the confession of February 1487, nn. 55 and 59 above.
94. Fitzsimons certainly crowned the Dublin pretender (see n.78 above), and was later taken into favour by Henry VII as Irish lord deputy (1492 and 1503) and lord chancellor (1496 and 1501), see *DNB* under 'Fitzsimons or Fitzsymond, Walter, (d.1511)' (B. H. Blacker). A 'marginal note to a MS of the Book of Howth in Trinity College, Dublin, calls him [Lambert] Simons' son', that is, the illegitimate son of a priest, Hayden, p. 624.
95. For 'Lambert Simnel', see Bennett, p. 47; for 'Simnel', the *DNB*. Simnel cakes were sold in Oxford, Bennett, p. 54; both André and Bacon said that the pretender was the son of a baker. Bacon had probably heard of simnel cakes whereas André as a Frenchman probably had not, but André's apparently unconscious endorsement of the surname would not apply if the pretender's father was a cobbler, see nn. 31 and 39 above.
96. For 'Lambert', see Bennett, p. 47.
97. Bennett, p. 45. For Edward IV's mistress, see N. Barker, 'Jane Shore, part 1: The real Jane Shore', *Etoniana*, no. 125 (1972), pp. 383-91. She was also the mistress of Dorset and Hastings, and most probably involved in their plots against Richard III, Kendall, p. 209.
98. Bennett, p. 47
99. Lambert Simnel was variously described as the son of an organ-builder, joiner, barber, baker, actor or cobbler, Hayden, p. 624; it is small wonder that Mackie called him the 'son of an Oxford tradesman', *De* (see n.68), pp. 68, 69 n.

100. *DNB* under Simnel, where there seems to be some confusion. In his letter to the pope, Henry VII referred to the Stoke captive as *spurium quemdam puerum*. 'a certain spurious lad', *LP*. Vol. 1, p. 95, trans. A. F. Pollard (see n. 55), vol. 3, p. 157, also trans. Bennett, p. 123. In his mandate of 5 January 1488 (see n. 78 above), Pope Innocent VIII described the captive as *quendam puerum de illegitimo thoro natum*, 'a boy of illegitimate birth', Wilkins (see n. 55), vol. 3, p. 623, trans. Calendar of Papal Registers (see n. 24), vol. 14 p. 307. This description could fit the notion that Lambert was a clerical bastard, see n. 94 above. It is just possible, however, that the pope or his officials misinterpreted Henry VII's letter, which implies the Stoke captive was an impostor ('spurious') but not necessarily illegitimate. Since the king's letter mentioned privilege of sanctuary, Henry VII was writing letters to the pope on other matters besides the rebellion, and the captive's illegitimacy could have been discussed there.
101. Besides details about Simnel's age and father, Vergil failed in his manuscript of 1512-13 to use the herald's report of the rebel king's capture, see n. 87 above. The name Lambert Simnel (from the attainder) and the connection of Oxford and Ireland with the plot (from the attainder and Simons's confession) could derive from common report.
102. For Vergil see n. 90 above. For Elizabeth ('Jane') Shore's husband, see A. Sutton, 'William Shore, Merchant of London and Derby', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*. Vol. 106 (1986), pp. 127-39, and for the annulment of their marriage, Barker (see n. 97), pp. 387-88, and Sutton, pp. 130-31.
103. *puero* changed to *adolescentulo* (Vergil, p. 14 line 1), *pueri* to *adolescentis* (line 11), *puerum* to *regium adolescentem* (line 18), and *puer* to *adolescens* (p. 18 line 14). All these changes were made between the editions of 1534 and 1546.
104. The medical definition of adolescence, used by the United States National Library of Medicine in indexing, is, between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. Such a definition would, of course, only be a rough guide to the use of 'adolescent' by non-medical writers.
105. *DNB* under Simnel; compare Vergil's amendment, n. 41 above.
106. Bacon, p. 67; *DNB* under Simnel; Vergil, pp. 24-25. Vergil made no further correction to indicate Lambert's death, so strictly interpreted Lambert could only be said to be still alive when the chronicler completed his manuscript in 1512-13. Hay dates Vergil's revised draft for the first printed edition of *Anglica Historia* to between 1521 and about 1524, Vergil, pp. xv-xvi; the impostor's attendance at the funeral of Sir Thomas Lovell could mean that Vergil checked if Simnel was still alive during this draft.
107. Wilford claimed that he was Edward, Earl of Warwick, and was executed in February 1499, see *DNB* under 'Wulford or Wilford, Ralph (1479?-1499)', (A. F. Pollard); Kleyn (see n. 2), pp. 153-54; Arthurson (see n. 2), p. 202. Henry VII's Warwick and his fellow prisoner Perkin Warbeck were accused of a plot, possibly engineered with the connivance of the English government, and both were executed in November 1499, Kleyn, pp. 154-57; *DNB* under Warwick. Earlier in 1499 Edmund, Earl of Suffolk, younger brother of Lincoln, had fled to Flanders but later returned. He escaped again in July or August 1501, and was only secured in March 1506 with assurances by Henry VII for his safety. Nevertheless Suffolk was executed by Henry VIII in 1513, Chrimes, pp. 92-94. Among those convicted of supporting Suffolk was Sir James Tyrell who, before his execution in May 1502, was said to have confessed to the murder of the princes in the Tower on Richard III's orders in the summer of 1483, compare nn. 20 and 85 above.
108. *DNB* under Simnel.

109. André was tutor to Henry VII's eldest son Arthur, and lived at court, Busch, pp. 393-94. Vergil was often in London on behalf of the chapter of Bath and Wells, and the fact that 'Henry VII asked Vergil to undertake a full-scale work' implies connections with the court, Vergil, pp. ix, xi, xx n. 1.
110. See n. 89 above.
111. Bennett, pp. 44, 48-49; Harper-Bill (see n. 51), vol. 1, p. 25 item 89, n. The alternative to Vergil's error over Simons, or Bennett's hypothesis of two Simons brothers, would be that the priest was captured at Stoke, but that his confession was interpolated in the records of convocation. The confession interrupts the discussion of church reforms, and the text would read quite well without it. Furness Fells would be known as the landing place for the rebels in June, n. 79 above.

On the other hand, an interpolator would hardly omit further details of Lambert Simnel found in the act of attainder, n. 93 above, or leave out the name of the impostor's father, as was done in Simons's confession, *cujusdam - Orgininakes* in Wilkins (see n. 55), vol. 3, p. 618, corrected to *cujusdam [] orginmaker* by A. F. Pollard (see n. 55), vol. 3, p. 247. The lack of substantial detail in the confession before convocation lends weight to its being written in February 1487 rather than later, compare n.55 above. A meeting between Archbishop Morton and 'certain lords of the king's council' seems to coincide with the exhibition of Warwick in St Paul's where convocation was assembled, Harper-Bill (see n. 51), vol.1, pp. 25-26 item 90; compare n.56 above. The events of convocation suggest close coordination between Morton in London and Henry VII at Sheen, and it seems probable that for both of them church reform was less important than the Irish rebellion.
112. See n. 86 above.
113. For the age of the pretender as sixteen or seventeen, see n. 36 above, and as ten, see n. 93.
114. Bennett, pp. 45-47, including a facsimile of the original manuscript. 'John' was merely corrected to 'Lambert' in Leland (see n. 62), vol. 4, p. 214; and see n. 87 above. On the idea of a pseudonym, see nn. 97, 98, and 102 above.
115. Bennett, p. 108, p. 150 n. 9. See also Campbell (see n. 16), vol. 2, p. 264 (prison delivery 2 March 1488) and p. 395 (20 marks reward, Michaelmas Term 1489). Bennett, p. 109, has noted that the parliament of November 1487 spent more time legislating against Henry VII's supporters than the rebels, and it was followed in December by sedition in the king's own household (not apparently mentioned in Vergil).
116. Book of Howth (see n. 46), p. 190; Mackie (see n. 68), p. 74; Potter (see n. 1), p. 90. There is no firm date for the Irish visit with its jokes about apes and Lambert Simnel's banquet, but it may be as early as February 1489, when Henry VII reaffirmed the titles of the Irish lords at Greenwich, *CP*, vol. 1, p. 458, app. A. Henry perhaps intended a pun between *simia* (Latin for ape or monkey) and 'Simnel', *CP*, vol. 7, pp. 229-32, under 'Kildare'. In his transcription of the visit from the Book of Howth, Pollard pointed out that there were apes on the Geraldine coat of arms, A. F. Pollard (see n. 55), vol. 3, p. 264 n.; the apes would have been in the crest or supporters, as the arms themselves were 'Argent, a saltire gules', *CP* under Kildare.
117. The banquet story has been charmingly told by Mackie, based on the Book of Howth, see n. 116 above. Hayden, p. 637, judged the story 'far from reliable'.
118. *DNB* under 'St Lawrence, Nicholas. . .baron Howth, d. 1526' (E. I. Carlyle) stated that Henry VII rewarded Howth 'by presenting him with three hundred pieces of gold, and confirming the lands of Howth to him by charter'; see also Book of Howth (see n.46),

- p.190. The DNB claimed that Howth's mother was Joan, daughter of Edmund, Duke of Somerset and great-uncle to Henry VII, but Joan was his stepmother, *CP*, vol. 6, p. 605 under 'Howth'. The general pardon for the Irish rebellion, dated 25 May 1488, included 'Nicholas Sent Carens, lord de Houth', Campbell (see n. 16), vol. 2, p. 316; but Henry VII could have included Howth to allay suspicion. *The Book of Howth*, p. 189, declared Howth to be Henry's informant about the Irish rebellion, although this honour was claimed for Thomas Butler, Hayden, p.627. Howth later became a devoted partisan of the lord deputy Kildare, and Howth's third wife was the sister of Archbishop Fitzsimons, *DNB* and *CP* under 'Howth'. Both Kildare and Fitzsimons were leading Irish figures in the 1487 rebellion, and Howth would have been in a position to keep an eye on them.
119. Henry VII failed to secure an Irish confession over support for Lambert Simnel, and his lenient treatment not only of Howth but also of Fitzsimons and Kildare (compare n. 118 above) could be attributed to the king's fear of exposure. Kildare was later accused of conspiring with Perkin Warbeck but was still restored to favour, Bryan (see N. 78), pp. 154-56.
120. Hayden, p.629. Butler's petition claimed that he was Henry VII's informant in 1487; compare Howth in n. 118 above. The poem of Lent 1488 from pro-Butler Waterford to Dublin called the pretender 'a boy, a lad, an organmaker's son', Bryan (see note 78), p. 103; Bennett, pp. 126-27; compare Simons's confession, n. 55 above. The Book of Howth (see n. 46), p. 188, puns the boy as 'an organ of his [Simons's] feigned enterprise', which tempts one to speculate that the organ-maker of Simons's confession may originally have been a pun, not an occupation, compare n. 99 above. The Book of Howth seems to regard the pretender as a child, since he was borne on the neck of great Darcy of Platan so that he could be seen. A letter of the Mayor of Waterford stated that the 'major of Dublin took the boye in his arms, carried him about the citie', suggesting a small child, Bryan, pp. 107-08. The archbishop of Armagh is said to have told the pope that he was convinced by the archbishop of Canterbury (Morton) that the pretender was 'the son of Edward, Earl of Warwick', not even the earl himself, Bryan, p. 105.
121. Hayden, pp.622-23. The papal bull in response to Henry's letter of complaint about the rebel Irish bishops (n. 78 above) is reminiscent of the earlier bull prohibiting disturbances about Henry VII's succession (n. 24).
122. *The Annals of Ulster, otherwise Annals of Senat: a Chronicle of Irish affairs*, 3 vols, Dublin 1887-1901, vol. 3, ed. B. MacCarthy, pp. 299, 315, 319. Rather than being in exile, Warwick is rumoured to have escaped, compare nn. 44, 62 above. The Irish king is described as the sole survivor of the blood royal, Annals, p. 299, 315. Points against the argument that the Irish king was Edward V are that the real Edward IV is not called duke of York by the annalist, but only 'son of the Duke'; the title of duke is given by the annalist to Edward IV's father Richard, p. 205. The pretender could therefore be the duke's grandson, which would apply not only to Edward V and York but also to Warwick, as in the correction made by Hayden, p. 631. The annalist knew of the pretender's defeat, but not his fate, Annals, p. 319.
123. After Richard III's death Kildare first issued coinage in Dublin omitting the king's name, and then with *Edwardvs* after the coronation of 1487, P. Seaby, *The Story of British Coinage*, London 1985, pp. 187-88.
124. The patent is described as a grant by 'Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, France and Ireland' to Peter (Piers) Butler, witnessed by 'Gerald, Earl of Kildare, our

Lieutenant' in the first year of Edward's reign, D. Bryan (see n.78), pp.283-85; E. Curtis, *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, vol 3: 1419,1509. Dublin 1935, pp. 261-63. In Edward IV's first year (1461-1462) the earl of Kildare was not Gerald, but Thomas, Gerald's father. By the first year of Edward VI (1547-1548) Piers Butler was dead. Edward V's reign lasted only from April to June 1483. August 1483 was in the first year of Richard III and, since he did not oppose Richard's assumption of the crown as he did Henry VII's, Kildare could hardly have witnessed Edward V's grant in the reign of his successor.

The title 'king of Ireland' was not adopted by English monarchs until Henry VIII, and so this title rather than the usual 'lord of Ireland' implies an Irish monarch, E. Curtis, *A History of Medieval Ireland from 1086 to 1513*. Dublin, 1938, p. 347 n. 1. According to the city of Waterford loyal to Henry VII, Kildare's messenger called the Irish king 'lord of Ireland', Bryan, p. 285 n.; such Butler sources might, however, be unreliable, compare n.120 above. No English king ever made Kildare lieutenant. 1487 is a possible year because of Kildare's late submission to Henry VII, Bryan, p. 285; Curtis *Calendar*, p.263; on the other hand, issuing patents in the rebel king's name after Stoke might appear unlikely. 1485 is also possible if 13 is a mistake for 23, since 23 August was the day after Richard III's death at Bosworth. If the rebel king's reign was deemed to start after Bosworth or later, and the date is correct, then the year would be 1486. Bryan and Curtis suggest that Edward V's seal could have come into the possession of the Yorkist party in Ireland. A new king, however, should warrant a new seal.

125. It has been argued that as the Irish king was crowned Edward VI, no pretender under Henry VII claimed to be Edward V, e.g. Williamson (see n.17), pp. 117, 162. This argument now seems to have no support, compare nn. 65 and 82 above.
126. The fullest description of the Warham-Margaret exchange is Kleyn (see n. 2), pp. 74-75. Warham may seem to regard Simnel and Warbeck as impersonators of the sons of Edward IV, when he complained that Margaret 'regularly contrived to discover such scoundrelly nephews from among her brother's children', Vergil, p. 71 lines 1819; but the English translation has a misplaced apostrophe, i.e. brothers', *ex fratribus*, p. 70 line 14. A tradition which accepted that the Dublin pretender was fifteen can be traced in a line through first printings of Vergil (1534), Hall (1548), Holinshed (1578), Gainsford (1618), Bacon (1622), and Ford (1634). Warham's complaint was that within a few years Margaret had brought forth two children, Lambert and Perkin, not after eight or nine months, as was natural, but 180 months, Vergil, pp.70-71 n. Hall and Holinshed both specifically mention 180 months, Hall's *Chronicle*, London 1908, p.466; Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, London 1808, vol. 3, p. 506. The youngest boy, presumably Simnel, was fifteen years old, according to Thomas Gainsford, *The True and Wonderful History of Perkin Warbeck*, proclaiming himself Richard the Fourth, in *Harleian Miscellany*, London 1745, vol. 6, p. 519. - Bacon, p. 142, merely described the two boys as 'of many years' and 'tall striplings' (the lusty younglings mentioned by both Hall and Holinshed), but he had already said that Lambert was fifteen, see n. 35 above.

Warham's specific reference to Lambert Simnel in Vergil, pp. 70-71, was repeated in Hall, Holinshed, Gainsford, and Bacon. Margaret's reply in Gainsford, however, did not mention Lambert, and she would have done so if she had answered 'to every Point delivered' as this author claimed, Gainsford, pp. 519-20, summarised in Kleyn, pp. 75-76.

According to the act of attainder (see n. 93 above), the boy would have been ten at most when Margaret allegedly recognised him. Lambert was therefore probably not

referred to specifically in addition to Warham's coded insult about fifteen year old princes.

Warwick would be excluded as Margaret's pretender, since her retort that 'Sons are to be preferred to Daughters' would refer to the superior claims of the sons of Edward IV over their sister, Henry VII's wife Elizabeth, Gainsford, p. 519; compare n. 25 above. The accuracy of Margaret's speech as reported in Gainsford may be questioned, however, because it contained a vicious attack on her brother Richard III which the duchess could hardly have made, Kleyn, p. 75.

127. There was a Burgundian connection with Warbeck through Fryon, M. Ballard and C. S. L. Davies, 'Etienne Fryon: Burgundian Agent, English Royal Secretary and "Principal Counsellor" to Perkin Warbeck', *Historical Research*, vol. 62 (1989), pp. 245-59, but no firm evidence that Margaret supported the pretender before 1492, pp. 252-54, esp. nn. 41 and 42; but see also Chrimes, p. 88.
128. Molinet said Edward son of Clarence made his enterprise known to Margaret (Molinet, pp. 562-63, trans. Bennett, p. 130), André that York visited her (see n. 76), and Vergil that although she considered the matter false, Margaret supported the conspiracy for impersonating Warwick (see n. 42 above). 129. The birth of the male heir to the house of York occurred in circumstances which both Warham and Margaret could hardly forget. Edward V was born on 2 (or possibly 3) November 1470 to Elizabeth Woodville in Westminster Abbey, after she had fled there for sanctuary during the brief readeption of Henry VI, see n. 36 above. His father Edward IV did not see his baby son until his re-entry into London in April 1471, Kendall, pp. 88, 92. That the fifteenth anniversary of Edward V's birth coincided with his incidental legitimisation in November 1485 would not be beyond the wit of Margaret or Warham. The coded insult would have allowed Warham to refer to Margaret's support of Edward V without exposing the English government's attempts to insinuate that the Dublin king was an impersonator of Warwick.
130. Busch wrote at length on the value as original authorities of André, Vergil, and Bacon; see esp. Busch, p. 394 for André, p. 396 for Vergil, and p. 423, a devastating and influential criticism of Bacon. For Busch's judgement of Molinet, see p. 326.
131. For Vergil's error on Warwick's age, see n.36 above, and on Simons, n. 111. Bacon changed Vergil's story on the involvement of Elizabeth Woodville (see n.48) and Warwick's age (see n.35).
132. Molinet said Warwick was nearly grown up when he was only twelve (see n. 36), the time of his escape cannot be determined (see n. 62), and Molinet ignored problems about his recapture (see n. 88).
133. On pseudo-York, see nn. 33 and 37 above, but for evidence for a son of Edward IV compare nn. 26, 28, 29, 31 and 34 also.
134. See n. 37 above. For the age of the pretender, see n. 36.
135. For the confusion of Edward V and Edward, Earl of Warwick, see Williams, p. 120. Continental sources, e.g. Molinet, Weinreich and Adrien de But, regarded the Irish pretender as genuinely Warwick, but failed to agree on his fate, see n. 88 above. They also assume that Richard III murdered his nephews, compare n. 20 above. The evidence of these sources therefore probably amounts to the pretender having the same name as Warwick. Some sightings of Warwick might refer to Edward V, see n. 44 above. Possibly rumours about Warwick were spread by the English government even before Sheen.

136. On the non-specific proclamation about rumours, see n. 83 above. Elizabeth Woodville, Dorset, and Lincoln, with Richard III, would have been the group who could have known of the fate of the princes, see n.1.
137. The chances of the king from Dublin surviving the battle of Stoke would have been small, see nn. 86 and 92 above. A battlefield substitution by Bellingham would have been quite feasible, see nn. 114, 115. The description of the so-called pretender in the act of attainder afterwards is scarcely corroborated, compare nn. 93-100.
138. On the confession according to André, see n. 89 above. Thus, for example 'From what happened after his arrest in 1487, it is difficult to credit that the pretender was Warwick or any other royal prince', Bennett, p. 48.
139. André's story of the confession could be second hand, see n. 89 above. Howth's acknowledgement could have been bought, see n. 88. Henry VII's joke about Simnel and apes appears to have fallen flat and received no further recognition, see nn. 116, 117. Sources describe Lambert Simnel as handsome, intelligent and courtly: a boy with an entirely innocent character, Vergil, p. 13 n. 'a gentle nature and pregnant wit', Book of Howth (see n. 46), p. 188; 'comely youth and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect', Bacon, p. 54; and see also Hayden, p. 625 and Bryan (see n. 78), pp. 100-01. Such descriptions could derive from government attempts to pass off their impostor as a plausible Irish pretender; compare Henry VII's studied contemptuous dismissal of Warbeck, a pretender whom the king was trying to brand as an impostor, Gainsford (see n. 126), p. 546.
140. The only extant contemporary allusion to the boy's name between the attainder of November 1487 and Polydore Vergil is the herald's report, where the captive claimed his name was John, Bennett, p. 45.
141. For the Irish evidence, see nn. 116-25 above. If the duke of York mentioned in the Annals of Ulster is Edward IV and the most unforced interpretation of Kildare's patent is correct, then independent evidence favours Edward V, see nn. 122, 124. This candidature would seem to be corroborated from Warham's contretemps with Margaret of Burgundy, nn. 126-29.
142. Since the English government seem to have manipulated so much of the written evidence, the oral evidence of the 1487 rebellion is potentially of more value than usual. André was dependent on oral testimony because he was blind, Busch, p. 394; although he was a muddled reporter, he was not a dishonest one in inventing sources, compare the story of Perkin's Jewish educator later revealed as Sir Edward Brampton, outlined in Ballard and Davies (see n. 127), p. 253, nn. 40, 42. It is therefore unlikely he would have confused Lambert with Perkin, n. 27 above; André's account suggests that there were rumours even around the court of Henry VII that the 1487 pretender was a son of Edward IV, and compare Vergil's mention of the sons, n. 29 above. By contrast with André, oral evidence for Molinet's Warwick probably derived from the foreign trading community, and the sources are contradictory and unreliable, see nn. 20, 88, 135 above.
143. Vergil probably started some kind of journal in 1503, and was asked to write a history by Henry VII in 1506, Hay in Vergil, p. xx. The king seems to have been involved with the history up to at least folio 241 of the manuscript, which ended with the battle of Stoke, Vergil, p. 12 n. mentioning Federico Veterani, custodian and occasional annotator of the manuscript (about whom see pp. xiii-xv). The final draft of the manuscript was composed in 1512/13, p. xx.

144. The confession of Tyrell is now treated with caution even by traditionalists, who sometimes concede that the timing was expedient, e.g. Chrimes, p. 93 n.; compare n. 107 above.
145. On the pervasiveness of the chronicler's view of history, Hay has remarked that from 'the usurpation of Richard in 1483 to the death of Wolsey in 1530, the main participants are still valued popularly as Vergil valued them ... From the wicked uncle to the grasping prelate, Vergil's story has become part of the national myth', Vergil, P. xxxix.
146. *DNB* under Simnel.
147. Vergil may have relied on oral information from More, Fox and Urswick, Vergil, p. xix; these were all associated with Henry VII or his Archbishop Morton. Vergil may not have seen the act of attainder, since there is no reference to the parliament of November 1487 in Hay's index to Vergil. As he used Vergil as a source, the omission may help to explain Bacon's confusion about this parliament, criticised by Busch, p. 419. On the other hand, this assembly seems to have been largely concerned with the excesses of Henry VII's followers, see n. 115 above; the omission may have been deliberate, and Vergil could have known of the attainder. Hay suggested that Vergil may have used the battle herald's manuscript for his muster of gentlemen at Stoke, Vergil, p. xix, n.; compare Vergil, pp. 22-23 n., to Leland (see n. 62), pp. 214-15; or compare Bennett, p. 129, to his p. 136. Vergil's list is in later printed editions, not in his original narrative, and the chronicler failed to change the name of the captured king to the herald's John, see n. 114 above.
148. Busch, p. 398, previously noted by Williams, p. 120.
149. It is a pity that Vergil's 'smooth and stylish narrative has left few rough edges of circumstantial detail', Bennett, p. 11. The detail amounts to the use of Lambert Simnel's name and his Oxford origins but not about his parentage or directly his age, see n. 101 above.
150. On the changes, compare nn. 55-59 and 93 above. On the capture, compare nn. 87 and 111.
151. Bacon regarded Vergil's story of the conspiracy being the work of one priest as incredible, see n. 48 above. Bacon insinuated that Elizabeth Woodville was involved in training the false Warwick, thus trying to make the dowager's detention more plausible, nn. 45, 68-72. Adding two years to Warwick's age made his impersonation by the older Lambert Simnel appear more likely, see n. 35. Bacon's story of the change of impersonation from a son of Edward IV to Warwick accommodated André's false imitation of York, see n. 40; this could have been helped by Vergil's later concessions over the sons of Edward IV, see n. 152 below.
152. On Vergil's concessions, see nn. 29 and 103 above. These admissions were made in the printed editions of Vergil from 1534 onwards, when any interest of the English government had probably been removed, compare n. 143. With Henry VIII's break with Rome in the 1530s, Vergil became suspect from a religious viewpoint; sustained attacks on his work began with Leland in 1544, and Edward Hall's *English history* was first published in 1548, Vergil, pp. xxxix-xxxvii.
153. What is disturbing about the improvements of Vergil (nn. 147, 149 and 150 above) and Bacon (n. 151) is that they are not necessarily based on historical evidence, but seem to be attempts to cover up weaknesses in their original stories.

154. The pretender of at least fifteen years old derives from the mistaken age of Warwick, see nn. 35-37 above. Edward was the pretender's name, Vergil, pp. 14-15, 20-21; Molinet, pp. 562-64 throughout. Edward V's mother lost her property possibly through her support of him, see nn. 67-74. The Irish and Germans claimed they were restoring their king, see n. 81.
155. On the difficulties over the claims of the chroniclers' candidates, see nn. 131-33 above. On difficulties over the traditional Lambert Simnel story, see nn. 142-53. The notion that Lambert and the king from Dublin were two different people rests on the difference of six or seven years in the ages of the alleged pretender between Stoke and the attainer, see n. 113.
156. The murder of the little princes and the alleged impostures of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck are three mysteries which Henry VII should have disposed of, but failed to do so. If the mysteries are all considered to be false, a consistency results. For if the princes were not murdered by Richard III and the real pretenders were neither Lambert (but Edward V) nor Perkin (but York), then there are no mysteries, G. Smith, *Ricardian Bulletin*, June 1993, p. 27. This consistency is not necessarily true, of course, but it is certainly odd.
157. 'Simnel pretender' and 'Warbeck pretender' still retain the taint of the alleged impersonations, since it can be assumed that these pretenders were impostors, compare n. 1 above. Warner's *Albion's England of 1586* called Simnel, Warbeck and Wilford the 'three Phaetons', Ford (see n. 126), p. 179. Referring to these pretenders as Phaetons A, B and C respectively seems pretentious, but some neutral form of reference is required.

Reviews

VERSE AND WORSE

As some of you may know, one of my interests is lateral puzzling, and I contribute to an online forum devoted to setting and solving them. Now and again, someone decides to do a puzzle in doggerel verse, and I'm not immune. The one that appears below is a puzzle I posted, then, after it was solved, decided to recycle here. (Answer appears after the review.) The other verses were made especially for this column. Well, *I* had fun doing them, anyway.

My wife and I, in our little space, thought we could be all alone.

It's small, I know, but a bijou space, and in a very upscale zone.

I don't mind Jim, we're kin to him, but who in Hell is this other one?~

WINTER KING: HENRY VII AND THE DAWN OF TUDOR ENGLAND—Thomas Penn, Simon & Schuster, NY & London, 2011

In spite of the title, this is not so much about the dawn of Tudor England as about the last third of Henry VII's reign. Mr. Penn gives readers a run-down on pre-1501 events, but devotes less than 80 pages of 374 to them. While still in the Roman-numbered pages, he refers to Richard III as an "arch-villain," but seldom mentions him after that, mostly in passing. He does reflect on the irony of Henry starting his reign by presenting himself as the anti-Richard, then becoming Richard at the end of it, at least from his (Penn's) point of view. The author's narrow focus enables him to dodge the question of Perkin Warbeck and the Warbeck-Warwick executions. Mostly, he concentrates on Henry's financial depredations, in almost exhaustive detail: who, how much, and why. The "why," as some realized even at the time, had as much to do with power as money. Penn tries to flesh out some of Henry's servants who have been no more than names, but some are known almost too well. Particularly Richard Fox, who stage-managed the whole distasteful business, then let Epsom and Dudley take the rap. Not that these two didn't enrich themselves—a lot. Fox, and not Morton, was the author of "Morton's Fork." If anything, John Morton was a moderating influence on the king. As Morton was already dead at the time the book covers, Penn pretty much passes over him.

All in all, this is a rather depressing book, partly because the limited theme leaves little chance for the delineation of Henry as a person. Only occasional glimpses come through: he liked to hunt; he was always a good, even lavish, tipper; and he apparently deeply loved his wife, Elizabeth of York. (Penn credits her with being "an effective lobbyist" with the king.) Partly it's because the author has chosen to concentrate on the years when Henry was deteriorating, both physically and mentally. (His severe illnesses seemed to start after the execution of Warwick, but got much worse in the last two years of his life). Partly, of course, it is because of Henry's personality, which, if not completely wintry, certainly tended that way.

This is Thomas Penn's first book, and it shows promise. But it does seem to be rather erratically footnoted and abysmally indexed. It's frustrating to look up something like "running water at Richmond palace" and find no mention of it on the page given, or for many pages before and after.

Enlightening in many ways, but not a fun read. One of the blurbs quoted on the back of the dust jacket refers to Henry as "England's most flagrant usurper since William the Conqueror," apparently considering Richard III a non-starter in that category.

~Henry the Seventh, I am, I am. Never a Freddy or a Sam.

There I was at eternal rest, lying at the Abbey at West-Minster, five centuries past. This was much too good to last.

Back when Victoria was Queen shovels were used, and bones were seen:

Mine, and my wife's, Elizabeth fair. Great-grandson Stuart lies over there.

*And yonder is a man unknown, but thought to be one of Cromwell's own.
I'm telling you – now mark it well – the neighborhood's all shot to Hell.*

RICHARD III—David Baldwin

I admit it. I am a die-hard Ricardian who takes umbrage when Richard is accused of various “crimes” he had nothing to do with, or is only rumored to have been involved in. I expect evidence, not hearsay or speculation. So I naturally expect any biographer to at least present all the evidence when putting their case against, and for. I approached David Baldwin’s neobiography nervously, knowing he had written a laudatory biography of Elizabeth Woodville, a lady we all know probably had little love for her brother-in-law.

This book is written in a fluid, easy-to-read style, but having stated his intention of “approaching the subject dispassionately without preconception, offering a fairer, more balanced portrait than some others,” Mr. Baldwin proceeds to, at times, do the opposite. I have never read anywhere before of Richard being blamed for the Reformation and the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

Of course, I recognize it is difficult from such a distance to work out what went on sometimes. Baldwin states that “It is ...perhaps dangerous to attempt to penetrate the thoughts and feelings of a medieval personage,” then proceeds on more than one occasion to tell us what Richard “must have” or “would have” done. Perhaps the most offensive of these imaginings is the statement early on, written with the full glare of hindsight, that after Tewkesbury and “the latest cycle of killings, exile and victory against the odds” Richard “knew that he could expect no mercy himself in future, and that there would be times when he would have to strike first and decisively in order to survive.” These lines are more Alison Weir than Kendall or even Ross, and set up the evil-grasping-murdering-selfish-ambitious-uncle legend, trying to show that Richard had a plan all along. Shakespeare without the hump, in other words.

“It would be pointless to speculate,” Mr. Baldwin?

Such statements are indeed dangerous and damaging if you want to keep your audience, or be taken seriously. I am very much a fan of Kendall’s biography, not only for the attractive portrayal of Richard, which I feel is nearer the truth than any other written to date, but for his prose and the excellence of his research. He has come in for some stick for his ‘purple passages’ but better that than unsupported accusations and slurs.

However, I admire the way David Baldwin covers the Harrington case and the early clashes with Stanley and Northumberland. He also tries hard to be fair when discussing the Warwick and Oxford inheritances, concluding that Richard was “articulate and persuasive but also clever and determined.” Having documented all the rumors and accusations about Richard’s behavior towards the two ladies in question, he adds that the “bad behavior” toward the Countess of Oxford was not talked about until 20 years later. Baldwin concludes that “whatever the countess feared might happen to her, none of the witnesses” John de Vere brought forward to support his claim to the inheritance “claimed to know that she had been abused or threatened while in Richard’s custody.” He adds “persuasion is one thing and coercion another” depending on which side you are on. Quite.

But perhaps the worst example of slack research is the treatment of Richard’s relationship with the Duchess of York, and with his wife. The author says: “His thoughtless slandering of his mother, and his apparent readiness to contemplate the annulment of his marriage represent the worst side of his character.” He quotes Mancini as his source for the first accusation. But Mancini is thought not to have been able to speak English, and he does not name Ralph Shaw, who was supposed to have introduced these rumors, so he must inevitably have relied on others to tell him what was said.

The only other near-contemporary accounts are in Crowland and *Titulus Regius*, which surely trump Mancini. Indeed, the fact that *Titulus Regius* was ordered not only to be repealed, but *without being read*, must offer a clue that it very likely contradicted what was being spread by the court. Crowland sets out the plain facts. Edward IV's sons were bastards, Clarence's son barred by attainder, therefore Richard was the only one left. No nonsense about Edward being a bastard. Had such an accusation been made, Crowland would have reported it as a vile calumny. Crowland may have had reservations about Edward, but on the whole was a great admirer of his, and would not have missed the opportunity to emphasize what dastardly things were being said about the late king. There is no support for Mancini's claim in contemporary writing by people who understood what was going on. Richard and his mother remained on very good terms. And, of course, he was residing in her London home during the deposition crisis, which makes it singularly unlikely that he would insult her under her own roof.

There is a lot of good stuff in this book, but Mr. Baldwin chooses on occasion to plump for the Tudor myth. He calls Richard "a flawed diamond" and that "in his complex...unfathomable character we may all recognize something of ourselves." It is a pity that David Baldwin has fallen into the trap of looking at Richard through the window of Tudor mythology, rather than using contemporary evidence without the taint of legend. Like David Hipshon and Michael Jones before him, he appears to like Richard a lot up to 1483, but cannot see that the Richard of that time and after was the same man reacting to events as they surprised him.

As I would argue they would have surprised any of us.—Paul Trevor Bale (with thanks to Annette Carson and John Ashdown-Hill)

*"Every lad and every gal That's born into the world alive,
Is either a little liberal Or a little conservative."*

So sang Gilbert to his pal. And, forsooth, he spoke no jive.

So if, by means of time-machine Richard walked with us again

On which side would he have been? Pray give your answer and explain.

On which Tudor, that so-and-so? Your reviewer's opinion is down below.#

PAXTON AT BOSWORTH FIELD—Stanley Lombardo, CreateSpace, SC, 2012

Time-travel fiction is basically divided into three categories: (1)The two-way traffic, as in Clayton Spann's **LORD PROTECTOR**, a relatively small sub-genre; (2)The forward, where a person or persons are brought forward in time, as in Joan Szechtman's **LOYALTY BINDS ME** and **THIS TIME**, or Diana Rubino's **ONE TOO MANY TIMES**; and (3) The backward, where a character goes back in time, as in Mark Twain's **CONNECTICUT YANKEE**.

PAXTON is from the third category. Buffalo hunter Carter Paxton is chased into a cave in Arizona by a group of "hostiles," and comes out the other side exactly five centuries earlier, in 1485 England, just in time to rescue a non-damsel (Richard) in distress. He is understandably the man of the hour at King Richard's court, and falls instantly in love with the king's illegitimate niece, and vice versa. Though he may maim the Sovereign's English, and even Grover Cleveland's, our hero is no dummy. His father is a college professor, he has read Halstead and Markham, and he carries **The Complete Works of William Shakespeare** in his saddlebags, along with Paine's **Rights of Man**, and other good stuff.

Paxton is soon faced with the Time Traveler's Dilemma. He very much wants Richard to win at Bosworth Field, and is busy producing Peabody rifles and instructing Richard's retainers in 19th century arts of war. The fabric of history has apparently already been altered simply by his "coming through," as people who had died before 1485 are alive here. But if Richard wins, or rather if Tudor loses, there will be no Elizabeth I, no Golden Age, no

Bard of Avon. Yet obviously Shakespeare the dramatist did exist, because the **Complete Works** still exist. In fact, Richard reads them, and is not above cribbing a few good speeches. What to do? All problems will be worked out, of course, as evidenced by the title of the sequel, **Paxton versus the Armada**.

The author seems to have intended this as somewhat of a “guy book,” as there is a lot about “gonnes” and battle tactics. It would likely earn a PG rating. However, there’s something for everyone, whatever their chromosomal makeup - a glorious gallimaufry of genres. Mr. Lombardo issues a Challenge to the Reader: How many allusions/references/quotations, from sources ranging from W.S. and Twain to Ellis Peters and Umberto Eco, can you find? I strongly suspect that there are other, unannounced, games that he is playing with the reader. Have fun!

(For more information, contact the author at www.lombardoscripts.com. Like our hero’s dad, he is a college professor, at Arkansas Technical University. What is it with Arkansans, anyway? The Sister Fidelma Society is headquartered there, too.)

#Tudor’s ‘soak-the-rich’ policy made him the first liberal, you see.

Richard, his opposite in great and small ways, Would vote Republican always.

What, always?

Well, almost always.

Conservative almost always.

(Remember, ’fore you write or speak, my tongue’s most firmly in my cheek.)

Long-awaited Joliffe mysteries are reviewed below. First, Dale Summers reprises the 2010 model, then I step in with the latest.

Doctor, Doctor, please come quick.

My palm’s asweat, my tongue is thick.

My limbs do shake, and memory fails me.

*Tell me, Doctor please, what ails me? **

A PLAY OF PIETY—Margaret Frazer, Penguin, NY, 2010

When we last saw Joliffe, he was headed to Paris. Back in England now, he is haunted by his experiences in France. Joliffe had been in battle. He escaped, but lost friends and killed a man. He is plagued by nightmares and soul-sickness.

He finds Bassett sick in a hospital. Rose is working in the kitchen with four nursing sisters and a physician, who makes his diagnoses by planets and scorns the sisters’ herbal remedies. The other players are working at the hospital, along with the sisters’ servant. So Joliffe takes on the role of a servant, emptying bedpans, carrying trays, stacking wood, drawing water, and scrubbing wooden dishes.

Only men are accepted as patients, but a rich, obese, unpleasant woman, aptly called Thorncoffin, takes up temporary residence. There is an attempt to poison her, most likely by her servant, who she beats, and who is found dead in the stream. But someone else helped him, and that same someone helped him into the stream.

The puzzle, the physical labor, the peace of the hospital routine, and the company of the sisters, begins Joliffe’s healing, as the medicines bring healing to Bassett. From his earnings, Joliffe buys another horse so that Bassett may ride. The puzzle is solved – Joliffe comes up with the clues to help the crowner – the old restlessness, the desire to be somewhere else, seizes Joliffe, and his troupe leaves the hospital for the open road.

Frazer assures us that the picture of the clean and orderly medieval hospital is accurate, and that indeed the squalor of medieval life has been extremely exaggerated. For this, she blames the Tudors. – Dale Summers.

**Calm yourself, now have no fear.*

You are simply stage-struck, dear.

A PLAY OF HERESY—Margaret Frazer, Berkley Prime Crime, NY, 2012

Joliffe and his troupe are now involved in the 15th century equivalent of summer stock, a combined professional/amateur production of the Coventry Mystery Plays. Their part if the all –day event is to be the Harrowing of Hell. (In her Afterword, Ms. Frazer testifies that the pyrotechnics and special effects can make quite an impression on a 21st century audience, so you can imagine their impact on less jaded contemporaries of Henry VI. IL’s all business to Joliffe, Bassett, et al, as they try to pull passable or better performances from local businessmen, of varying degrees of talent. (One of them is surnamed Burbage. Hmm...)

There is, of course, a murder mystery. Lollardly is rife in Coventry. In spite of Bassett’s early flirtation with heresy, he wants no part of this, and Joliffe’s live-and-let-live attitude seems very modern. But Joliffe’s religion is the theater and his acting family. He can afford to be tolerant as long as he’s not personally involved.

The mystery is skillfully handled, and perfectly adequate, but it’s really only incidental in this novel, as in all of Frazer’s novels. The reader can, for a few hours, live in the early 15th century, and go backstage as an added bonus. Don’t miss it!

*There’s many a river that waters the land, from the Urals to the Amazon.
But they sing the praise in Merry England of the mighty little River Anon.
Mighty little,
Hey-nommy-non*

THE COMMON STREAM: TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF THE ENGLISH VILLAGE—Rowland Parker, Academy Chicago, Ill, c. 1975

For at least 2000 years an unnamed tributary of the river Rhee provided water for British, Anglo-Saxon, and English villagers. As late as 500 AD, its current was strong enough to run a mill, which provided inter-village tension as well as flour. In the 6th century, Anglo-Saxon villagers dug the Town Branch channel, which diverted some of the tributary’s water through Foxton and a moat; eventually the Town Branch’s water flowed into Hayditch, east of Foxton. After the Norman Conquest, the Town Brook generated many entries in the Foxton manor court rolls. Humans, pigs, geese and ducks contributed to the Town Brook’s decline. By the late 19th century, water quality was so poor that a village philanthropist contributed two common pumps that raised clean water from a depth of 254 feet. As Foxton pump gossip, politics, and philosophy flourished, soil, weeds, and rubbish clogged the Town Brook. After heavy rain, it flooded the village street. In the mid-20th century, the Town Brook, strait-jacketed in concrete, was almost forgotten. When, in 1972, the river Rhee was dredged, Foxton resident Rowland Parker studied the objects preserved in the mud with interest. Among them were grooved lumps of chalk used to weight poacher’s fish traps and nets, and a bailiff’s tool for freeing and retrieving poacher’s traps.

River mud wasn’t the only source of evocative artifacts. A Roman villa on the west side of the tributary near a British village yielded oyster shells in the remains of a wooden bucket, along with a broken bronze lock bolt used as an oyster opener. Flagons and amphora fragments suggested the villa owner “had a hearty thirst, because two of the flagons were the largest Parker had ever seen. . Charred remains of a thick oak door with hinges and handle attached, burnt nails, and lumps of lead testified to the villa’s violent end. “Reasonable guesswork and such evidence as the spade has provided” suggested that the villa owner and his wife were buried hastily at the edge of the British village’s burial ground. Only thirty yards from the violence, a villager recycled roof tiles as floor tiles. Despite this, fearful villagers made a tremendous effort to hide the villa’s destruction from avenging

Romans. They buried debris in rubbish pits, filled holes with cartloads of clay, spread coarse gravel over the entire villa site, and covered that with a layer of fine gravel. Apparently their efforts failed; their huts were burned and the village was deserted. Grass and rushes eventually reclaimed both villa and village sites. The tributary continued to flow.

Fifth century Anglo-Saxons named the river Rhee. Settlers on the north bank called their village Barenton; those on the south side called theirs Foxton. Apparently they never called the tributary that supplied their water anything but “the Brook.” On a triangle of land formed by the junction of the Brook with the Rhee, Foxton men built a mill. Despite the fact that Barrington (Berenton) was on the opposite of the river, its men claimed that the mill was on their land. Although the villagers agreed to share the mill, their rivalry continued long after the mill was gone.

A more serious threat from ambitious warriors drove Foxton residents to divert part of the Brook through their village, connecting the Brook with another Rhee tributary called Hayditch. Between Foxton and Hayditch, villagers formed a moat, wherein they planned to defend themselves and their animals. Parker writes: “This feat deserves our admiration. Somebody must have been in charge, and every man, woman, and child in the community must have taken part, wielding a mattock or spade, or carrying a basket. They had no other tools... That splendid spade-work fixed the position of Foxton forever, and determined its shape for the next 1200 years. It was not until well after the year 1800 that any house was built further than about 80 yards from the Town Brook, and most of them were within a few yards of it.”

The feudal system smothered the community spirit that created the Town Brook. Various degrees of unfreedom compelled villagers to work for temporal and spiritual lords. Foxton villagers owed their labors to the Abbess of Chatteris from about 978 to 1538. Parker considered this a cause of communal apathy, which crippled villagers for centuries. In the 11th century, they were forbidden to grind their own grain. They resentfully carried their grain to the lord’s mill and paid his fees. As centuries passed, the villagers developed ways of resisting the system. The manor court records preserved numerous examples “... Agnes Dragon and 13 others fined 3d for gathering the Abbess’ grain badly..” Parker considered these incidents, and many like them, precursors of the 1381 Peasant’s Revolt.

Although Foxton residents were free by 1519, resistance and apathy continued to appear in manor court cases: “Anne St George..Richard Newman, John Skynner [and others]..forfeit the penalty of 3s 4d imposed at the last court because they have not carried out repairs. But the Abbess, acting on advice, pardons them because they did not have any straw and for other urgent reasons, on condition that they do the repairs before the next court.” Parker considered the claim that *they did not have any straw* a telling example of the villagers disrespect for the manor court as well as apathy toward their living conditions. Foxton’s buildings continued to deteriorate until the villagers’ energy and initiative revived in the Elizabethan era.

Parker balanced archival detective work with archaeological studies. He described his process as a “search for clues, a sort of detection game and jigsaw puzzle combined. In Parker’s completed puzzle, “the ordinary men and women who in their countless thousands have trudged through life...leaving no visible trace” take precedence over kings. He has created a detailed picture of villagers working and playing, buying and selling, drinking and laughing and cursing “for ten centuries and more.” One of those villagers was John Raynor, whose manor court record listed 317 violations in the years 1541-1586. “Living next door to him must have been a bit of a nightmare...He did duty as ale-taster for several years but, understandably, never served as constable.”

Based on photographs taken by Foxton resident Joe Cox, Parker's crisp black and white drawings harmonize with his detailed, reader-friendly text. Helpful maps guide readers through Foxton's major changes. Thirteen years of research plus many years of residence in Foxton enabled Parker to reconstruct an evocative, respectful picture of English villagers' lives. **The Common Stream** isn't a book for subways or waiting rooms. It will reward readers who take the time to make a cup of tea and pay relaxed attention to the wealth of detail in its illustrations and text.—Marion Davis

*The servant thinks, lying on a pallet, no man is a hero to his valet.
And even less, as it will be seen, is a woman to her maid a heroine.*

THE BOOK OF THE MAIDSERVANT—Rebecca Barnhouse, Random House, NY, 2009

In spite of the title, this is not one of Margaret Frazer's Sister Frevisse mysteries. It is based on fact – or as much fact as is contained in Margery Kemp's autobiography, the first ever written by a woman (or rather dictated, as Margery was illiterate.). Aside from her religious visions and pilgrimages, Margery spent a lot of time complaining about her unnamed maidservant. This book for young people gives her a name, a voice, and a little of her own back. It's certainly a refreshingly different view of the Medieval Servant Problem. It isn't all problems for Joanna, the teenaged maid, though she sometimes finds herself cleaning up after the whole gang of pilgrims. (I'm sure that's not the right collective noun for pilgrims, but that's how Joanna must have thought of them. "The Devil, I think, wakes up when my mistress does," she says) But she also finds friends, and the possibility, at least, of future romance, in student John Mouse. And eventually she finds her way back home, without the 'help' of Ms. Kemp.

A good read for children old enough to be interested in history, but also pleasant for older folks interested in history.

*King to slavey, we've covered much ground.
See you next time, if I'm still around!*



Traditional British Christmas Pudding

Jonathan Hayes

It's not too soon to be thinking about making your Christmas pudding. Traditionally, they are made several months in advance (I always make mine in September) to give them a chance to age. A good Christmas pudding is not difficult to make and adds a traditional festive touch to the holiday season.

Puddings are a very old form of British cookery. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives the word origin from Middle English "puling" or "pudding". It is defined as: "The stomach or one of the entrails of a pig, sheep or other animal stuffed with a mixture of minced meat, suet, oatmeal, seasoning, etc. boiled and kept until needed; a kind of sausage..."

We can easily recognize the above definition as a pretty good description of the Scots national dish, haggis, and as such, it is widely eaten and enjoyed in Scotland today. Richard III would certainly have been familiar with it; it would have been part of the everyday fare at the table of even great magnates such as the Yorks.

"The stomach or one of the entrails" in the above definition serve only to hold the other ingredients together so that they can be boiled or steamed. Since it is not eaten and adds nothing to the final dish, it is usually replaced by a plastic sack in modern haggis preparations

or by a glass or china bowl in a Christmas pudding. The minced meat in the above definition is replaced by raisins and the oatmeal by flour and bread crumbs in the following Christmas pudding recipe, but the lineage is clear. Some traditions associated with making a Christmas pudding include having each member of the household stir it once (in a clockwise direction—this goes back to Druidic practice) and adding buttons, thimbles, etc. to be found when the pudding was eaten. If a man found a button, for instance, it indicated he would be a bachelor.

CHRISTMAS PUDDING

6 oz. Sultana raisens	1 oz. blanched almonds	10 oz. Raisins	6 oz.
Currants			
1 lemon	3 oz. lemon zest	4 oz. shredded suet	2 oz. fresh
white bread crumbs			
4 oz. flour	½ tsp. nutmeg	½ tsp. Cinnamon	
4 oz. brown sugar	2 eggs	¼ pint brown ale	

Chop almonds; place all fruit, nuts in a large bowl, add suet and breadcrumbs. Grate lemon rind into bowl, add lemon juice. Mix well with wooden spoon. Sift flour and spices together on the fruit, add sugar and mix thoroughly. Beat eggs in small bowl and add to mixture. Stir well. Mix in brown ale. Stir for a few minutes, then turn into bowl. Press well down so that it comes to ¾" below top. Cover with wax paper and foil, tie with string. Lower into a pan of boiling water to come halfway up the bowl. Cook 5-6 hours adding water as required. When cold, remove foil and waxed paper, make holes and pour in brandy. Recover with clean foil. To reheat, boil again for 3-4 hours, remove and let stand for 15 minutes, then turn out and flame with brandy. Serve with hard sauce or cream.

NOTES:

1. The above recipe is just as it was given to me by an elderly lady, Catherine Barker, in the small Suffolk village that I was living in many years ago when I was stationed in England with the Air Force. It takes about fifteen minutes to put together and really is not that difficult at all. A couple of explanations might be in order. Sultanas are yellow raisins, currants are small ones. I have found that butchers behind supermarket meat counters are very willing to provide you with suet (the fat around beef kidneys). Chill it overnight in the refrigerator, then a couple of minutes in a food processor will chop it just right. "Mince peel" is quite easy; use a vegetable peeler to peel the zest from two oranges and a grapefruit; chop the zest with a knife. The quarter pint of ale is a quarter of a 20 oz. British pint; Newcastle Brown Ale works fine.
2. I have found that a 1-1/2 quart Pyrex bowl works well. Cut a small round of waxed paper and put it at the bottom of the bowl before you put the mixture in the bowl; it will make un-molding at Christmas easier. I make my pudding in early September. After it's made, put it on the pantry shelf to age until Christmas. Do NOT put it in the refrigerator! It won't spoil on the pantry shelf and the continued chill of the refrigerator wouldn't be good for it. Around the beginning of November, you might want to change the wax paper and foil and add more brandy. This is a much richer, heavier dish than we are normally used to eating, so you probably won't want a very large portion. Not to worry; it keeps very well. A sprig of holly at serving adds color.

In Memoriam—Lillian Baker

Carol Bessette

Lillian Barker, a long-time member of the Richard III Society, passed away in her home in Catonsville, MD on June 17, 2012. Lillian was one of four Society members from the Washington, DC area who participated in the 1985 Ricardian tour of England; a truly memorable event. Over 40 Society members observed the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Bosworth in a international gathering.

It was the friendships developed among these four Washington area members which led to the establishment in the mid-1980s of the Middle Atlantic Chapter of the Society. Lillian was instrumental in the organization and conduct of the meetings; she was a major factor in its success.

One of the jokes of the 1985 tour was that we were a group of left-handed librarians. Lillian may not have been left-handed, but she was a most accomplished librarian. She worked with US Army libraries in Germany after WWII, and then at various libraries in Maryland, including the Pratt Library in Baltimore, Westminster, MD, and Laurel, MD. She retired as the Chief Librarian of Laurel, Maryland.

Lillian was active in many organizations, including Toastmasters, and in her retirement community, she was a primary developer of a highly professional film library, as well as organizing weekly film “events.”

Lillian served in the US Navy during WWII, and was buried, with honors, at a Maryland veterans cemetery.

She is survived by a brother, three children, five grandchildren, and five great-grandchildren.

In Memoriam—Zoe Duplantis

Robert Ringenberg

Zoe Claire Duplantis, daughter of long-time RIII Society member Carole McClendon Rike, passed away on May 23, 2012. Like Carole, Zoe’s love of English history extended beyond just the Ricardian era and even into Scottish history as the McClendon family could trace their ancestry back to Robert the Bruce. As a child Zoe would playfully pick on her mother by putting a pillow on her back and running through the house yelling “A horse! My kingdom for a horse!” As a teen she accompanied her mother on a trip to England including a visit to Bosworth Field and other Ricardian sites. As an adult Zoe gave birth to the greatest joy of her life and her mothers’, her son Connor Richard Ringenberg. Zoe was also a proud member of the Krewe of Muses, a carnival organization made up of women who inspire all of New Orleans during their annual parade. Zoe’s other favorite things included her animals, Mardi Gras, Doctor Who, John Barrowman, and the New Orleans Saints. In addition to these activities, Zoe worked on the Register from 1995 to 2010 with her mom and partner.

Zoe spent the final months of her life fighting back from a stroke that had affected the speech center of her brain, a fight she was winning. Zoe leaves behind her son, Connor, and her longtime friend and partner, Robert Adam Ringenberg. A memorial video has been posted for Zoe on YouTube.com and can be viewed by searching for Zoe Duplantis on the website. She was 49 at the time of her death.

“Though lovers be lost, love shall not,
And Death shall have no dominion.” -- Dylan Thomas



Proposed changes to: American Branch Bylaws

Note: Full deletions are noted as deleted, partial deletions are ~~strikeouts~~, and additions are underlined.

Articles I – III, no changes

Article IV. Meetings

4.1. Annual General Meeting

4.1.1. Date: The Annual General Meeting, hereafter called the AGM, of the American Branch is held yearly on the Saturday which falls closest to October 2nd, the birthday of King Richard III, or such other date which, in the Board's opinion, furthers the aims of the Society. Care in scheduling should be taken to avoid conflict with the Jewish holidays.

4.1.2. Location: The AGM site should be rotated geographically around the continental United States in such fashion that it does not take place in the same area more than once in three (3) years, whenever possible. The Executive Board determines the date and location of the AGM and publishes the information in the Ricardian Register and other appropriate media at least six (6) months in advance of the meeting. This announcement shall constitute the official call to the membership.

4.1.3. Function: The AGM shall:

- (a) Be held in conjunction with the efforts of local chapters whenever possible.
- (b) Receive reports of all officers and committees.
- ~~(c) Receive the certified, audited report of the Treasurer.~~
- (c) Adopt a budget for the forthcoming year.
- (d) Conduct the election of the Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Membership Chairman, ~~Secretary~~ and Treasurer, or which ever of these offices are to be filled.
- (e) Conduct such other business as may be brought before it.
- (f) Present proposed amendments or revisions of the Bylaws to membership for resolution. (See 10.1)

4.1.4. Purpose: The AGM is planned to spread both knowledge and fellowship within the American Branch.

~~**4.2. Special Meetings:** Special Meetings of the American Branch may be called by the Executive Board or by not less than one percent (1%) of the membership, as follows:~~

~~**4.2.1** Written notice of a Special Meeting called by the Executive Board shall be sent by first class mail and is posted on the Website no fewer than ten (10) or more than fifty (50) days prior to the date for which it has been called.~~

~~**4.2.2.** In the event a meeting is called by the membership, a written demand for a call specifying the date of such Special Meeting shall be mailed to the Secretary. The date specified in the demand for the call shall not be fewer than two (2) nor more than three (3) months from the date of the written demand and should avoid any holiday which would preclude attendance by the membership at the meeting.~~

~~**4.2.3.** The Secretary upon receipt of a written demand for a Special Meeting of the American Branch shall promptly give notice of the Special Meeting to the membership within five (5) business days. If the Secretary does not give appropriate notice to the membership, any member signing the written demand may then give the notice to the membership by first class mail and/or Email no fewer than ten (10) nor more than fifty (50) days prior to the date or which it has been called. This notice shall specify both the purpose of the Special Meeting and the matters to be considered.~~

4.2. Quorum: In order to constitute a valid meeting of the members to conduct business, a quorum of no less than four (4) members of the Executive Board must be present. Members in good standing who are present constitute the voting body for the American Branch.

4.3. Voting: The transaction of all business at a valid meeting of the American Branch will be accomplished by a simple majority of the votes cast by members present. Abstentions shall not be counted in the number of votes cast.

4.3.1. Voting for Elections of officers: A ballot containing those nominated for officers will be ~~mailed~~ sent to all members well in advance of the AGM by the Chairman of the Nominating Committee. Those ballots returned are counted as votes during the elections process. (See 5.2.)

4.4. Reports and Resolutions: All reports of officers and committees, and all resolutions presented at any meeting shall be in writing.

4.5. Rules of Order: All meetings of the American Branch will be conducted according to the most recent edition of Robert's Rules of Order, ~~Revised~~.

Article V. Officers

5.1. Eligibility: Any member in good standing, who is eighteen (18) years of age or older, shall be eligible to hold any office in the American Branch or to serve upon any committee. No prospective officer can be in arrears of membership dues or other financial obligations on February 1st of the year in which the elections are to be held.

5.1.1. A candidate for Chairman shall have been a member of the American Branch for at least three (3) years continuously prior to nomination and shall have served previously as:

a. An officer or member of the Executive Board, or

b. The president of a chapter with at least ten (10) members, or

c. Chairman of a standing committee, ~~and must be~~

~~d. A member of the American Branch for at least three (3) years continuously prior to nomination.~~

~~**5.1.2.** All prospective officers cannot be in arrears of membership dues or other financial obligations on February 1st of the year in which the elections is to be held.~~

5.2. Officers: The Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Secretary, the Membership Chairman and the Treasurer of the Executive Board shall be elected by the membership by proxy ballots sent from the chairman of the Nominating Committee to the members ~~via first-class mail~~ at least six (6) weeks prior to the AGM.

5.2.1. Officers shall serve for two years from the date of their election.

5.2.2. No officer shall be eligible to serve in any one office for more than four (4) consecutive years. If, after an officer has served four years consecutively, no candidate for that office is found, the incumbent may continue in office while the Board, at its discretion, decides whether to fill the office by appointment, reorganize, or dissolve the Society. Priority will be given to preserving the Society in some form as a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organization.

5.2.3. Appointed Officers: The Chairman and the Executive Board of Directors appoint other officers and Committee Chairmen as needed or as appropriate. (See 7.1.)

5.3. Nomination: Nominations are made with the prior or subsequent written consent of the nominee, either:

(a) By a petition or petitions signed by a total of no fewer than ten (10) members in good standing, or by E-mailed agreement to a petition, or

(b) By the president and secretary of a chapter or chapters with the consent of the members, or

(c) By the Executive Board of Directors, or

(d) By the Nominating Committee.

5.3.1. Nominating Committee: The Executive Board appoints a Committee of at least two persons for the purpose of selecting nominees. The Committee is appointed yearly by February 1. Nominations may be accepted from February 1st through May 15th. **(See 6.7.)**

5.3.2. Chapter Nominations: A chapter or a signed petition may nominate only one person for each officer being elected.

5.3.3. Deadline for Nominations: All nominations are to be selected by the Chairman of the Nominating Committee by July 1st.

5.4. Honorary Officers: The Executive Board shall have the power to appoint Honorary Officers for the American Branch.

5.5. Vacancies: A vacancy which occurs in any office following the AGM will be filled by appointment of the Executive Board.

5.6. Suspension from Office: Any elected or appointed officer may have his authority suspended by the Executive Board for cause, including (but not limited to) misconduct in office, neglect of or inattention to official duty or inability to perform the duties of the office. Suspension of an elected officer will require action as provided in Article 6.1.3.

Article VI. Duties of the Executive Board

6.1. The Executive Board

6.1.1. Members: The Executive Board will consist of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Secretary, the Membership Chairman, the Treasurer and the Immediate Past Chairman. The Executive Board shall have full power to manage the business and affairs of the American Branch unless otherwise provided in these Bylaws.

~~**6.1.2. Surety Bonds:** The Executive Board shall prescribe the amount of official bonds which it may require of any officer, elective or administrative, or of any employee. The Treasurer shall always be bonded in an amount determined by the Executive Board.~~

6.1.2. Meetings: The Executive Board shall hold at least four (4) meetings each year for the general transaction of business or for consideration of matters as may be specified in the agenda for the meeting. The Board may meet more often as needed. The meetings may be in person, by telephone conference call, or by similar communications equipment that allows all persons participating in the meeting to hear each other at the same time. The Webmaster and the Editor of the Register are ex-officio members of the Executive Board. Appointed Board members and Committee chairs may attend any meeting.

6.1.3. Voting: The Executive Board may act when:

(a) A quorum exists. **(See 6.1.5.)** A simple majority of the votes cast is required for approval of any motion. (Except as otherwise provided in Section 6.9.1. relating to the destruction of Society records), or

(b) By unanimous written consent of the members of the Executive Board without a meeting. Electronic message-mail is acceptable for written consent.

6.1.4. Records: The Secretary shall keep an accurate, complete and permanent record of all proceedings of the Executive Board, which shall be permanently filed. Distribution of these records to the general membership may be provided via the Website.

6.1.5. Quorum: A simple majority of the number of members of the Executive Board of Directors which the American Branch would have if there were no vacancies shall constitute a quorum for the conduct of business.

6.2. Chairman: The duties of the Chairman shall be as follows:

- (a) To preside at all meetings of the American Branch and the Executive Board.
- (b) To appoint appropriate officers and Standing Committee Chairpersons with the advice and consent of the Executive Board
- (c) To execute all contracts, deeds and other legal instruments on behalf of and in the name of the American Branch when authorized by the Executive Board.
- (d) To have general supervision over all officers and Standing Committees, and to be an ex-officio member of all committees.
- (e) To oversee the planning of the AGM.
- (f) To have other powers and authority as shall be vested in the Chairman by the Executive Board
- (g) To appoint tellers to count ballots and to certify elections at the AGM.

6.3. Vice Chairman: The duties of the Vice Chairman shall be as follows:

- (a) To preside at meetings of the American Branch and the Executive Board in the absence or incapacity of the Chairman.
- (b) To prepare the Agenda for all Executive Board Meetings and the AGM.
- (c) To act as Bylaws Committee Chairman.
- (d) To perform other duties as required by the Executive Board.

6.4. Secretary: The duties of the Secretary shall be as follows:

- (a) To record and keep all minutes of official meetings, and to transfer records to the archives as appropriate.
- (b) To conduct all correspondence as directed by the Executive Board.
- (c) To be the official custodian and distributor of all records except those relating Membership and Finance.
- (d) To ensure the American Branch's contact information is current in the department that oversees charities in the state in which the American branch is incorporated.
- (e) To request the Annual Reports from all Officers and Committees in mid-August yearly, and to ensure that they are distributed to the membership in the Ricardian Register or on the website following the AGM.
- (f) To perform other duties as required by the Executive Board.
- (g) To send greetings yearly to the parent Society on the occasion of their AGM.
- (h) To arrange the conference call for Executive Board Meetings.

6.5. Membership Chairman: The duties of the Membership Chairman shall be as follows:

- (a) To accept applications, dues and donations from renewing and prospective members.
- (b) To update and maintain membership records, including the mailing of dues notices.
- (c) To forward all monies to the Treasurer on a timely basis, or on the request of the Treasurer, Chairman or Executive Board.
- (d) To distribute all mailings and communications to the membership of the American Branch except as otherwise provided in these Bylaws.
- (e) To perform other duties as required by the Executive Board.

6.6. Treasurer: The duties of the Treasurer shall be as follows:

- (a) To receive all monies due to the American Branch.
- (b) To deposit all monies into the appropriate bank or other financial accounts.
- (c) To oversee and report on any investment accounts.
- (d) To maintain and have charge of all financial records, ~~including Membership Records.~~

~~(d) To sign all checks drawn against bank accounts of the American Branch provided that amounts of more than five hundred dollars (\$500.00) have the written approval of the Chairman of the Executive Board.~~

(e) To make digital scans of any paper documents for eventual transfer to the next Treasurer.

(f) To identify any critical financial documents which should be passed on to the Richard III Society archives in hardcopy format.

(g) To pay all debts of the American Branch from the appropriate account.

(h) To file the appropriate Federal Tax returns as required by the Internal Revenue Service.

(i) To file State Tax returns in the state where the American Branch is incorporated, if required.

(j) To consult IRS websites and publications to maintain compliance with regulations for tax exempt organizations.

(k) To prepare a Budget yearly for the next fiscal year, to be presented and approved at the AGM.

(l) To have on file an accounting of the balances for all funds established by the American Branch for its purposes.

(m) To be willing and able to get a signature guarantee when necessary. A signature guarantee requires a good relationship with a bank or other financial institution where a specially qualified officer will compare the Treasurer's identification documents and witness the Treasurer's signature. Signature guarantees will be required at the end of the Treasurer's term when authority over financial accounts is passed on to the next Treasurer, and may be required on other financial transactions as well.

(n) To assist the next Treasurer during the transition period.

(o) To perform other financial duties as required by the Executive Board.

6.7. Immediate Past Chairman: The duties of the Past Chairman shall be as follows:

(a) To act as a member of the Nominating Committee.

(b) To obtain a site for the AGM.

(c) To perform other duties as required by the Executive Board.

6.8. Second Authorized Signer: This is not a separate officer, but a member of the Board, other than the Treasurer, who will have authority with the Treasurer over financial accounts. A second signer must be willing and able to get a signature guarantee when necessary (see 6.6. (m)). The second signer will have access to financial accounts, so that in the event the Treasurer is incapacitated, the second signer will be able to assume the Treasurer's most critical duties. In addition, some financial accounts, such as with a mutual fund company, require a second signer.

6.9. Official records: Any officer or Committee Chair having charge or custody of records and/or property of the American Branch, upon the termination of his term of office or upon the appointment of a new officer or Chair, shall deliver all records and/or properties either to the Chairman, to the new designate, or to the new officer or Committee Chair within one month of taking office.

6.9.1. No records or property belonging to the American Branch shall be destroyed without the unanimous approval of the Executive Board.

6.9.2. A permanent repository for records or archives may be established by the Executive Board.

Article VII. Standing Committees, Officers

7.1. - 7.1.4. No changes

7.1.5. Sales Officer: The Sales Officer is responsible for:

- (a) Maintaining, stocking, storing and sales of all products, pamphlets, books, souvenirs, jewelry and other goods pertaining to the American Branch.
- (b) Providing sales information in the Ricardian Register.
- (c) Providing for the manning and stocking of the Sales Booth at the AGM, or, if unable to attend, will provide for others to man the booth, in which case the sales items are to be available at least one week prior to the AGM.
- (d) Sending all documentation of and proceeds from sales to the Treasurer at least quarterly, or upon demand of the Treasurer and to provide an inventory of stock yearly.
- (e) Initiating search and purchase of depleted items or new and different items for the sales catalog, as is deemed desirable for the Branch. All purchases and expenses or postage borne by the Sales Office are to be repaid by the Treasurer.

~~**7.1.6. Schallek Memorial Graduate Scholarship Chair:** The Schallek Chair is responsible for coordinating the yearly award of one or more graduate scholarships in the field of fifteenth century studies related to the reign of the Plantagenet Kings.~~

- ~~(a) The Scholarship Committee is composed of academic members and one non-academic amateur historian. The Committee makes their recommendations for the award or awards, based on criteria as set by the American Branch and within guidelines of Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, to the Schallek Chair.~~
- ~~(b) The Schallek Chair consults with the Treasurer and Executive Board for the funds available in the Scholarship Endowment Fund and the Scholarships are approved by the Executive Board~~
- ~~(c) At no time does the Scholarship Committee have influence over the amount of the award, nor does the Executive Board have influence over the candidates selected or the award.~~
- ~~(d) The Schallek Chair is responsible for responding to donations to the Scholarship Fund when notified by the Membership Chairman.~~

7.1.6. Webmaster and Website: The Webmaster is responsible for:

- a. Disseminating information on American Branch programs, membership recruitment, fund-raising and volunteer opportunities on the internet.
- b. The maintaining of a Website with issues related to the life and character of Richard III and of Yorkist history.
- c. Timely updating of existing materials on the Website, and adding content to further the aims of the Society.
- d. Expands the online archives of primary texts and learning resources, as well as secondary sources to aid scholars at various levels.
- e. Seeking out new avenues for E-space use and opportunity.

7.2. Term: All appointed officers and Committee Chairs serve for a two-year term. Further term(s) of office may be approved with the consent of the Executive Board, or until a successor is appointed.

7.3. Duties: The duties of the standing committee chairs or appointed officers, and the job descriptions and regulations governing their operation shall be those prescribed by the Executive Board, except as otherwise provided by these Bylaws. Additional responsibilities may be requested of these officers and Chairpersons as the Executive Board requires for management of the American Branch.

7.4. The Ricardian Register: The official publication of the American Branch is the Ricardian Register. It shall be distributed to the membership at least quarterly. In the event that there is not sufficient material for an issue, the editor may combine two issues.

Article VIII. Chapters

8.1. Organization: Three (3) or more members of the American Branch may associate themselves together for the purpose of forming a chapter, and may make application for recognition.

8.1.1. Application: The application should state the Chapter name, location or area covered by the Chapter, names of members, officers, and rules or bylaws of the proposed Chapter.

8.1.2. Eligibility: No non-members of the American Branch may be a permanent member of a Chapter. Members of local Chapters of the American Branch should join the American Branch within six (6) months of joining the local Chapter.

8.1.3. Membership: The Membership Chairman may provide any Chapter with the names and addresses of American Branch members in the geographic area, except for those members who have chosen not to allow their name to be used. (See 3.8.)

8.1.4. Good Standing: A Chapter in good standing shall have the right to name themselves publicly as a Chapter of the Richard III Society, Inc., American Branch. To remain in good standing, a chapter must conform to the same principles set for members of the American Branch. (See 3.6.1.)

8.1.5. Inactive Chapters: If a chapter decides that it can no longer function or when it votes to dissolve, the Treasurer will suggest that their remaining funds be deposited with the Branch, to be returned when the chapter reconstitutes the members of the chapter shall decide, by majority vote, what shall be done with any remaining funds after paying all of the chapter's outstanding debts.

8.2. Fees and Dues: Chapter members pay the same dues to the American Branch as all members. In addition, each Chapter will pay a registration fee equivalent to an individual membership fee when the original application is made. Local chapter dues are set by each Chapter.

8.3. Reports: Each Chapter shall make an annual report of its activities to the Chapter Coordinator and/or to the Executive Board when requested prior to the AGM yearly.

8.3.1. The report is due by August 31 and should include Chapter activities since the previous Annual Report. It should be signed by the leading officer of the Chapter and the Secretary.

8.3.2. The reports will be printed in the Ricardian Register after the AGM.

8.4. Affiliation: A member of the American Branch need not be a member of a local Chapter in order to continue membership.

Article IX. Finances

9.1. General Fund: All operating funds of the American Branch shall be disbursed as directed by the Executive Board according to a budget adopted at the AGM.

9.1.1. The Treasurer will prepare a proposed budget to provide for current operations of the American Branch and the needs of the officers and Committee Chairs for the ensuing year.

9.1.2. The Budget will show estimated income and proposed expenditures, which will not exceed the estimated income.

9.1.3. Except as expressly authorized by the Executive Board, all expenditures of the American Branch shall be limited to the amounts authorized by this Budget when approved at the AGM.

9.2. Special Funds: The Board may, by resolution, designate the establishment of Special Funds to invest and accrue for scholarships, memorials or other purposes as it deems appropriate. Written criteria for each special fund, containing its purpose, endowment specifics and investment are to be filed with the Treasurer. and an appropriate chairperson will be in charge of each fund. The Board may appoint one or more members of the Society to advise it on the disposition of any money in the funds. The Treasurer will oversee the funds' finances and will report annually at the AGM the level of support for each fund, and which funds should be discontinued for lack of support. The Board will find an appropriate use for any remaining money in a discontinued fund.

9.3. Fiscal Year: The fiscal year of the American Branch shall commence on January 1 of each calendar year.

9.4. Internal Audits: ~~The accounts of the Treasurer, Sales Officer and any other officers that handle funds of the American Branch will be audited annually by a certified public accountant retained by the Executive Board or at any other time. examined annually by an audit committee appointed by the Board. The results of the A report by the audit committee will be published in the first issue of the Ricardian Register following the AGM.~~

Article X. Amendments

10.1. Amendments: The Bylaws of the American Branch may be amended, revised or repealed. The procedure for amendment may be generated by either:

- a) The members of the American Branch, or
- b) By the Executive Board as provided in Article IV. of these Bylaws.

10.1.1. Any Bylaw changes or revisions originating from at least ~~twenty-five~~ members in good standing must be submitted in writing to the Executive Board at least ninety (90) days prior to the AGM. ~~Notice of the proposed changes are published in the Ricardian Register mailed prior to the AGM.~~

10.1.2. ~~Any Bylaw or revision proposed by the Executive Board must be circulated to the membership in the issue of the Ricardian Register mailed prior to the AGM. The members attending the AGM may further amend or reject any part of the proposed amendments. Any Bylaw changes proposed by the Board must be made far enough in advance of the AGM so that members will receive timely notice of the proposed amendments.~~

10.1.3. The Board shall determine the best way to notify members of the proposed changes in advance of the AGM.

10.1.4. ~~Any proposed Bylaw proposed as in 10.1.1. changes will be presented to the membership with the Executive Board retaining the right to make further amendment(s) to the proposals(s) prior to at the AGM, where members may debate their merits, and vote to accept or reject them. Both amendments will be presented to the voting members, both in the Ricardian Register and at the AGM.~~

10.1.5. The Secretary Board shall determine the best way to circulate to the membership a copy of any Bylaws that are adopted, amended, or repealed, together with a concise statement of the rationale for the changes in the issue of the Ricardian Register following the AGM. They may also be placed on the Website.

Articles XI through XIII – no changes

Expanded Notes for Amended Bylaws of the Richard III Society, 2012

Section 4.1.1. Date: We may wish to hold an AGM at a time and location where we could come to the attention of other medievalists who may become interested in Richard III and wish to join the Society.

Section 4.1.3. (c) AGM Function. Omit this since audits are too expensive and we will be using an audit committee in the future.

Section 4.1.3. (d) AGM Function. “Secretary” is listed twice; omit the redundant listing.

Section 4.2 Special Meetings. This whole section should be dropped. The hassle and expense make Special Meetings extremely impractical in a country the size of the United States. This section seems to have been picked up from the UK Society’s constitution. Anything that can’t wait for the AGM can be handled by the Board in a conference call or two. Members can bring any pressing matters to the attention of the Board via email, snail mail, or phone; all relevant contact information is published in the Register. The Board can also arrange for non-Board members to participate in a conference call if necessary.

Section 4.3.1. Voting for Elections of Officers: Change the word “mailed” to “sent” to allow for email and other future advances in communications

Section 4.5. Rules of Order: Specify the most recent edition of Robert’s Rules of Order.

Section 5.1. Eligibility: Sentences rearranged to be more straightforward.

Section 5.2. Officers: Omit the phrase “via first class mail” to allow for other forms of communication, such as email and bulk mail, which will save money.

Section 5.2.2. Officers, consecutive years of service: Add provision that if a candidate for an office cannot be found for an officer who has served four consecutive years, that officer will continue in office up to two years until a candidate is found. If a candidate cannot be found after a year, the American Branch will either have to reorganize to consolidate positions, or dissolve if there are no volunteers to keep the organization running. The membership will then have to revert back to the parent.

Section 6.1.2. Surety Bonds. Omit this section, since obtaining bonds is too expensive. Instead, we should have a second authorized signer on all accounts. This is required on the Vanguard Bond Index Fund and Nita Musgrave is currently the second signer. The Chase Bank accounts currently have no second signer. The Weinsoft Fund at Calvert may have Nita as second signer as well. The second signer must also be willing and able to get a signature guarantee in order to transfer authority.

Section 6.1.3. Meetings. Typo in first sentence; “or” should be “for”.

Section 6.4. (d) Secretary’s Duties. Additional duty added – to keep the American Branch’s contact information current with the department that oversees charities in the state where the Society is incorporated. In New York, where we are currently incorporated, this is the Dept of Law, Office of the Attorney General.

Section 6.6. Treasurer’s Duties. Additional duties listed; original item (d) deleted – requiring written approval of all checks or payments over \$500 is impractical, and we pay bills via paypal, debit card, or ACH transfer as well as by check. Probably a better practice is to have the Treasurer make a report to the Board during conference calls of large payments.

Section 6.8. Second Authorized Signer: This section is added to clarify the duties of any Board member who is the second signer on any financial account.

Section 7.1.6. Schallek Memorial Graduate Scholarship Chair. This whole section needs to be deleted. We now have two Schallek funds: “Big Schallek”, a \$1.4M bequest from the

Schallek estate, which is used for one large PhD research grant and up to five \$2000 research grants for other graduate students annually; and “Little Schallek” which is now used for special projects such as the latest Edward IV Roll and for small research grants which can go to undergraduates and even high school students. This section as it is currently written applied to what is now Little Schallek when it was used for grad student grants. It wasn’t a large fund, so grants were small. Big Schallek was established about 2004 or 2005 after the current bylaws were revised in 2002. Big Schallek is entirely overseen by the Medieval Academy of America under an agreement with the American Branch. MAA is to forward annual reports to the Board. Little Schallek is overseen by the Board as a Special Fund.

Section 7.4. The Ricardian Register. Modified to allow for fewer issues when there is insufficient material to produce an issue.

Section 8.1.2. Eligibility. (Chapter membership) Amended to say chapter members should become members of the American Branch within six (6) months.

Section 8.1.5 Inactive Chapters. Chapters are financially independent of the American Branch and can do what they want with their money. Expecting the American Branch Treasurer to carry some small amount of money on the books indefinitely and then to return it to a newly activated chapter is unrealistic and such records will be easily lost.

Section 9.2. Special Funds. The Society has set up too many special funds in the past, has not documented them, has not assigned a chairman to each fund, and has not established a review process for funds to assess their level of support and how much or how little money has accumulated in each fund. It has not kept records of the disposition of any grants made from the funds. For example, the Treasurer has no record of any money being withdrawn from the Weinsoft Fund for non-fiction library purchases for the years 2001 through the present. (Transaction records downloaded from the Calvert website do not show any withdrawals from the fund during this period.) The Treasurer does not have older records, so she does not know if this fund has ever been used as intended. Also, since our Society has shrunk in membership, it is unlikely that any separate chairman will be found for each fund, but it may be possible to find members who would help the Board decide how the money should be spent. It will be the Treasurer’s job to oversee the finances of any special fund.

At the Las Vegas AGM in 2009, the Board voted to limit our special funds to the Weinsoft Fund (for the non-fiction library), which was endowed to honor Judy Weinsoft; the McGee fund, honoring Morris McGee; the Schallek Fund for special projects and small research grants (aka “Little Schallek”), and the General Fund to cover all other expenses (website and fiction library donations go into this fund). It was also decided at the 2009 AGM that the Medieval Artifacts Conservation Fund (MAC) would go to Little Schallek to provide more money for the Edward IV Roll Project; the Monograph Fund seems to have been discontinued and nobody is donating to it; the Maxwell Anderson Fund never really got off the ground. The website pages covering these funds were to have been updated to reflect this simplification.

Section 9.4. Internal Audits. Audits by a CPA are deemed too expensive, if we can even get a CPA to do one for a small organization like ours. Instead we should establish an audit committee. The easiest way to do an audit is after taxes have been filed. Then the committee can use all the records accumulated for the tax return and compare them to the tax return. There will be additional detail in the internal audit since we will be tracking items such as the McGee Fund that are not listed separately on the IRS return since it is not in a separate account.

Sections 10.1.1. through 10.1.5. Amendments to Bylaws. The procedures for amending bylaws, whether from member proposals or the Board, are clarified in these sections. The number of members required to propose amendments is reduced from twenty-five to five. The 25-member requirement would probably ensure that no member-proposed changes would ever be made. The Board should have discretion to use the most efficient method to notify members of proposed changes; this may be by email, or a separate mailing or some other means, instead of relying solely on the Register. The language is simplified to make clear that all proposed amendments may be debated and voted on by the members at the AGM. The Board should also have discretion to use the best means to notify members of any adopted changes to the bylaws.



From the Editor

“The Richard III Society, Inc. is an all-volunteer organization. Without volunteers the Society cannot function. This is the first time in our history when we have not been able to offer a slate of candidates to stand for election. We need new ideas and new volunteers to serve if we are to ensure our survival as an organization. Without member participation, we are in grave danger of being dissolved. None of us want that...and yet, that is reality. The Society cannot survive without volunteers serving in it. The time to stand up is right now!”—Wayne Ingalls

The offices who must be replaced are: Secretary, Treasurer, and Membership Chair. It is imperative that these positions be filled for continued operation of the American Branch as we know it. Additionally, Amber McVey had to resign her position as Membership Chair immediately due to a recurrence of cancer. Jonathan Hayes (vice-Chair) and Joan Szechtmann (Editor) are filling in until we can permanently fill this position. All positions are important—please volunteer.



Geoffrey Wheeler

By the time you receive this publication, you should have received the American Branch mailer concerning the proposed Bylaw changes and election slate. In order for the American Branch to remain a viable organization, we need your participation. It is never too late to volunteer for open positions.

Because no new articles were submitted for this edition of the Register, it has only one article relating to Richard III, which is a reprint from the 1996 *Ricardian*. Again, we depend on member participation for material for the Register. Please consider submitting articles for publication to me at u2nohoo@gmail.com. While there are deadlines for specific issues, feel free to submit at any time, since if you miss the deadline for the next issue, you will have submitted early enough for the next issue. For reference, copy deadlines are:

March • January 15

June • April 15

September • July 15

December • October 15

I hope the December issue will be chock full of good news and that we will be able to fill all open positions and have new articles for this publication.

Illustration: Richard, Duke of Gloucester, with his wife Anne
Neville and their son Edward








Mary Kelly

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Sales Catalog–September, 2012
Richard III Society, American Branch

Merchandise

Item Description	Item #	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)	Image (where available)
"Leaves of Gold" CD. This is the CD-ROM that accompanied the exhibition in Spring, 2001, at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, suitable for viewing on Windows or Mac computers. This exhibition included the Lewis Ms. genealogy of Edward IV, the conservation of which was financed by the American Branch of the Society.	1	\$10.00	\$1.00	
Sweater. Blue with embroidered boar logo. UK size 34. Acrylic. (UK 34 = US "Very Small.") <i>Only 1 available.</i>	2	\$10.00	\$5.00	
Sweater. Black with embroidered boar logo. UK size 34 only. Acrylic. (UK 34 = US "Very Small".) <i>Only 1 available.</i>	4	\$10.00	\$5.00	
Boar badge (pin). Made from lead-free pewter each board badge is approximately 1 5/16" long and 5/8" inch high.	156-1	\$11.00	\$3.75	
"Loyalty - standard" postcard. Postcard 4 1/4 x 6" (set of 5)	56-1	\$2.50 per set	\$1.00	
Window sticker. Blue background with white boar logo; 3" diameter. Apply on window facing out.	54-1	\$2.50	\$1.00	

Item Description	Item #	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)	Image (where available)
Window sticker. Red background with white boar logo; 3" diameter. Apply on window facing out.	54-2	\$2.50	\$1.00	
"Loyalty - coat of arms" postcard. Postcard 4 1/4 x 6" (set of 5)	55-1	\$2.50 per set	\$1.00	
Pendant, black. Black background with enameled boar logo. 1" diameter. Has loop for chain (not included). <i>Limited Quantities</i>	63-1	\$5.00	\$1.00	
Pendant, blue. Blue background with enameled boar logo. 1" diameter. Has loop for chain (not included). <i>Limited Quantities</i>	67-1	\$5.00	\$1.00	
Scarf. 25" x 27" blue background with boar logos patterned on scarf. Polyester. <i>Very limited quantities.</i>	65-1	\$7.50	\$1.00	
Pendant, blue (pin). Blue background with enameled boar logo. 1" diameter. Has pin latch.	67-2	\$5.00	\$1.00	
Scarf – quincentenary. 25" x 27" blue background with crown, boar, and rose logos. Polyester. <i>Limited quantities.</i>	52-1	\$7.50	\$1.00	
Carry bag, cloth. Cream color with red imprint of Richard's face and UK web site on reverse side. 17" high by 14" wide.	152-1	\$5.00	\$2.75	

Books and Periodicals

Item Description	Item Number	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)
The Encomium of Richard III. Paperback; 33 pages; edited by A N Kincaid; introduced by A N Kincaid & J A Ramsden; by Sir William Cornwallis the Younger; The earliest defense of King Richard III by a contemporary of Sir George Buck.	5-1	\$8.00	\$2.75

Item Description	Item Number	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)
The Ricardian: Tant D'Emprises So Many Undertakings , Essays in Honour of Anne F. Sutton. Edited by Livia Visser-Fuchs. Volume XIII 2003.	135-1	\$12.50	\$5.00
The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor . Paperback; 138 pages; by Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs with RA Griffiths; Publisher: Richard III Society (2005); ISBN 0904893154	143-1	\$20.00	\$5.00
This Time . <i>This Time</i> rediscovers the fifteenth century Richard III as he attempts to unravel the mysteries of the twenty-first century. By R3 member, Joan Szechtman. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-9824493-0-1. Signed by author.	16	\$15.00	\$4.00
Loyalty Binds Me . Arrested for a 500 year-old murder, Richard III must defend himself without revealing his true identity. By Joan Szechtman. ISBN 978-1-935188-25-4. Signed by author.	17	\$12.00	\$4.00
Purchase both books by Joan Szechtman for \$25 plus \$6 for shipping and handling.			
One Too Many Times . A delightful romp over five centuries, as the 15th-century King Edward IV and his younger brothers, George and Richard, followed by a love-struck Lisbet Woodville, travel to the year 2011 and proceed to change history. By R3 member, Diana Rubino. ISBN: 978-1451523775. Signed by Author	18	\$12.00	\$4.00
Destiny Lies Waiting takes place in Richard III's England and center on Denys Woodville and Sir Valentine Starbury. ISBN: 1-58345-078-5 By Diana Rubino. Signed by author.	19	\$12.00	\$4.00
Thy Name Is Love . Sequel to Destiny Lies Waiting continues the adventures of Denys and Valentine. ISBN: 1-58345-079-3 By Diana Rubino. Signed by author.	20	\$12.00	\$4.00
Purchase any two books by Diana Rubino for \$22 plus \$6 for shipping and handling or purchase any three for \$33 plus \$6 for shipping and handling.			
The Bulletin : Spring 2006 (Item Number 8), Summer 2006 (Item Number 9), Spring 2009 (Item Number 10), December 2009 (Item Number 11), Spring 2008 (Item Number 12), Winter 2008 (Item Number 13)		\$3.00 ea. issue	\$1.00 ea. issue
The Ricardian : Volume XV 2005 (Item Number 5), Volume XIV 2004 (Item Number 6), Volume XVII 2007 (Item Number 7)		\$3.00 ea. Vol.	\$1.00 ea. Vol.

Item Description	Item Number	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)
Life in a Medieval Town. Pocket-sized paperback, 92 pages. By PW Hammond. Amberley Publishing, 2008.	164-1	\$6.00	\$2.00
Good King Richard? Paperback, 287 pages. ISBN 0094688400. An account of Richard III and his reputation 1483-1983. By Jeremy Potter. Detailed study of source material for Richard's reign and how it has been used by later historians. <i>Limited quantities.</i>	3-1	\$11.00	\$3.50
Itinerary of Richard III, 1483-1485. Paperback, 44 pages. By Rhoda Edwards Richard's whereabouts from April 1483 to August 1485, as recorded in contemporary documents. <i>Limited quantities.</i>	2-1	\$6.00	\$2.00
The Battles of Barnet & Tewkesbury. Hardback, 158 pages. ISBN 0862993857. By P.W. Hammond. This book focuses not on only the battles that marked the reclaiming of the crown for Edward IV but also deals with the emergence of the youthful Richard of Gloucester onto the political and military scene.	20-1	\$12.50	\$3.50

Item Number	Item Description	Qty	Price (ea)	S & H (ea)	Total
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The position of chapter coordinator is currently open. Please contact Nita Musgrave at bnm@wowway.com if you are interested in filling this position.

Inside back cover
(not printed)

Portrait of Richard III at National Portrait Gallery, London
photograph by *Joan Szechtman*

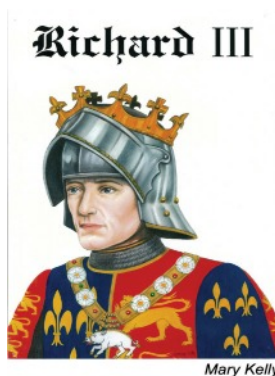


Front cover: *Richard III's heroic charge at the Battle of Bosworth* by Mary Kelly
Prints of this painting, and others of Richard III and the Wars of the Roses, are available from White Boar.
Contact Mary Kelly at whiteboar.r111@yahoo.com

York Minster stained glass of Richard III's coat of arms.
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In Remembrance

Remember before God, Richard III, King of England, and those
who fell on Redemore Plain, having kept faith, 22 August, 1485.
"Loyaulte Me Lie"



Mary Kelly
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