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Articles: Receiving the King (Henry VII) • Richard's Affinity and Good Lordship as Duke of Gloucester 1468-1483 • Richard III's Daughter: Katherine, Countess of Huntingdon

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Receiving the King:

Pageantry and Politics in the First Royal Progress of Henry VII

Erin Lindsey

When Henry Tudor emerged victorious at Bosworth in 1485 as Henry VII, with the crown of England upon his head and his enemy, Richard III, dead, the young king's prospects were far from certain. Henry VII had acquired a kingdom fraught with political instability and rebellion; the past half-century had already seen five monarchs. At best, the new king had a weak claim to the throne, with distant genealogical ties to the Lancastrian royal line. Furthermore, he was relatively unknown in England, having spent much of his adolescence abroad following the defeat of the Lancastrians at Tewksbury in 1471.¹

The urgency of consolidating power in such a tumultuous political environment must have been clear to Henry VII, for soon after his coronation he embarked on a royal progress around England, a method long used by monarchs to impress upon the populace the power and majesty of the king.² This official journey took Henry VII to northern England via eastern England, returning through the west. York in the north and the Welsh Marches in the west were areas in which the Yorkist kings had exerted much power. However, their unique histories and geographic localities influenced their distinct political environments. The city of York had received much favor from Richard III and had strong ties to the Yorkist kings.³ But the Yorkist kings had failed to gain pervasive support in the Welsh Marches, where lawlessness was rampant and a legend circulated of a Welsh king who would rule England – a legend which Henry VII, a king of Welsh descent, exploited fully.⁴

Pageantry during the Yorkist and early Tudor period was laden with complex symbolism. In *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, one of the most influential studies of early Tudor pageantry, Sydney Anglo details how celebrations, like the welcoming of the king into a city, were charged with political rhetoric.⁵ The governors of the cities themselves carefully crafted this rhetoric during Henry VII's progress of 1486.⁶ It is important to bear in mind that the opinions expressed in the arranged pageants were those of the civil leaders, whom the city's powerful citizens typically elected.⁷ The views of these citizens were not homogeneous, but those with the most power and influence crafted the message conveyed in each city's pageants.

The progress of Henry VII provides a window into the relationship between royal power and urban centers in late medieval England. In *The Politics of Welcome: Ceremonies and Constitutional Development in Later Medieval English Towns*, Lorraine Attreed describes the importance of the king's reception. While the ultimate goal of the pageants accompanying the king's visitation was to strengthen the bond between the city and its monarch, the king was not always welcomed unreservedly.⁸ The visit of a monarch put considerable financial strain on the city and brought to the forefront the people's negative feelings toward the king.

The most useful records for understanding the first royal progress in 1486 are those of the heralds' office from this period, published as *The Herald's Memoir 1486-1490* and edited by Emma Cavell. The records were compiled by various heralds who travelled along with the king and his court, although the exact authors of the sections are not known.⁹ As masters of ceremony and ritual, the heralds produced records which served to report the king's interaction with local elites and carefully document the organization of court ceremonies. Henry VII, notorious for his obsession with record keeping, sanctioned the heralds' records.¹⁰ It is important to note that the king did not commission these records.

Although these records are limited because they so narrowly focus on pageantry and ceremony, the independence of the heralds compiling the records, coupled with their access to the proceedings, as eye-witnesses makes these records incredibly useful.¹¹

The heralds' records reveal noticeable differences in the way Henry VII was received in Richard III's stronghold of York, and in the cities of Worcester and Hereford in the Welsh Marches. These differences correlate with significantly different regional histories; while Yorkists controlled York and the Welsh Marches during the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III, the history of the cities differed considerably. These regional histories shaped how the city of York and the cities of Worcester and Hereford received Henry VII when he embarked on the royal progress of 1486.

Henry VII and the City of York

York was arguably the most important city that Henry VII visited on his first progress to the north. The city was one of the most powerful in England; only London was more important.¹² This influence was troubling for the new king considering the city of York's close history with the recently defeated Yorkists. The concern for the security of Henry VII's power in the north was so intense that in his *Anglica Historia*, Polydore Virgil recounts that Henry VII "set out for York, in order to keep in obedience the folk of the North, savage and more eager than others for upheavals."¹³ Although Henry VII travelled through both the east and west of England, it is clear that the primary aim of the first progress was to consolidate power in the north, specifically in York. The close ties between the Yorkist King Richard III and the city of York, which caused this concern shaped the way in which the city received Henry VII on the royal progress of 1486.

Prior to the ascension of Edward IV in 1461, the city had supported the Lancastrians. It shifted its support to the Yorkist cause when the forces of Henry VI were defeated in the Battle of Towton in 1461.¹⁴ At this time the city of York welcomed Edward IV and amid much fanfare received a pardon for its support of Henry VI. Edward also used this opportunity to decimate the Lancastrian base of support in the city. He executed many Lancastrian supporters, including several nobles.¹⁵ During Henry VI's short-lived restoration to power, the city's recorder met Edward IV, who had just returned from exile to attempt to regain power, outside the city and warned him not to enter the city.¹⁶ He was permitted to enter York as the Duke of York, on the condition that he enter without his army, and he proceeded to declare that he had no desire to reclaim the throne.¹⁷ The dubious status of the English throne at the time presented the city with an awkward situation; the city was careful not to appear treasonous to either Henry VI or Edward IV. The deaths of both Henry VI and his son that same year would make future visits much less problematic.

Support for the Yorkist cause in York flourished under Edward IV's brother and successor, Richard III. An advocate of the city, Richard had been received there on various occasions with great celebration even before his coronation.¹⁸ After Richard III's coronation, the city of York took great care to ensure his continued support. Immediately after his coronation, the city sent a generous gift to Richard III's son.¹⁹ Soon after, Richard III visited York on a royal progress. The council of York carefully planned a spectacular stay for their king, including various pageants and elaborate gifts.²⁰ These visits proved to be so expensive that the council needed to expand its membership to cover the costs.²¹ Richard III honored the city by "repeating his coronation in the metropolitan church," having his son made Prince of Wales there, and by giving "most gorgeous and sumptuous feasts and banquets, for the purpose of gaining the affections of the people."²² The act of repeating the coronation

in York and crowning the young prince forged an even deeper connection between Richard III and the city of York.

The Reception in York

In stark contrast to the jubilation that accompanied the entrance of Richard III into York, the reception of Henry VII years later was somber and, although conciliatory, embodied the uneasy relationship between the new king and the city. This tension manifested itself before Henry VII even entered the city. The mayor of York and a company of “other great nombre of citezeins” met the king three miles outside of the city near Tadcaster; most notable among this company was John Vavasour, the recorder of York.²³ Vavasour had been elected against the wishes of Henry VII. In October of 1485, Henry VII had written to the council in York requesting that Richard Grene, a man whose “trouthe and fidelitie” the king was “verily assured”, be chosen to replace the “sedicious” Miles Metcalf (a staunch supporter of Richard III) as recorder of York.²⁴ The decision was postponed, and Grene was never made recorder.²⁵ This decision seems to have been of great importance to the council of York; discussions of the issue appear repeatedly in the records of the York city council whereas most elections appear only briefly. The decision was postponed so that advice could be sought from local nobles, and the council thought it necessary to inform the archbishop of “theacts passed by the counsille... concerning thelection of the recordour of this cite.”²⁶ The city of York had defied the king, replacing one faithful Yorkist with another instead of the king’s chosen candidate, and creating “ancient customs,” laws which disqualified any candidate receiving royal support.²⁷

The concern paid to the election of the new city recorder illuminates an awareness of the significance of the decision. The fact that Vavasour was responsible for delivering the first speech welcoming Henry VII to the city would have been a reminder to Henry VII that although York was welcoming the new king, it had no intentions of losing its autonomy to placate its former enemy.

As Henry VII entered the city of York, he was greeted by a pageant featuring Ebraucus, the legendary founder of the city, whose speech contains themes of surrender.²⁸ As the founder of the city, Ebraucus had a symbolic role of authority in the city, and could be seen as an ideal representative of the city. The somber speech given by Ebraucus was recorded by heralds accompanying Henry VII and is quite unusual for a jubilant entry of the king into the city. Ebraucus’ declaration that “To you Henry I submitte my citie kee and coroune/To rule and redresse as your due to defence/nevir to this citie to presume no pretence/but holly I remytte it to your governaunce” characterizes this speech as a surrender rather than a celebratory welcome.²⁹ This characterization is reinforced by Ebraucus’ desire to “pray for compassion”, entreating the new king to be kind to the city.³⁰ This speech at the gates of York defines the relationship between Henry VII and the city of York as hostile, requiring a surrender by the city in order for the new king to enter. The inclusion of the plea for compassion and acknowledgement of Henry VII’s right to hold the city demonstrate a reluctant desire by the city of York to reconcile with the king in order to ensure future peace.

York’s reluctance to welcome Henry VII is presented in conjunction with its desire to avoid invoking the enmity of the new king. The conflicting concerns of the city of York can be seen in the speech given by the biblical king Solomon.³¹ King Solomon, revered for his wisdom and justice in governing, is a natural choice for a city wishing to evoke temperance in judgment. In this speech, Solomon advises Henry VII and praises his justice, saying, “Your sage sobre sothfastnesse hath so be shewede/In yche judiciall right this realme

to be renewed/Ye be advised moost worthy by gracious affluence/ Submytting to your soveraigntie my septer of sapience.”³² The somber emphasis on justice and wisdom in this speech reflects a city unsure about its future under a new king. The speech by Solomon, which reminded Henry VII to judge this influential city with wisdom and mercy in order to reestablish a good relationship with its citizens, is illustrative of a city fearful that Henry VII would hold York’s allegiance with his enemies against it. This sentiment is repeated at the end of the speech when Solomon beseeches Henry VII, “this your citie to support with subsidie of your grace”.³³ The repeated theme of imploring the king for his favor is characteristic of a city uneasy about its relationship with the new king. Although Solomon’s speech is still solemn for a pageant welcoming a new king to the city, the text indicates the city’s desire to improve its relationship with Henry VII in order to secure a prosperous future during his reign. Power shifted with such great frequency during the Wars of the Roses. Cities, as well as individuals, forced to ally with one side or the other inevitably allied with the wrong side at some point. York found itself in this awkward position when Henry VII arrived in the city in 1486. Anxious not to anger the former enemy yet perhaps still sore from losing their beloved King Richard III, the city of York wrote and performed pageants for the new king that were flattering and conciliatory, but lacked joy. The speech of Solomon demonstrates the city’s reluctant desire to appeal to the new king to secure his favor.

The themes of Solomon’s speech persist in a third pageant featuring the Virgin Mary. In the speech given by the Virgin Mary, she claims to be chosen to intervene with the king on the city’s behalf, explaining that “this citie hath honourede humbly/and made me ther meane withoute objeccion/in hope of their helpe to have it holly.”³⁴ She continues, telling Henry VII that “this citie is a place of my pleasing/than have thou no drede nor no doubting/continually her in thy reynng/I shall shewe to my Sonne to sende thee His Grace”.³⁵ The city of York employs the Virgin Mary as an advocate to bolster its appeal to the king with divine sanction. Given the history of the city of York with the king’s enemies, the chances of his showing York favor in the future seemed slim. The Virgin’s reassuring Henry VII that he had no reason to doubt or dread the city reinforces Henry VII’s lack of reason or inclination to trust the city. Electing a figure as sanctified as the Virgin Mary to convince Henry VII of York’s good faith reaffirms that the city of York feared that its support of the Yorkist cause would hamper future relations with the new king.

The final pageant, a speech given by the biblical king David, returns to the stark themes of surrender raised in the first speech of Ebraucus. Employing David, a renowned warrior king, as a representative, provides the city with an advocate with whom Henry VII could identify. In this speech, David submits to Henry VII, giving him the “swerde of victory” and praises the nobility of Ebraucus, the founder of York.³⁶ By having David submit to Henry VII the sword of victory, the city of York again characterizes the relationship between York and Henry VII as an uneasy one. David continues to inform Henry VII that “this citie without variaunce/was never devinced by force ne violence” and that “it is your citie not filede with dissaveaunce/True and bolde to your bloode not dreding perturbatione/Whiche caused moost this citie to be desolate”.³⁷ These lines, claiming that York had not used force against Henry VII, attesting to the loyalty of the city, and reassuring the king that he need not fear uprising from York, were no doubt meant to alleviate Henry VII’s concerns about his control over the region.

The king’s concerns would have been heightened by a string of revolts in the north that coincided with his progress. Viscount Lovell led the most significant, aided by a local leader who called himself “Robin of Redesdale”. They intended

to take control of York and capture Henry VII.³⁸ This revolt was crushed when Henry VII “dispatched against the enemy his whole retinue, including his bodyguard, to the total of 3,000 men...they immediately announced the royal terms: that the king would voluntarily extend his pardon to those who laid down their arms.”³⁹ In addition to the revolts Henry VII faced on his way to York, the king “was nearly slain by means of a stratagem on the part of the enemy” while in York, on the feast of St. George.⁴⁰ The city of York already had cause for concern about its relationship with the new king due to its past allegiance with the Yorkists. It faced revolts and disorder which would have at best done nothing to improve the city’s relationship with Henry VII and at worst affirmed in the new king’s mind the city’s hostility to his reign. The city attempted to amend this situation by including a reassurance in the speech of David, the final of the pageants welcoming Henry VII in York. Assuring the king of the cooperation of the city was necessary in order to develop a working relationship with Henry VII that was essential for the city’s prosperity.

The reception Henry VII received in York gave the new king all the respect due a visiting monarch. Despite their somber tone, the pageants performed for Henry VII were an attempt to repair the strained relationship between the city of York and the king, as demonstrated by the conciliatory content of the speeches. The city of York’s history with the Yorkist regime dictated what needed to be addressed in the reception of Henry VII to the city. York struck a balance between bitterness over the loss of their great benefactor Richard III and a desire to improve its relationship with Henry VII in the king’s reception.

Henry VII and the Welsh Marches

Henry VII’s first progress was first and foremost a trip to the hostile region of the north, but he also visited the West Midlands on his return. The itinerary took Henry VII through two important cities of the Welsh Marches, Worcester and Hereford, for which the heralds’ recorded the pageants planned at the king’s reception. These cities, located in the Welsh Marches, fall in the borderlands between England and Wales. The history of this region during the Wars of the Roses is a complex one. It is typically generalized that western Wales favored the Lancastrians, while eastern Wales (including the Marches) supported the Yorkists.⁴¹ This generality reflects the control the Yorkist kings had in the Welsh Marches; by the end of the reign of Richard III, the crown directly controlled most of the marcher lordships.⁴² It is important to note, however, that the Yorkists were not universally supported in the Welsh Marches, even during the reigns of the Yorkist kings.⁴³

Several factors complicate this generalization of eastern Wales’ support for the Yorkists. The first of these is the ongoing lack of order in the Marches during the period. In the reign of Edward IV, the Welsh Marches were a perilous place; crime and disorder were rampant.⁴⁴ Disorder plagued the region continually throughout the fifteenth century.⁴⁵ When Henry VII became king, there was hope that his reign would usher in a new era of peace by bringing an end to the civil war that had plagued the country. This hope was expressed in a poem by the Welsh poet Lewis Glyn Cothi, who wrote, “the boar is cold in his grave; the world is still and envenomed feuds asleep.”⁴⁶

Further complicating the supposed support of the Yorkists by the Welsh Marches is the legend of Cadwallader, first recorded in the twelfth century by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *History of the Kings of Britain*. It concerns the last king of the Britons, and claims that:

“God did not want the Britons to rule over the island of Britain any longer,

until the time came which Merlin had foretold to Arthur. The Voice commanded Cadualadrus to go to pope Sergius in Rome... It said that through his blessing the British people would one day recover the island...⁴⁷

The Welsh, who saw themselves as the descendents of the Britons, kept alive the legend that someday a Welsh king would rule over Britain through poetry. This “prophetic poetry” became especially popular in the fifteenth century.⁴⁸ One such poem by Lewis Glyn Cothi expresses the sentiment felt in Welsh territories that “those who are awake know that Wales has long since fallen into a deep sleep, and awaits an embaving champion.”⁴⁹

The fervor associated with the legend of Cadwallader was something both the Yorkists and the Tudors attempted to exploit. The Yorkists flaunted their descent from the Mortimers, who were descendents of ancient Welsh kings, including Cadwallader.⁵⁰ However, Henry Tudor was to gain the most political capital from his Welsh heritage. His paternal grandfather had been a Welshman named Owain Tudor, called the “keeper of the hearth of Cadwaladr” by the poet Dafydd Nanmor.⁵¹ Henry Tudor likely grew up with a knowledge of his genealogy and the legend of Cadwallader, and was aware of how he could forge for himself a place in that legend.⁵² He took full advantage of the legend, carrying a banner with the red dragon of Cadwallader with him when he returned to England that would remain an important symbol throughout his reign.⁵³ Henry VII’s marriage to Elizabeth of York further solidified his role as Cadwallader’s heir, because she also possessed some Welsh blood through her Yorkist father; it is no coincidence that their first child was named Arthur, a central figure in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s histories.⁵⁴ This gave Henry VII support in the Wales, drawing not on his Lancastrian roots but his association with the Welsh ruler predicted in legend.

The Reception in Worcester

The heralds’ records leave off at York, and resume at Worcester. Worcester, like York, had an added incentive to please the new king; the city had been implicated in the Stafford rebellion.⁵⁵ The pageants of Worcester were not performed, for some unspecified reason, but they were prepared and given to the heralds anyway.⁵⁶ Whatever the reason, the speeches still hold value in that they illuminate the concerns and convictions of the city. While York and Worcester shared a similar predicament of welcoming the king following a rebellion, each city planned its own distinct pageantry. In contrast to the solemn, surrender-like proceedings at York, the speeches planned in Worcester were more positive in their tone. This suggests that, although both cities had been centers of uprisings, the political environment in the Welsh Marches differed significantly from that in York.

The pageants of Worcester employ various figures, both secular and religious, to demonstrate the city’s support of Henry VII and the legitimacy of his kingship. The first speech recorded by the herald is a lengthy speech by a man portraying Henry VI. The speech immediately takes on a different tone than those given in York, opening with Henry VI declaring, “welcome newew welcome, my cousin dere/next of my blood descended by alyounce/chosen by grace of God both fer and ner/ to be myn heir...”⁵⁷ Not only does the speech take on a positive tone, but it immediately draws a connection to Henry VII’s kinship with the last Lancastrian king, emphasizing Henry VII’s legitimacy through his genealogical tie to the royal line. This is significant because it is an open recognition of Henry VII as a king legitimized not only by military victory, but through his own royal blood. Naming Henry VII as the rightful king by virtue of his relation to Henry VI delegitimizes the Yorkist kings; if Henry VII is Henry VI’s heir, then both Edward IV and Richard III were usurpers. This reveals a lack of devotion to the Yorkist kings in Worcester. The constant disorder in

the region may have been partially responsible for this, as the problem was never sufficiently dealt with by the Yorkist kings.

In addition to the dynastic significance of having the last Lancastrian king deliver the speech, the choice for Henry VI to give the first speech suggests that the city of Worcester was not as enamored with the Yorkists as York had been. In the speech, Henry VI describes that “slayne was I martir by great tourmenting.”⁵⁸ There was much doubt about exactly how Henry VI had died; this phrase indicates that the writer of the pageant believed rumors that he had been murdered by the Yorkists.⁵⁹ This rumor did little to increase the popularity of the Yorkist kings, especially as Henry VI became venerated as an unofficial saint and the subject of a popular cult.⁶⁰ Unsurprisingly, the city of York had failed to mention Henry VI in its pageants. The focus on Henry VI in Worcester, including a reference to his supposed martyrdom, underscores that, while Worcester had been involved in an uprising, the political environment that existed there was not as favorable for the Yorkists as it was elsewhere, in places like York.

The end of Henry VI’s speech is marked by four prayers for Henry VII. The first two are delivered by St. Wulstan and St. Oswald, early bishops of Worcester.⁶¹ Like Ebraucus in York, these figures were central to the history of their city and held a symbolic authority as representatives of the city. In the second of these, St. Oswald prays, “graunt hym longe liff in vertue the to please/and al his days for to reigne in peas.”⁶² This plea reveals a desire for stability that had been lacking during the Wars of the Roses. While it may seem natural for a city to wish the king a long life and reign, it is important to note that the speeches in York fail to do so. A long reign was not guaranteed during the Wars of the Roses, when disorder and war were rampant and power shifted regularly; this prayer represents an underlying desire in Worcester for a stable and peaceful future, which they believed Henry VII would deliver.

The pageant of Henry VI in Worcester reveals a city tired of constant warfare and shifting allegiances, disenchanted by the late Yorkist kings, and ready for a new king to establish a better future. Because the city of Worcester did not have the extraordinary relationship with Richard III that York did, it had less to lose when Henry VII took power, and therefore more readily embraced the new king. Aiding in the acceptance of Henry VII was the city’s location in the Welsh Marches, where Henry VII’s reputation as a descendant of the ancient Welsh kings would have been most enthusiastically acknowledged outside Wales itself. The second speech prepared for Henry VII in Worcester is given by a fictional man named Janitor who does not know who Henry VII is.⁶³ He goes through a list of possible candidates, including Noah, Jason, Julius Caesar, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Scipio, and Arthur, citing some similarities of each with Henry VII. Most significant, however, is how Janitor finally identifies the king, proclaiming, “Cadwaladers blodde lynyally descending/Longe hath bee towlde of suche a prince commyng/Wherfor frendez if that I shalnot lye/This same is the fulfiller of the profecye.”⁶⁴ Defining Henry VII as Cadwallader’s heir makes him not only a true Welsh king, but a king whose reign was dictated by God through Cadwallader’s vision. For a marginalized region plagued by instability, it must have inspired hope that Henry VII was a Welsh king, prophesized to reclaim the island for the Britons. The excitement concerning this popular legend contributed to the positive reception Henry VII received in Worcester.

The political environment in Worcester had a large impact on the reception of Henry VII in 1486. Weariness of war, desire for peace, and hope for the future are reflected in the prayers offered for Henry VII and in the description of Henry VII as the legendary descendant of Cadwallader. The positive tone displayed in the pageants of Worcester,

despite the petition for pardon regarding the rebellion, alludes to a city ready to welcome a new king.

The Reception in Hereford

After leaving Worcester, Henry VII made his way to the city of Hereford, a city even farther into the Welsh Marches. The pageants put on by Hereford are few and short, but significant. The king was met over a mile outside of the city by the mayor and processed into the city with the friars of the city, amid cheering crowds.⁶⁵ A pageant depicting St. George, the warrior saint adopted by England, greeted the king at the gate, exclaiming, “supporter of truth confounder of wikkednesse/As people of your realme holy reporteth and saith/welcome to this citie without eny feintenesse...so shall I be your helpe unto your lives fine/To withsonde your enemyses with the help of that blessed Virgyn.”⁶⁶ While York had welcomed the king begrudgingly and Worcester had welcomed him positively, if perhaps nervously because of its involvement with the rebellion, Hereford welcomed Henry VII unreservedly. The fact that St. George, with his strong symbolic association with England, promised in this speech to protect Henry VII against his enemies is revealing; since the enemies of Henry VII would be the Yorkists and their supporters, it implies that the city felt that the Yorkists had opposed the God-chosen leader of England.

At the market in Hereford, a second pageant featuring Ethelbert, King of the East Angles was performed.⁶⁷ The location of this speech is significant. In 1461, after the battle of Mortimer’s Cross, Edward IV had captured Owain Tudor, the paternal grandfather of Henry VII and the man from whom Henry VII inherited his Welsh identity.⁶⁸ A fifteenth-century chronicler in London recorded the news of the event, recounting that “in that jorney was Owyn Tetyr i-take and brought unto Herforde este, an he was be heddyde at the market place, and hys hedde sette a-pone the hygheyste gryce of the market crosse.”⁶⁹ The chronicler also tells of a mad woman who “kembyd hys here and wysche a way the blode of hys face, and she gate candellys and sette a-boute hym brennynge, moo then a [hundred].”⁷⁰ Although the chronicler tells us this act was performed by a mad woman, the vast number of candles set around his head as a vigil imply an expense that makes it unlikely that an anonymous mad woman acted alone. As the chronicle was likely written in the reign of Edward IV, the attribution of the devotion to Owain Tudor to a mad woman may have been more palatable to the Yorkists who controlled London, where the chronicler lived.⁷¹ This, in conjunction with the fact the execution sparked many Welsh poets to mourn Owain Tudor’s death, suggests that the Tudors were popular in Hereford even during the reigns of the Yorkist kings.⁷²

Just as when Edward IV arrived in York after the Yorkist victory at the battle at Towton and removed his father’s head from a city gate, Henry VII’s return to the place of his grandfather’s execution symbolically marked the king’s establishment of power. At this site, the martyred king Ethelbert recounts to Henry VII how “in my yong age loost myn erthly liff/and now am protector of this cathedral and citie present.”⁷³ The story of the martyred king draws a parallel to the death of Owain Tudor, a beloved leader killed prematurely by his enemies, which had already been established in the speech by St. George to be the enemies of God. The popularity of Owain Tudor as a Welsh leader and the memory of his execution shaped the form of the pageantry in Hereford and contributed to the warm welcome Henry VII received there.

The final pageant in Hereford is a speech given by the Virgin Mary. As St. George promised to protect Henry VII in battles with his enemies, the Virgin Mary promises to Henry VII “to kepe and defende from al fraudulent imaginacion”, thus protecting him from

the schemes and ill-wishes of his enemies.⁷⁴ With these two holy figures supporting Henry VII from every possible attack from his enemies, the Yorkists, the pageants at Hereford define the Yorkists who might rebel against Henry VII as akin to enemies of some of the most holy figures in Christianity.

The pageantry in Hereford displayed the affection the city felt for Henry VII. The welcome Henry VII received repeatedly references his adoration by the people of Hereford, a rhetorical device not employed in York or Worcester, suggesting that the further west the king travelled, closer toward the Tudor stronghold of Wales, the greater his popularity. While Worcester genuinely welcomed Henry VII, the speeches there do not convey the same sort of widespread admiration as the speeches in Hereford. The unpopularity of the Yorkists, as illustrated by the city's ready condemnation of them as the enemies of God, combined with the city's genial history with Henry VII's grandfather, resulted in a jubilant welcome for the new king in the city of Hereford.

The receptions Henry VII received in Worcester and Hereford were defined by their historical and geographical context. Located in the Welsh Marches, both Worcester and Hereford connected with the new king, whom they saw as a Welshman because of his connection with the legend of Cadwallader through his Welsh grandfather, Owain Tudor. There was also a level of dissatisfaction with the Yorkist kings, whose governance failed to maintain order in the Welsh Marches. These factors combined to shape receptions in Worcester and Hereford that are distinctly more positive than that in the Yorkist stronghold of York.

Conclusion

The cities of York in northern England and Worcester and Hereford in the Welsh Marches appear politically similar in the late fifteenth century; all three were located in regions in which the Yorkist kings, Edward IV and Richard III, exerted much power. However, a closer look reveals that the political environment in York was completely different from that of the Welsh Marches. York had deeply entrenched interests in the favor it received from Richard III, while the Welsh Marches failed to forge deep connections with the Yorkist kings and fostered hopes of a Welsh king rising to power who would end the chaos and disorder of the region. These distinct environments determined the ways in which York, Worcester and Hereford received Henry VII when he embarked on his first royal progress in 1486. An understanding of regional differences illuminates the lack of homogeneity in Yorkist and Tudor England; far from being a unified nation, each region had its own particular character.⁷⁵ Knowing how these regions interacted with the monarch can also reveal the underlying conditions that resulted in turbulence in the reigns of the Henry VII and later Tudor monarchs.

The variety of figures chosen to present the pageants also reveals important conclusions about the importance of locality in late fifteenth-century England. The abundance of figures that originate in local history and legends, the expectation that these figures would have been recognized and their importance understood, are indicative of a strong sense of local pride, stressing the importance of understanding local political and social environments during this period. It is also important to note the appearance of more universal figures, like the Virgin Mary and Saint George, which point to a growing sense of national identity. The choice of figures reveals an England in a state of transition, shifting from a medieval reliance on local governance to a more modern establishment of centralized royal power.

Understanding the relationship between local and royal government is crucial in understanding the role of government in the late fifteenth century. Government during this period relied on the willingness of the nobles and the king to work together because,

although feudalism in England retained only a minimal amount of its original power, the local governance of the nobility was still the primary means of governmental control.⁷⁶ The royal progress of 1486 highlights how both the king and his greatest subjects recognized the importance of this network of power; regardless of whether they welcomed him coldly, as they did in York, or warmly, as they did in the Welsh Marches, they all welcomed the king and sought his favor. Even the regional differences that created such different opinions of Henry VII were overcome by the desire of controlling nobles to maintain their control over the local networks of power. This need for cooperation between local governing nobles and the king created a tense peace under Henry VII that, although fragile, would set the foundation for one of the most powerful dynasties in English history.

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- ¹⁰ Cavell, *The Heralds' Memoir*, 68.
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Richard's Affinity and Good Lordship as Duke of Gloucester 1468-1483

By Susan L. Troxell, Esq.

Allegation:

Richard was an ambitious man, hungry for power and ultimately aiming for the Crown. He kept his intentions close to the vest, but in retrospect it is apparent that he was forming a formidable power base upon which to usurp the throne and weaken traditional power magnates like the Stanleys and Percys. His infringement into these traditional regional hegemonies was meddlesome, divisive and ultimately the cause of his undoing as King.

Rebuttal Synopsis:

- (1) Richard was introduced to his "power base" with the sanction and approval of his brother Edward IV, as the result of a series of betrayals and forfeitures that occurred during the years 1468-1471; if anything, Richard ultimately chose to surrender spheres of influence that could have drawn him closer to the Westminster court circle. In all, Richard was "King Edward's man" and his most powerful agent in the North, but did not seek to expand his influence in East Anglia, Lincolnshire or Wales, despite holding lands there.
- (2) Richard's use of the powers and lands granted to him by Edward IV reflects nothing more than a strong talent for forming a medieval affinity, employing it effectively, maximizing its reach and capacity, and expressing the quintessential ideal of medieval "good lordship" to his retainers.
- (3) Richard's use of his affinity in areas traditionally within the orbits of the Percy and Stanley families was a result of Edward IV's national policy of containing but placating regional magnates. The nature of Richard's land and office grants from the King placed him in an inevitably provocative position with regards to such regional magnates. On balance, the evidence shows that he frequently abandoned his interests in deference to such magnates. He was largely able to work with them effectively without creating lasting divisions. For this, his ascension to the Crown in 1483 was largely supported by the Percys and other regional magnates with whom he had developed productive working relationships.

Note: this paper is largely based on Rosemary Horrox's seminal 1989 text "Richard III: A Study of Service". Unless otherwise stated, all quotations are hers, and they can be found in Chapter 1 (pp. 27-88). Professor Horrox is at Cambridge University and is a scholar of medieval English history and affinity. She ranks among the generation of scholars inspired by Charles Ross, and is a contemporary of Michael Hicks. These individuals are not viewed as being biased in favor of Richard.

Introduction: A duke with no land or office is a duke with no retainers—the origins of Richard's great affinity.

Richard, as Duke of Gloucester, created what has been described as "one of the great affinities of the Middle Ages, both in scale and cohesion." However, this was not a foregone conclusion merely because he was born into a powerful and rich family. As so movingly described by Dr. Livia Visser-Fuchs on the Richard the Third Society webpage:

In his early twenties Richard of Gloucester himself recorded that he had been 'nakedly born into this wretched world, destitute of all possessions, goods and inheritance' and that it had been God's 'infinite goodness' that had granted him his 'great possessions and gifts'. This claim was only partly rhetorical, for he was born the fourth [and youngest] surviving son of his parents and had to look forward

to no grand titles. It is, in fact, possible that he was destined for the church, and no one could have predicted that he would die King of England. It was only when his brother Edward took the throne and recalled his young brothers, George and Richard, from exile in the Low Countries that Richard's fortune changed dramatically: on 1 November 1461 (at age 9), Richard was created Duke of Gloucester and shortly after elected a Knight of the Garter.

Being made a Duke did not automatically bring any affinity, power, land or offices along with it. Indeed, while Richard had been given certain national titles at a very young age (Admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitaine at age 10; Constable at age 17; Great Chamberlain at age 19) these titles really did not bring any basis upon which to build an "affinity" or a retinue of supporters. Being the youngest son, Richard would have to be able to build upon whatever lands and offices would come to him through means other than inheritance; in this manner, all of Richard's power as Duke derived from his brother King Edward IV, who used his younger brother for the purpose of extending his own royal authority and executing his own national policy.

At the age of 16, Richard would have come into his "majority" age, and he was starting from scratch. "A newcomer to the political scene whether lord or man, could not hope to operate outside this existing network" of affinities of patronage and retainership. All barons and the gentry operated within the system and many powerful families were able to pass on their retainers to their heirs. Because Edward IV obtained the entirety of the Yorkist affinity held by his father, Richard was left to secure the service of men who were already servants of others. To do this on a significant scale, he either had to supersede or outrank another lord. But personality played a large part too, because a lord taking over a forfeited estate could not take for granted the good will of the existing retainers of an attainted lord. In this, Richard exemplified all the characteristics of "good lordship" but showed no desire to assert his own ambition for anything greater than being "the King's agent" and most loyal and trusted servant.

Point One: From the hand of the king—Richard's lands and offices.

Richard's affinity was shaped by three major events: grants of attainted lands from the King in 1470-71, distributions from his wife Anne Neville's inheritance of the Beauchamp estate, and transfers of Clarence's northern holdings following his execution in 1478. The lion's share was certainly from the hand of the King, as the other distributions merely enhanced what Richard already possessed.

The first record of Richard receiving land was in 1468, when he was 16 and had participated in the treason trial of Henry Courtenay and Thomas Hungerford. Richard got the attainted Hungerford lands, and, in bold yet gallant fashion, he entered into an agreement with the widow promising to protect her dower rights and to be her "good and gracious lord." In 1469, the King then granted a very large parcel of royal Duchy lands scattered throughout Lancashire and Cheshire—the heart of Stanley influence. Moreover, the King gave Richard "all offices and rights" that came with those lands, much to the great antagonism of the Stanleys who viewed them as being within their family prerogative. According to Professor Horrox, the King simply did not have the resources or available land in 1469 to give to Richard, and he was willing to discomfort the Stanleys in order to give Richard an entrée into the political world. Most of the King's significant land gifts had already gone to George, Duke of Clarence, who was heir apparent, and there was not much else to give to the youngest brother.

In making Richard chief steward of duchy lands in North Lancashire, the King effectively put Richard at the head of the royal affinity there, and left him to deal with the

Stanleys, who were ambivalent about the Yorkists to say the least. Richard awarded the best duchy farms, fees and offices to the King's household men. While Richard was able to develop his own retinue, it is the considered opinion of historians like Professor Horrox that in this geographic sphere, what was good for Richard was doubly good for the King and his household.

Unlike his brother George, Richard undertook his role with enthusiasm. At age 17, Richard was observed in the Paston papers to have been recruiting men in East Anglia to assist in putting down the Robin of Redesdale rebellion. Despite his youth, Richard had successfully recruited into his affinity John Howard and Sir John Say, the latter of whom had already submitted a dispute to Richard for resolution. He was already proving to be adept at the politics of securing the service of prominent lords.

With the death of William Herbert at the hands of the "Kingmaker" Earl of Warwick, in May 1469, Richard took possession of his first important sphere of influence when he was given all the offices and lands in South Wales formerly held by Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Richard put considerable energy into his new role, retaining the service of men, some of whom would die at Barnet in Richard's service. But Herbert's surviving son had the right to retake all the lands and titles upon his attaining majority age. Perhaps knowing this, Richard showed no signs of desiring a power base here, and ultimately he relinquished this sphere of influence.

Richard's fortunes changed dramatically with the betrayal of Warwick and Clarence in 1469-70. Following the death of Warwick and the outcome at Tewkesbury, the King amply rewarded Richard for his steadfast loyalty. He was given Warwick's lordships of Middleham, Penrith and Sheriff Hutton amongst other Neville lands. This substantial grant came at a cost: Richard surrendered many of the Duchy offices in Lancashire and Cheshire he had been given earlier in 1469, in deference to the Stanleys. Later, Richard would acquire additional northern and Welsh lordships through his wife's inheritance, and his brother Clarence's execution. Nonetheless, these Neville lordships would form the core of Richard's "great affinity," and it was expected that he would place himself at the head of the now leaderless Neville affinity in the north.

By undertaking to lead Warwick's affinity, Richard was not necessarily expressing oversized ambition on his part. Indeed, the placement of Richard in the north advanced the King's objectives. The region was hard to control from London, was England's only land border with another country, and was a notoriously difficult place to exert royal authority given the presence of strong regional loyalties to local lords. After Warwick's defection, and the practiced ambivalence of the Percy and Stanley families, the King had to decide how best to exercise royal authority in the north and what to do with the attainted Neville estates. He used Richard for both. As such, the north viewed Richard as virtually the King's agent, as well as heir to Warwick's affinity.

Richard's role as leading royal agent in the north brought a merging of his connections with those of the Crown. He had added power because of his connections to the King. "It is often claimed that a lord on the spot was of more immediate relevance to local men, especially in outlying regions, than the king at Westminster." Richard thus filled a "double role" of acting as good lord on local matters and representing his retainers' interests with the King.

At the same time, Richard proved himself uninterested in building his affinity in such a way as either to usurp royal power or craft a way towards the throne for himself. This is exemplified in two areas, Wales and East Anglia, where Richard also held extensive lands and lordships. The Prince of Wales had his court in Ludlow, near Richard's lordship of

Abergavenny. As royal duke, Richard sat on the Prince's council, but he did not play an active role on it; indeed, there is no evidence that he ever attempted to dominate or influence it in any way. He showed himself willing to suborn his interests to those of the Prince's affinity, and, significantly, he did not attempt to create a sphere of influence by building his own competing affinity there. Professor Horrox describes Richard's presence in Wales as tertiary to his northern affinity.

In East Anglia, Richard was the beneficiary of the 1471 attainder of the Earl of Oxford and forfeiture of the de Vere holdings in Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and Essex. Richard also obtained lands in Lincolnshire following the attainders of other Lancastrian supporters. The location of these possessions brought him into direct contact with the Queen and her brother Anthony, who maintained their affinities in this region. Rather than compete with these two powerful figures from the Court, Richard instead showed himself willing to suborn his interests to theirs. He gave the Queen all but four manors he had acquired in Essex and Lincolnshire. He gave the Suffolk manors to John Howard. London similarly did not tempt him. The de Vere London townhouse that he received in 1471 was sold. While Richard maintained land holdings in Cambridgeshire, Professor Horrox states that his conduct in East Anglia shows that he was "resigning any political role," and simply preserving his financial interests.

Point Two: The unity and cohesion of Richard's affinity; Richard's "Good Lordship."

Richard was uniquely talented in the way he leveraged the offices and lands given to him by the King in the north of Lancashire. In the early days of his possessing the Duchy estates and offices, he was aware that he was expected to place himself at the head of existing officials, but he also grasped the concept of being selective and judicious in distributing the rewards and benefits that came along with his offices. In addition to being chief steward, which was the prime influential position from which to hand out benefits, he had also been granted numerous offices of forestry and sheriffdoms. Therefore he was charged with assigning rights to logging and other similar ventures that came along with local resource management, as well as handing out key posts in the legal and civil administration.

As stated above, Richard chose to reward the King's household men with the prime benefits, but by doing so he was making connections beyond his own limited sphere. These provided him a valuable opportunity to win over some of the King's men to his own retinue. For example, he attracted the allegiance of Charles Pilkington and Robert Harrington, both of whom remained steadfastly in his retinue through 1483 and beyond. (Interestingly, Hastings had been expected to do the same by being vested with duchy lands and offices elsewhere, but he did not nearly succeed in doing what Richard accomplished.)

There was nothing suspicious about Richard recruiting the King's household men to his own retinue. After all, most junior royal sons would be given "secondments" from the king's royal household staff in which to establish their own households. The King had done the same with Clarence. While there may have been some ambiguity with retainers recruited in this manner, the ultimate beneficiary was the King, as he could rely on Richard to assert the royal prerogative notwithstanding local counter-pressure. And for the retainers themselves, they would find a key ally in Richard when they had a matter that needed to be presented to the King. This was an essential ingredient of showing "good lordship" in the medieval period.

Richard's ability in building his affinity is probably best demonstrated by the continuity he achieved in 1471 when succeeding to Warwick's sphere of influence in the north. As best summed up by Professor Horrox at p. 52:

Such continuity was valuable to Gloucester, but it is important not to exaggerate the extent to which he simply took over a ready-made connection. Although Neville men were predisposed to look to the duke, Gloucester still had to work at being a good lord in order to give substance to the relationship. Nor was Gloucester's northern connection ever just that of the earl of Warwick. Noble affinities were in any case constantly evolving as their members came of age, married and died, but Gloucester's lordship brought other changes. As he acquired further land and offices in the north, the affinity inevitably widened. Not only were men from other areas drawn into Gloucester's circle but, by a cumulative process, the duke's new interests made him a more attractive lord within the Neville lands themselves.

Richard achieved this continuity of service by being generous with whatever political tools he had within his reach. He promised pardons for Warwick's men prior to the battle of Barnet, and as a result many of them turned out for the King that critical day. He rewarded prominent Warwick supporters, such as Sir John Conyers, by doubling his wages, making him steward of Middleham and constable of its castle. Thomas Witham, and his brothers Robert and George, all from Sheriff Hutton, became Richard's men even after commissions of arrest were issued for them as late as June 1471. When Sir William Parr of Kendal declared for Edward IV in 1471, his past loyalty to Warwick was not held against him. As a result, Parr recruited his brothers-in-law to Richard's service, and they were later recruited to be steward and bailiff of Penrith. By doing all this, Richard was able to prevent former Warwick men from being attainted and losing their estates. Indeed, one of the most notable things about the fall-out of 1471 is the relatively low number of attainders compared to what usually followed armed rebellions. As a result, Richard inspired trust and loyalty.

Another aspect of Richard's affinity was the unity and cohesion in which he employed it, despite his far-flung land holdings across England and Wales. His retainers could be gainfully employed throughout his sphere of influence, and he did not hesitate to bring in men outside the locality in order to get a project accomplished. For example, when outfitting his ship the "Anne," Richard captained the craft with a northerner, but had it victualled by a southerner from Hampshire. His retainers thus found many rewards by being in his service, because they could migrate between localities and pick up work elsewhere when it was lacking at home.

Because Richard was willing to work at being a good lord, he found his influence growing exponentially, but he recognized a wider responsibility to those other than his own servants. Richard was much in demand as an arbiter and as a person willing to give considered legal redress. It is clear he also took that seriously and others saw him as a firm but neutral decision-maker. He once said in a proceeding "We intend, nor will none otherwise do at any time, but according to the king's laws." On at least one occasion, he was prepared to rule against one of his retainers. On behalf of the city of York, he supported its petition to the King to protect its economic interests. He understood that even small matters, like the fish-garths in the River Ouse, deserved his attention because they had real impact on local populations. As stated by Professor Horrox, a good lord brought his own abilities and charisma to the role. While there were material advantages in being Richard's retainer, there is no doubt that his personal attractions and charisma drove people to seek his service.

By the mid-1470s, Richard was undoubtedly the most significant lord in the north. Richard's domination there "is unique in the Middle Ages" and the novelty of his position is reflected in the creation, in the Parliament of 1482-3, a northern county palatinate for him – the first one to have been created since Lancashire in 1351. This new area would

comprise as much land as Richard could win in the Scottish dales and along the West March. He was made hereditary warden of the West March for his life and his heirs' and was given all royal lands and rights in Cumberland, along with 10,000 marks. One historian even questioned the King's mental state in making such a huge grant. However, Professor Horrox believes that the grant only served to strengthen royal authority in the region rather than to diminish it, and that the award was merely just restating what was already Richard's *fait accompli*.

The King's implicit trust in Richard is also reflected in how he broadened Richard's role as Constable and Admiral of England. Richard was active in both capacities. While the Constable's traditional competence lay in military and chivalric matters, by 1478 the Constable was the established authority in cases of treason and those involving a raised war against the King. The King was also interested in broadening Richard's jurisdiction as Constable, to cover other forms of treason and disaffection.

Point Three: Richard's affinity in the midst of regional hegemonies.

Because the King used Richard as a political counterweight in the North, lines of friction naturally developed with regional magnates. Yet, on balance, the dominance of Richard's affinity helped to reduce rivalries that had previously existed there.

One of the frequent charges laid against Richard is that he antagonized Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, by "poaching" his retainers. According to Professor Horrox, that is not true. Percy had been attainted following Towton, but that attainder was later reversed with Percy restored to his earldom in 1470. During that intervening ten-year period, Percy's own affinity fragmented. Therefore he faced a daunting challenge in reassembling it, especially given that John Neville (during his tenure as Earl) had undoubtedly introduced elements of the Neville affinity there. Not surprisingly, Richard – being the King's brother whose star was "on the rise" – had an easier time gaining the upper hand in expanding his affinity in the early part of the decade.

In 1474, an indenture was drawn up in which Richard undertook to be Percy's good and faithful lord. He promised not to claim any office or fee granted to the earl by the King, or to take into his service any men retained by Percy. In effect, Richard was to be Percy's lord, and therefore Percy's retainers were in a sense Richard's men. According to Professor Horrox, this pact successfully diffused any tension and there is no suggestion after 1474 that Richard was "poaching" Percy's retainers. However, some men with Percy affiliations would naturally come into Richard's service through geographic proximity (e.g., in Knaresborough, where Richard had influence through his Lancashire duchy connections and where Percy held some nearby land).

"Despite the wording of the 1474 pact, it still left the possibility open for other forms of shared allegiance between Richard and Percy. Different members of the same family, for example, could have links with both lords." This was not unusual in the medieval period. Hugh Hastings of Fenwick, a Percy man, came into Richard's orbit in 1471 when the duke made him deputy steward of Snaith because he had property in south Yorkshire. On the other hand, Richard's men would occasionally serve Percy. Edmund Hastings of Pickering, despite being Richard's councilor, placed his son in Percy's household. Richard used his affinity to produce advantageous marriages for Percy's retainers. This blurring of allegiance was nothing negative. Indeed, it provided both Richard and Percy with an opportunity to show "good lordship" to their respective retainers.

The most contentious friction line between Richard's affinity and a regional magnate's, was that with Thomas, Lord Stanley. As already discussed above, in 1469 the King granted to Richard extensive duchy lands and offices in the heart of Stanley's sphere of influence;

this grant was retracted in 1471 and Richard was left with significantly fewer holdings there. Despite the King's retraction, Stanley was not satisfied.

In July, 1471, the King ordered Stanley and his servants to cease meddling in the offices granted to Richard. In fact, Richard was likely exercising just a portion of his offices. For example, he only exercised two of the six foresterships he had been granted by the King in 1471, the rest being deferred to Stanley's men. In by 1475 without any evidence another remarkable display of intransigence, Lord Stanley simply ignored the King's 1471 grant of the stewardship of Halton to Richard, and continued to pay the fee to himself based on a grant from 1461. Richard was even willing to give William Stanley his lordship of Chirk in northeast Wales, in exchange for the former Clifford estate in Skipton where Stanley had little influence. Rather than confront an intransigent magnate and pursue his rights to their full extent, Richard simply focused on his duchy holdings in a narrow portion of eastern Lancashire, and "elsewhere he yielded to the Stanleys."

Whether this friction produced a long-held grudge in Lord Stanley is a matter of some speculation. Even the Hornby affair, where Richard supported the Yorkist Harrington family in opposition to Stanley, was definitively resolved of an ongoing dispute. There is a "local tradition" that Stanley came to blows with Richard during the early 1470's, and that he later hung Richard's banner to glorify in his conquest in 1485. But, again, it would be speculation to think that Richard's affinity was a motivation for Stanley's treason at Bosworth. Stanley was richly rewarded with titles and lands under Richard as King, and never opposed him even in battle. The history of the Stanley family, to be sure, is one of practiced ambivalence, and it is hard to interpret Stanley's motivations solely through the lens of a feudal loyalty when affinities were constantly changing and evolving.

Richard's dominance in the north actually reveals that his presence served to reduce tensions, not exacerbate them. Perhaps two of the most intriguing retainers recruited by Richard are Ralph Lord Neville, nephew and heir to the Earl of Westmoreland, and George Lumley, son and heir to Lord Lumley, a retainer of the Earl of Salisbury. As Professor Horrox states, this allowed Richard to extinguish an internecine feud within the Neville house that had stubbornly persisted for decades, much to the grief of local citizens. Richard also was generous to former attainted families. For example, in 1471, he granted a fee to one of the surviving Clifford brothers. By promising to be Percy's good and gracious lord, by making marriage connections between their retainers, and by being a capable successor to Warwick's affinity, Richard had not only ended the division within the Neville family but through his relationship with Percy, he had also "called a halt to the long-standing hostility of Neville and Percy."

Either in his own right or through links with other lords, Richard dominated the entire northeast and northwest counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland. In these areas, Richard's appointment in 1480 as the King's "lieutenant in the north" did not do much more than recognize existing loyalties. This grant was made in context of the King's projected campaign in Scotland. It served to avoid damaging disputes over military authority by setting Richard firmly above other peers. When seen in the proper light, it becomes clear that Richard was the King's most powerful agent for the application of royal authority in a region fraught with hazards. Professor Horrox states that Richard "was at the heart of Edward IV's royal authority, not outside of it." As such, his affinity and his use of it cannot be construed as a gambit for the crown or an attempt to disempower his brother's influence.

Conclusion:

By examining his affinity, we shed a very powerful light on an important aspect of Richard's personality. While some may describe the intensity of his work ethic as "control

freakery,” then it was probably seen as a highly desirable characteristic to someone in his service. A lord did owe obligations to his retinue; if these obligations were hollow, then so was the service. If anything, Richard showed himself loyal to the King and to the concepts of reciprocity that were a foundation of affinities during the 15th century and a cornerstone of social structure.

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Richard III’s Daughter: Katherine, Countess of Huntingdon

Susan Higginbotham

In 1484, Richard III arranged a marriage: that of his illegitimate daughter, Katherine, to William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon. What is known about Katherine, the bastard who became a countess?

Katherine was one of Richard’s two known illegitimate children; legend credits him with a third, Richard of Eastwell, as well. We do not know when John and Katherine were born or the identity of their mother. It is often confidently asserted that the children were born before Richard’s marriage to Anne Neville, and while it seems likelier than not that Katherine, at least, was the product of his bachelor days, it is impossible to say this with certainty. We do not even know whether John and Katherine had the same mother.

However, historian Rosemary Horrox has identified a possible candidate as Katherine’s mother: Katherine Haute, who received an annuity of five pounds from Richard’s estates in East Anglia. Horrox suggests that Katherine was the wife of James Haute, a kinsman of Elizabeth Woodville. Had young Richard, Duke of Gloucester, wishing to make honorable provision for a former mistress, sought the queen’s help in arranging a suitable match for her? If so—and this is, of course, no more than speculation—it is yet another factor undermining the claim that the relationship between Richard and the queen was hostile before 1483.

Nothing is known about Katherine Plantagenet’s early years, or where she spent them. She is not named in the records of Richard’s coronation as one of the ladies receiving robes for the occasion. Richard’s taking the throne in 1483 wrought a vast change in Katherine’s own fortunes: the following year, she married an earl.

William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon, born in 1455, was the heir of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who had been captured at the battle of Edgecote and executed on the orders of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, in 1469. Whereas Pembroke had been a powerful and valued supporter of Edward IV, gaining his earldom as a result, the younger William Herbert had enjoyed little royal favor once he reached his majority. D. H. Thomas has suggested that William was inept or, more kindly, that he was dogged by ill health. Indeed, on July 21, 1483, when he was only about twenty-eight, he made his will, in which he asked to be buried in Tintern Abbey near his first wife, Mary.

Herbert had no reason to regret the passing of Edward IV. Although his wife Mary had been a younger sister of Elizabeth Woodville, she had died several years before, so any advantage from the connection had died with her. Indeed, for the benefit of Edward IV's heir, Prince Edward, Herbert had been forced in 1479 to exchange his earldom of Pembroke for the less valuable earldom of Huntingdon. From the start, then, he was a natural ally of Richard III, whose coronation he attended, bearing Queen Anne's scepter. He may have served as chamberlain to Richard's only legitimate son, Edward.

On February 29, 1484, Richard III and William Herbert entered into an indenture arranging the marriage of William to Katherine Plantagenet. The indenture, which is reproduced in D. H. Thomas' dissertation and rendered here with modern spelling, reads:

This indenture made at London the last day of February in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord King Richard the Third, between our said sovereign lord King Richard the Third on the one party, and the right noble lord William, earl of Huntingdon, on the other party, witnesseth that the said earl promiseth and granteth to and with our said sovereign lord the king that, before the feast of St. Michael next coming [September 29, 1484], by God's grace he shall take to wife Dame Katherine Plantagenet, daughter to our said sovereign lord; and before their marriage to make or cause to be made to her behalf a sure, sufficient, and lawful estate of certain his manors, lordships, lands and tenements in England to the yearly value of two hundred pounds over all charges, to have and to hold to him and to the said Dame Katherine and the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten in manner and form following: [that] is to wit, remainder to the right heirs of the said earl. For the which our said sovereign lord the king granteth to the said earl and to the said Dame Katherine to make or cause to be made before the said day of marriage a sure, sufficient, and lawful estate of manors, lordship, lands, and tenements in possession to the yearly value of one thousand marks over all reprise, to have to them and to their heirs males of their two bodies lawfully begotten; that is to say, lordships, manors, lands, and tenements in possession at that day to the yearly value of six hundred marks, and manors, lordships, lands, and tenements in reversion after the death of Thomas Stanley, knight, Lord Stanley, to the yearly value of four hundred marks. And in the mean our said sovereign lord granteth to the said earl and Dame Katherine an annuity of four hundred marks yearly to be had and perceived to them from Michaelmas last, during the life of the said Lord Stanley, of the revenues of the lordships of Newport, Brecknock, and Hay in Wales by the hands of the receivers of them for the time being. And over this our said sovereign lord granteth to make and bear the cost of the said marriage at the day of the solemnization thereof. In witness whereof our said sovereign lord to that one part of these indentures remaining with the said earl hath set his signet, and to that other part remaining with our said sovereign lord the said earl hath set his seal the day and year abovesaid.

Richard III duly granted William and Katherine (referred to as “Dame Katharine Plantagenet”) the annuity of 400 marks from the lordships of Newport, Brecknok, and Hay on March 3, 1484. The next grant, made at York in May 1484, speaks of “Kateryn” as William’s wife. Another grant followed on March 8, 1485.

These bare financial records are all that we know of Katherine’s life during her father’s brief reign. Whether she was old enough to consummate her marriage (twelve in canon law, but generally a few years later in practice), whether she was happy in it, and whether she was close to her father are matters that can only be guessed. Probably she would have spent much of her married life at Raglan Castle, the Herbert family seat in Monmouthshire. Katherine had a stepdaughter, Anne, the Earl of Huntingdon’s only child by Mary Woodville, which might have made for some interesting conversations between Elizabeth Woodville’s niece and Richard III’s daughter. She also had a mother-in-law, Anne Herbert, who had once had young Henry Tudor in her care.

In 1485, William Herbert played no part in impeding Henry Tudor’s march through Wales, nor is he recorded as having fought for his father-in-law at Bosworth. It may be, as D. H. Thomas suggests, that he simply had no military capacity. Alternatively, Thomas suggests, Herbert might have been reluctant to move against Henry, who had spent some time in the Herbert household as a youth. There was also the possibility that Henry would have married William’s sister if he had been unable to marry his first choice of bride, Elizabeth of York. If William did nothing to hinder Henry Tudor, he seems to have done nothing to help him either, for William himself did not receive a pardon until September 22, 1486.

Until recently, the Wikipedia article on Richard III claimed that following the battle of Stoke in June 1487, Katherine was “almost certainly arrested at Raglan Castle.” The Wikipedia editor gave no supporting evidence for this assertion, nor have I found any. Indeed, there is no evidence that either the earl or the countess was involved in the rebellion or that they were out of favor with Henry VII at this point.

William Herbert attended Elizabeth of York’s coronation in November 1487. The herald who recorded the event noted that “at that time the substance of all the earls of the realm were widowers or bachelors,” and named William, Earl of Huntingdon, as one of the widowers. When Katherine had slipped out of the world is unknown, as is so much else about her. It has been speculated that she died in childbirth, but if she did bear her husband any children, none survived the earl.

Another possibility has been suggested by Rosemary Horrox, however: that Herbert repudiated his marriage. This suggests that Herbert, finding it disadvantageous to be married to Richard’s daughter once Henry VII took power, had his marriage to Katherine annulled and that the description of him as a “widower” refers to his first marriage. While this is an intriguing scenario, it seems more likely to me that if Herbert had his marriage annulled for political reasons, he would also have taken the trouble to find himself a new wife with Tudor connections.

The seventeenth-century antiquary Sir William Dugdale also believed that Katherine had died young: in his *Baronage*, he wrote, “whether this marriage took effect or not I cannot say, for sure it is that [Katherine] died in her tender years.” Herbert himself never remarried, but died in the summer of 1490 “in ye flower of his age.”

Katherine is the heroine of at least one historical novel: Alison Weir’s *A Dangerous Inheritance*. She also appears in Sharon Kay Penman’s *The Sunne in Splendor* and in Anne Easter Smith’s *A Rose for the Crown*.

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Ricardian Review

Myrna Smith

The Tudors for Dummies. David Loades. Mei Trow. Wiley. Chichester, England. 2011

It sometimes happens that most of the books for review center on a certain subject. This makes it much easier to select a theme, but may be sometimes boring. Such as now. Who wants to read about the Tudors, anyway?

But any book that is about all the Tudors must, of necessity, give some space to Richard III, though it may be negative. A book about the Plantagenets may devote only 1/13 of its pages to the last Plantagenet or none at all. I bought *The Plantagenets* (Dan Jones, Viking, NY, 2002) by mail, only to discover that it stopped with Richard II. I felt like such a dummy!

This is in the familiar yellow and black "Dummies" color scheme, and the familiar breezy style. An example, re Henry VIII:

We meet them indoors (his better halves). We nod to his courtiers, kneel to his churchmen, hunt with his falcons... We don't cross him, though. Henry VIII wasn't the monster he sometimes appears but he didn't suffer fools gladly. Best to bow pretty low and smile a lot. Oh—and don't play cards with him.

Since the authors are somewhat sympathetic to Richard III, I would like to give this a better review. I would do so, if they had taken a little better care in research, and in coordinating with one another. For example, Henry VII is described as being 27 at his

accession. He was 28, closer to 29, and the correct dates are given in a few pages over. One of them states that Henry was the first king to be called “Your Majesty.” The title was not in use until his son’s reign... The claim is made that girls were never apprenticed... As the author of *The Wealth of Wives* shows below, some were, and women dominated some trades. So when the authors state that in 1485 “at least 18 people had a better right to the throne than Henry,” and “by 1510...the number had increased to 34, I would like to believe it, but I’d want to check it out.

This book has its virtues. It’s a pretty good overview, a good guidebook, (“When in London, don’t miss...”) and an excellent video guide, going as far back as the Charles Laughton portrayal. They specify where the movies and television shows got it wrong and where they got it right. Rich Tennant’s satirical cartoons that head the different sections of the book are also a plus.

One reason, for the current emphasis on the Tudors is that 2009 was Henry VIII’s quincentenary. Most of the following books were written between then and the identification of Richard III’s remains. Possibly things will change because of that.

Along the same lines is *The Tudors: The Kings and Queens of England’s Golden Age*. Jane Bingham, Metro Books, NY, 2012

Oddly enough, the author’s name nowhere appears on the title page, only on the dust jacket. This also gives evidence of being written, or at least edited, by a committee. For instance, the body of the text labels Richard III clearly as a murderer, but a sidebar does admit that there were alternate possibilities – including Henry Tudor. Now and then the author, or her editor, comes up with a discerning observation; for example, the comment that before he became king, Henry “had never even run a small manor.” (Or for that matter, a market stall.) and that he was “playing the role of king.” It would seem that, despite Henry’s inexperience, there was a gift for organization in his DNA, probably inherited from his mother, which was passed on to his descendants.

In summing up the Tudor legacy, Ms. Bingham points out that the England of 1603 was very different from the England of 1485. True, and it would have been true had the Plantagenets remained in power. Most European countries had a Renaissance of art and literature even without benefit of Tudors. Aside from their organizational ability and native shrewdness, what was the dynasty’s legacy? The author explains it thus:

All the Tudor kings and queens understood the importance of display, while Henry VIII and Elizabeth shared a genius for self-presentation. Possibly more than any other monarchs, Henry and Elizabeth managed to inspire a sense of awe and devotion in their subjects. Somehow, these two remarkable but deeply flawed monarchs managed to represent all that was best and noble in the English spirit. It is a magic that still endures today.

In other words, they were masters of PR.

This is less comprehensive than *Dummies* book, and slimmer (207 pages, compared with 330. There are many illustrations, all black and white, and all have a Victorian look about them. Some gems here, but one will have to dig for them.

The Fighting Tudors. David Loades. The National Archives. Richmond, Surrey. 2009

The first thought of nearly all Ricardians, and many non-Ricardians, is that this title has to be ironic. Three-fifths of the monarchs of that name were exempt from fighting by reason of gender or age. Of the other two, in the first sentence of Chapter I, Loades admits that “Henry Tudor (r.1485-1509) was no warrior hero.” And for all his big talk, Henry VIII was usually somewhere else when and where the major battles of his reign were fought. (That’s not to say he planned it that way, but that’s the way it happened.) In the caption to

the photograph of Henry's armor (size XXXL), the author points out that it "was assembled for foot combat, although Henry never actually engaged in such. " Naturally, he preferred jousting on horseback, where a big (not necessarily fat) man had an advantage.

But in another sense, considered as Commanders-in-Chief, the Tudors have a claim to be among the great war leaders, in the same way that Lincoln and FDR were great war Presidents, even though they had little or no military experience. They selected good, sometimes great, generals and admirals, and let them have their heads. This is especially true with regard to the Navy. Henry VII took the first baby steps toward a regular Navy. He installed the first drydock in England. It seems to have been Reginald Bray's idea and Robert Brygantine's invention, but Henry knew a good monopoly when he saw one.) His successors went further, reaching apotheosis in I. This made England, and later the United Kingdom, a major maritime power and even later, a world power. As an offshoot of that Empire, the U.S. has also benefited. Like it or not, Henry VII was the first King of North America.

In fact, this book will merit serious study by anyone interested in the period. Though it is possible to quibble on some points, I'm convinced that the better portions of *The Tudors for Dummies* were penned by Mr. Loades.

Feminism for Dummies

In Bed with the Tudors: The sex lives of a dynasty from Elizabeth of York to Elizabeth I—Amy Licence, Amberly Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2012

Elizabeth of York: The Forgotten Tudor Queen—Amy Licence, Amberly, Stroud, Glos, 2013

Amy Licence is nothing if not efficient. She has made the same research serve for three books. (The third one is *Anne Neville*, which the non-fiction library has on order.) Wonder if she has taken the expense of this research off her income tax three times? Of course, there is some material that is unique to each book, but there is also quite a bit of overlap.

In Bed, despite the sub-title, is more about the gynecological history of these ladies than about their sex lives. It's not just about royal childbirth; non-royals are considered. Though noblewomen got better care than peasants, 98% of women did survive childbirth. There are some telling vignettes of women from all classes, and of dependence on the kindness of strangers. Often the children did not survive. Chances of raising an offspring to adulthood were roughly 50/50. The Tudors perhaps brought the average down. It's worth noting that of all the queens since the Conquest, only two died in childbirth or perichildbirth, Elizabeth of York and Jane Seymour, Henry VIII's third queen. Two others died in subsequent marriages, Catherine of Valois, who married Owen Tudor, and Kathryn Parr, Henry VIII's widow. Of course, the Tudors didn't plan it that way, but that was the way it happened. Elizabeth I could hardly be blamed if she believed in a Family Curse, and vowed to avoid marriage at all costs. Perhaps there was another reason. Was she or wasn't she? I don't mean virgin, I mean female. Was she a (pseudo) hermaphrodite? Or a substitute? Licence reports this fascinating rumor, but it seems somewhat unlikely.

Ms. Licence describes Elizabeth of York as "something of the fifteenth-century trophy wife", but says her "true character remains elusive." Maybe she wanted it that way. Maybe being "the approachable face of monarchy" was right up her alley, and she preferred being loved to having power. Or maybe not. "To fully understand the lives of our own contemporaries is difficult enough...It is impossible now, and misleading, to try to understand what it was like to 'be' Elizabeth of York or any other such historical subject. Nevertheless, she is sure she knows what it was like to 'be' Richard III:

In the spring of 1485, as Anne declined, Richard did not know he only had months to live; there was no motive for him to line up a bride in advance of her death, unless a genuine attachment had developed between uncle and niece.

But Richard—or his advisors—was ‘lining up’ a bride, and one to whom he had ‘no genuine attachment’, Joanna of Portugal. And did Elizabeth have a ‘genuine attachment’ to her uncle? Ms. Licence doesn’t want to think so; she describes her motives as either ‘complex or ‘straightforward,’ a ploy to protect her family. She would never have considered, the author says, marrying for love. Why not? Her parents did.

As for the notorious letter to John Howard, George Buck is unlikely to have invented it out of nothing, when the Lord Howard of his time could deny its existence. Both may have been deceived by a clever forgery (to what purpose?). Both may have mistaken the tenor of the letter. Elizabeth, if she wrote it, may have been deliberately ambiguous, or accidentally so. (Watch those misplaced modifiers!) But what most commentators overlook is that the letter reveals that she and Richard wanted different things. He was actively dickering for her to marry Manuel de Beja. If that was what Elizabeth wanted too, why did she need John Howard to plead for her? Isn’t it at least possible that she didn’t want to marry out of the realm, or didn’t want to marry anyone just yet? After all, she had spent nearly a year of her young life in Sanctuary, and it would be understandable if she wanted to enjoy herself for a while. In fact, Richard did not marry her off immediately, which would surely have stymied Henry Tudor’s chances, so maybe she was able to talk him around, with or without Howard’s help. A woman who could do that would be more interesting than the alternately scheming and passive Elizabeth that tends to come across here.

The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London—Barbara Hanawalt, Oxford University Press, 2007

From the particular back to the general, this study omits royalty, but covers every other social class, from prostitutes and beggars to noblewomen. This is Ms. Hanawalt’s thesis: “...women’s largest economic impact on London’s economy, mercantile trade, and the stability of its government and society lay in the transfer of wealth through marriage.” This is not just an historian’s viewpoint; foreign visitors noted it in 1500. Neither Medieval men nor women thought in terms of equal pay, and “growth may have declined in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.” There were various reasons for this; for one thing, the introduction of beer. The brewing of ale was literally a cottage industry, practiced by women for quick turnover. Beer, containing hops, had a longer shelf life and could be produced on a larger scale. That is why we have family names like Brewster (f) and Brewer (m), and why there were alewives but no beerwives. But marriage was a woman’s main career, and it was possible to do very well, financially, with it.

Certainly patriarchy was alive and well, but was not considered altogether a curse. The word “patriarchy” is rooted in the Latin for “father,” and ideally meant men were concerned to provide for their daughters as well as their sons. Women were both constrained by it and learned to exploit it. Different chapters in this book deal with servants, daughters, wives, widows and female entrepreneurs. The author presents both the typical and the atypical. (There was actually a female notary who took on a female apprentice!) A dowry could be a large consideration in the marriage mart, but in some circles, so was training in a trade.

Ms. Hanawalt’s task was made easier by a group of men who lived five centuries and more ago. Come famine, plague or war “...the bureaucracy managed to continue recording wills and making sure that orphans got their fair share, at least on a reasonable scale.” We owe them, and Barbara Hanawalt, a vote of thanks.

Richard III for Dummies:

Richard, the Young King to Be—Josephine Wilkinson, Amberly, Glos, 2008

The author seems to have had a laudable intention to be entirely neutral in writing about the future Richard III. To a degree, she succeeds. After outlining Richard's supposed 'mistreatment' of the Countess of Oxford, and his undoubted land-hunger, she admits that the Countess was not blameless, and in any case, Edward IV was the prime mover in the dispute. And why did her son, John de Vere, only complain of this mistreatment in 1495, instead of ten years earlier, when Henry VII could hardly have refused him anything? Probably because in 1495 his cousin Thomas Howard had been released from prison (though not in 1485, as she implies) and was trying to recoup his properties, some of which the Earl of Oxford may have regarded as his. By the way, the Countess nowhere appears in the index, though her male relatives do. Sexism?

In regard to another Countess, Warwick, Ms. Wilkinson says, "It appears...that the countess was disposed to trust her son-in-law when the son-in-law in question was Richard of Gloucester." She does not think that Richard and Anne 'loved' one another, and that concept was anachronistic anyway. But she is sure that the marriage of his grandparents, Ralph Neville and Joan Beaufort, was a love match. She is willing to give Anne Neville at least some of the credit, or the blame, for arranging a marriage to her cousin. After all, it was better than being a nun or dried-up old maid with her inheritance in brother-in-law George's hands

But she has discovered "King Richard III's dark secret. It has nothing to do with the deposition of the rightful heir to the throne, or with unlimited murder, but with worldly ambition" which was so very much worse! And there is worse yet. Richard actually married his sister, as well as his first, second, and third cousins (all Anne). How did they get to be siblings? Because Anne's sister Isabel and Richard's brother George were married, and that made them the same as siblings themselves, by affinity. "Certain degrees of affinity could be dispensed with, but not one as close as that." And--

If ...Richard failed to obtain a dispensation despite his best efforts to do so, and the couple were compelled to divorce, Richard would be allowed to retain for life the estates he held in right of his wife provided he did not remarry... although Anne Neville had married Richard in order to maintain her right to her inheritance, she would do so only if their marriage were legal. If it were not, assuming she was aware of the situation, her safest option was to remain silent about it. She had so much more to lose than Richard.

But what good would "remaining silent" do? Was she the only one who had noticed that they were related to George and Isabel? Why did not even the Tudor historians mention this? Surely John Morton must have known canon law, and would not have hesitated to accuse Richard of something even worse than wanting to marry his niece. Instead, we hear no more about it. Apparently, this kind of 'incest' was not taken all that seriously by the laity, nor by many of the clergy.

And it is not true that Richard had nothing to lose. He could keep her property, true, but could not leave it to a legitimate heir. In any case, they did stay married and she did keep her inheritance.

It's puzzlement.

Richard III: A Small Guide to the Great Debate—Annette Carson

Annette Carson's new guide to the great Ricardian debate opening paragraphs:

The recent dramatic discovery of Richard III's grave in Leicester gave rise to enormous media interest. The media was interested because of the huge and

ongoing fascination of the general public with Richard III, both the man and the legend.

Fame feeds on itself. Newspapers and magazines were daily brimming over with articles, most of them reproducing the usual stories by the usual people who made up their minds about Richard years ago (newspapers seldom commission original research)...and naturally they were peppered with quotations and pictures from Shakespeare's play.

The television screen loves Richard because as a visual medium it can choose from myriads of vivid images to depict him. Plus of course there's never any shortage of people delighted to give their opinion on air, usually in the context of some overall theme or series, pronouncing their view on the person they imagine Richard III to have been. Yet Ricardian scholars are rarely given airtime to discuss the real, historical Richard, and as I write this, no seriously researched biographical documentary has ever been made.

Probably it's considered that the introduction of sober facts would diminish the sensational aura that surrounds III. The vocabulary is always dramatic, the presenters and scene-setting are studiously theatrical, edgy, angled, playing to a chosen audience. A good example of this is the potted history presented by the tour guides at the Tower of London

Thus the initiated learn straight away that despite all the media fascination with Richard, particularly since the discovery of his remains in Leicester, the real story of his life and reign still struggles to rise above the din and be heard.

After a brief introduction in which the author discusses the importance of leaving the moral judgments and sensibilities of modern times behind when exploring the medieval world and cautions about the "irksome lack of reliable evidence" concerning Richard, Ms. Carson moves on to a clear and succinct summary of what we know of his life, admirably sticking to facts verifiable in contemporary records. She discusses his elevation to virtual viceroy in the North, the laws enacted by his only Parliament, and touches on his personal interests, his intellect, and his physical appearance, of which we now know a great deal more, of course.

The guide then moves on to reveal how "England's Black Legend" was born, detailing how, as a result of Tudor propaganda neatly facilitated by the printing boom brought to England by Caxton's press. Richard was already "a figure of evil incarnate" a mere 30 years after his death. It was during this proliferation of mass-produced, author-initiated publishing that self-styled chroniclers like Holinshed, Grafton and Hall wrote, Grafton adding a copy of More's History to one of his own works. Thus were sown the seeds of Shakespeare's play.

Not to be left out are Richard's early defenders, George Buck, writing in 1619, less than 20 years after the death of the last Tudor, and the first to mention Eleanor Talbot Butler; Horace Walpole in 1768; and Caroline Halstead in 1844. Even modern explorations of Richard's life and character, such as Kendall's 1955 biography and that of Charles Ross in 1981 are now quite out of date. 1844.

Though the controversies surrounding Richard's life and reign are numerous, in this brief work, once again relying on contemporary sources, Ms. Carson confines herself to the two most often repeated accusations, the usurpation of the throne and the murder of the Princes. In less than 20 pages, the author presents a clear and concise summary of how Richard became King. Discussing the events at Northampton and Stony Stratford on April 29-30, 1483, we are starkly reminded of the formidable power Edward IV had conveyed

on his brother, and we are given a convincing and illuminating insight into the mind of a man in Gloucester's position in the 15th century.

While Richard's arrests were carried out precipitously and ruthlessly, they were within the executive powers encompassed by his various offices.

One in particular was the office of High Constable of England, conferred on him for life, under which he was authorized to take action in the name of the crown in the event of treason, insurrection or general disorder, or when the king was incapacitated or an interregnum existed. He was empowered summarily to detain arrest and try in his own court under the Law of Arms, and to pronounce sentence without appeal. They were terrible powers, but necessary in the context of an England where the rule of the sword was never far from the surface.

It may equally well be remarked that, rather than submit to Woodville dominance, Richard Duke of Gloucester had himself chosen a course of confrontation. He would have justified this with the simple fact that rank reigned supreme in the 15th century, and the pre-eminence of the high nobility and blood royal outranked everything else. In Richard's view, by virtue of his royal lineage, his autocratic status in Edward IV's reign, and his several offices in command of England's military might, he did not expect to bend the knee to any man save the king himself.

Although accompanied from York by an entourage of around 500 retainers, the dominance of his position had been quickly recognized by Edward V's armed escort of 2,000 men who offered no resistance.

Ms. Carson further suggests that the sudden execution of William, Lord Hastings, was also carried out under the Law of Arms, with Hastings charged with treason by Richard, acting once again as High Constable.

The remaining pages of the guide examine the mystery of the Princes. The author weighs evidence for and against Richard's guilt, breaking the arguments down into a number of categories: To what extent was Richard's position threatened by the boys; the rumors and theories surrounding their fate; their actual disappearance; could someone else have killed them; does anything suggest they weren't killed; what do Richard's actions tell us?

We have long needed a well-researched summary of facts that will extend the reach of Richard's story among the general populace. This guide does the job admirably, with the added benefit of Annette Carson's clear-eyed, logical arguments. Written in her highly readable style and persuasively argued, it will be useful as a 'refresher' for veteran Ricardians, is a must-read for new and budding Ricardians, and, at just 96 pages, is perfect for anyone who wants to learn more about Richard without slogging through thick historical tomes. Finally, it's a great gift for those non-Ricardian friends who think what we're all just a wee bit crazy, wonder what we're all so worked up about, and question why the heck, after more than 500 years, the man and his reputation matter.—*Pamela Garrett*

The Wars of the Roses for Dummies

The Wars of the Roses: The Soldiers' Experience—Anthony Goodman, Tempus Publishing, Stroud, Gloucester, 2006

Most of this book is concerned with the war in France and the Burgundian war. Previous English kings take up a number of chapters. The book of 255 pages reaches Bosworth on page 201. As to that battle, no other source, even those friendly to Henry Tudor, had Henry cover Richard's body on the way back to Leicester. .

Goodman says that Richard should have rejected the throne in favor of his illegitimate 12-year-old nephew. He, Richard, should have known that he would not have time to establish himself as king. The author attributes the king's loss at Bosworth to the discontent and desertion of his soldiers. Not a word about the Stanleys' and Percy's treason. When he writes "The transfer of Richard's crown to Henry's head was the will of God," I closed the book for good.

Just before the point at which Richard rides toward his enemy, Goodman takes us back to 1462 and John Paston's relationship with Edward IV.

Although this is intended to be a scholarly tome, the title is misleading, and the disorganization of time and place is maddeningly frustrating. It is a mishmash of events, people, and places, some of which hardly have anything to do with the Wars of the Roses. I cannot in good conscience recommend it.—*Dale Summers*.

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Please enjoy the second installment of Meredith Whitford's *Ricardian Spoofs*.

Clarence's Correspondence

© Meredith Whitford 1988, 2013

Sept. 1464

Dear Ned,

A quick note to say thanks for the super party last week. It's rare to get the whole family together these days, but you managed to unite us all for once. I wouldn't worry about Mum; she'll come round and will soon feel as the rest of us do about your marriage. Yes I know she called you a bastard but that's nothing to what she calls me when she's upset. Wasn't it sweet of the Blaybournes to send a card – fancy them remembering you after all this time! Give Warwick time to calm down too. You can rely on me to have a word in his ear about his behaviour. Tell you what – send Dickon up to train with him. It won't do Dickon any harm, although I doubt he'll ever take to the north, and it'd flatter W.

What fun we can all be friends now, with none of those silly factions and feuds of the past! Why, when W. reminded your in-laws of that incident at Calais back in '60, they all roared!

Your Bessie's a knockout, isn't she. There just aren't words to describe her.

Must fly. See you at Reading.

Yrs, George.

~

To: The Manager, Clarry's Cafè, East Chepe.

July 1471

Dear Fred,

Rept. ack. of £4.3.4¾, last week's takings. Not bad, tho' God knows how much you're creaming off for yourself.

A few points: 1) I agree about the chips, but I think we're best sticking with the turnips – remember the mangel-wurzel fiasco? Try deep frying them; my wife does this with great success, tasty with fish particularly, with lots of salt and vinegar. 2) The sausages in the little loaves seem popular, but for God's sake stop calling them "hot dogs", we're in enough

trouble with the health inspector as it is. As for your suggestion of “hamburgers”, all I can say is remember how close the Steleyard is. 3) Am sending a new girl to help in the kitchens. She’s got no experience in catering, but she’s a widow who needs a job. Just make sure to keep her away from the cooking sherry – one sniff of the cork and she’s off into all sorts of fantasies about having come down in the world; pay no attention. Oh and she’s allergic to cheese, Double Gloucester and Wensleydale in particular. Other than that, she should be just what you need.

Will be in next month for the usual once-over.

G.C.

~~

1473

Dear Dickon,

Rather you than me, old boy. Treaulieu, belle-mère was quite happy where she was, she had her correspondence to keep her busy and whatever else old ladies do, so why interfere? A few more Brownie points with Ned, I suppose. The poor old dear will be dead to the world after that long journey north.

While I think of it, could you get it through Ned’s thick skull that when I said I was seeing a lot of Oxford lately, I meant the town? You know – colleges, scholars? Tell him I’m taking an Open Degree in Political History and Estate Management. Tell him too that I’ve never been to Cornwall and don’t want to, so what’s he on about?

Yrs,

Georgie.

~~

Warwick, 1475

Dear Ned,

Hope this finds you, etc. Thanks for the pressies for the baby. Meggie just loves the toy bear you sent her. Had you thought of patenting the design and manufacturing them under licence? You could call them Neddy Bears. I think they’d catch on.

Isobel is making a good recovery, and we are all well, except for a bit of trouble I’ve had with my teeth. Finally had the front ones out and a plate made; I keep forgetting to put it in and Isobel has to chase after me crying, “False teeth in, dentur’d Clarence!”

See you in summer.

Love,

George

~~

Spring, 1477

Dear Ned,

Don’t know why you take offence at everything these days. I left Court because I’m not well. All that rich food and drink is poison to me these days; spleen trouble, I think. The doctors recommend taking a little Burgundy.

No, I have no thought of re-marrying yet and I’m astonished you should mention it.

Will write more when I have more time, but must close now and dash back to Warwick for a court case; some defaulting servant or something. I don't expect to be back in London for a while yet, not until Parliament, so till then,

Regards,

George

PS – thanks for the Malmsey but the state my tummy's in it'll be the death of me.

~~~~~

*Lizzie's Letters*, the third and final installment of Ricardian Spoofs will be presented in the December, 2013 Ricardian Register.

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## In Memoriam ~ Amber McVey

The US Branch of the Richard III Society lost a great friend in the early hours of May 31, 2013 with the passing of Amber Troutman McVey. Amber was an avid Ricardian and general fan of medieval British history. She first became a member of the Society at the 2002 AGM in Ft. Worth, TX after becoming aware of the Society during a England vacation that included a stop at the Richard III museum in York. She and her husband remained continuous members to her passing and attended most of the national society's AGMs through 2012. Amber served two terms for a total of four years as the US Branch's membership chairperson and assisted the Board in variety of other branch activities including the planning and execution of the annual general meetings. She died of complications associated with breast cancer.

In addition to her primary interest in British medieval history, Amber also had a strong interest in the US Civil War and was a prolific quilter. Amber is survived by her twin boys Nicholas and Zachary McVey and her husband William McVey.

Photo of Amber from 2003 Phoenix AGM. This was the second AGM that Amber and William attended.



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# From the Editor

Joan Szechtman

It is my pleasure to thank Pamela Garrett for volunteering to be our Research Officer and to have had the opportunity to work with her on one of the articles. She is a welcome and valued addition to the volunteer staff that supports the American Branch.

Because some articles submitted for publication may need more research before they can be published, I have pushed the article deadline back by two weeks. The deadlines for articles is:

March • January 1 / June • April 1 / September • July 1 / December • October 1

The deadlines for everything else remains:

March • January 15 / June • April 15 / September • July 15 / December • October 15



We are still in need of a treasurer. Diane Hoffman is now in her fifth year serving in this capacity. This position does require a certain amount of skill as there are tax forms that need to be filled out, funds that need to be managed and maintained. During her tenure as treasurer, Diane has organized the funds and streamlined the duties and will be available to bring whoever volunteers up to speed. If you do have some knowledge in these areas, please contact Diane at [treasurer@r3.org](mailto:treasurer@r3.org).

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## Portrait of Richard III at National Portrait Gallery, London

photograph by *Joan Szechtman*



### Front cover: *Richard III Forever* by Mary Kelly

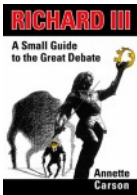
Richard III and Wars of the Roses memorabilia, including prints are available at [Boar and Banner](#) Shoppe

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

Public domain image from Wikimedia Commons ([wikimedia.org](#))

## Sales at the AGM

September 27-29 in Richmond, VA



The American Branch Sales Office will have a limited number of copies of *A Small Guide to the Great Debate* by Annette Carson available for sale at the 2013 AGM. *A Small Guide...* will also be available from the Sales Office; cost is expected to be \$8 for the book plus \$2.50 for shipping.

*...well-researched summary of facts that will extend the reach of Richard's story among the general populace.*—Pamela Garrett

### Other non-fiction also available at the AGM or from the Sales Office



*Tant d'Emprises*—So Many Undertakings: Essays in Honour of Anne F. Sutton; Volume XIII of The Ricardian. **Sale price** \$10 plus \$5 shipping. Published in 2003, this work includes contributions from Lesley Boatwright, John Ashdown-Hill, Alison Hanhham, and Peter Hammond. Article titles include “The Lancastian Claim to the Throne”, “The Illegitimate Children of Edward IV” and “Home or Away? Some Problems with Daughters”.



*The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor*, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs with RA Griffiths. \$12 plus \$3.50 shipping. Includes original source descriptions of funeral arrangements coupled with modern language scholarship that provides background and insights into royal funerals.

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