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King Richard III



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The Yorkist Monarchy and the Church
The 1471-74 Dispute Between Richard and George

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The following paper is Andrea C. Silen-McMillin's dissertation for MRes Medieval Studies at the University of Reading, Autumn 2016.

The Yorkist Monarchy and the Church

High Politics, Piety, and Religious Policy: The House of York during the Wars of the Roses

Andrea C. Silen-McMillin

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Introduction

In the medieval period there was a symbiotic relationship between the Church and the king. The king sought the help of the Church to legitimize his authority, gain the support of the people, and create stability. The Church, meanwhile, saw the king as a source of funds and political influence. It soon became apparent, even to the pope, that it was the King of England who governed the Church and all its lands in England: 'During the Yorkist Age there was an English Church, as there had been for centuries, and the Supreme Head of it, though not so officially titled, was King Edward IV'.¹ Later Richard III also sought to gain this title. The degree to which the House of York used the Church to its advantage has not been sufficiently recognized. This dissertation aims to address that omission by examining the relationship between the Church and the House of York, in particular how the kings of the House of York used the Church to legitimize and influence their actions.

Despite the many communications between the House of York and the Church that were recorded in government documents and contemporary chronicles, there is a significant gap in the historiography regarding the nature of the relationship between the Church and the Yorkist dynasty. Michael Hicks, in *Reputations: Edward IV*, principally analyses Edward IV's character and does not deal with his relationship with the Church. Likewise, Charles Ross, in his books on Edward IV and Richard III, focuses on the military and political history of both Yorkist kings. He does devote some attention to the religious sentiments of his subjects within his works, but still nothing sufficient to warrant anything unusual that makes the Yorkist kings stand out. A brief literary survey shows that Richard III has indeed been the subject of studies questioning the importance of religion, piety and

devotional practices in terms of his character, but in comparison with Edward, secondary sources are slim.

This gap may exist because a brief glance at the primary source documentation seems to support the view that there is nothing significant or unusual in the historical records. Sources such as *Hall's Chronicle*, *The Croyland Chronicle*² and its continuation *The Arrival of Edward IV*, and Dominic Mancini's *The Usurpation of Richard III* all veer towards the political and military actions of the Yorkist kings. These chronicles are a judgement of character and leave out the discussion of religious practices and any kind of relationship involving the Church. But was this because the kings had not done anything out of the ordinary to write about, or were the king's relationships just ordinary because of the overall closeness of medieval lives and the Church? By going back to the primary sources, this dissertation will help fill the existing gaps in the historiography by highlighting the connections between patronage, obligatory piety and devotion in an era of civil unrest, political upheaval and profound uncertainty.

A re-examination of the Patent Rolls (a Latin summary of original court proceedings) clearly shows there is more to the issue than meets the eye. Various contemporary chronicles will also be explored, including *The Chronicles of London*, *Hall's Chronicle*, *The Arrival of Edward IV*, *The Croyland Chronicle: A Second Continuation of the History of Croyland* and *A Third Continuation of the History of Croyland*.³ An initial survey shows that, although these sources do not necessarily comment openly on the House of York's attitude towards religion, it is evident that Edward and Richard both had different ways of going about business in terms of administration and delegation involving the Church and its officials. Together these documents can be used to form a hypothetical philosophy of how the Yorkist kings viewed the Church.

The Church was an essential ally for the Crown, especially in times of political and civil unrest. The relationship that evolved between the two entities developed over a number of centuries as a result of various acts and charters, such as the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1165 between Henry II and the English Church. These charters impacted the Church and its survival under previous monarchies. An important factor in this relationship was that the Church had always been a major landowner. This was something the kings envied, and it gave rise to one of the earliest examples of the monarchs attempting to harness the power of the Church for their own ends. According to the Domesday Book of 1086, the Church then owned twenty-six per cent of all land in England as a tenant in chief of the king.⁴ This powerful land ownership led to the 1272 Statute of Mortmain, introduced under Edward I and spurred by anti-clerical sentiment.⁵ The statute provided for the transferring of land between the Church and the Crown as grants in *mortmain* and *frankalmoin*. The Statute grew in importance as a response by the government due to 'unrestrained' acquisition of lands by the Church. Fines were imposed to curb abuse of land transfers and became regular on a royal licence to alienate (*alienate into mortmain*).⁶ As time passed, land grants under these Statutes continued steadily, with a fee to be paid to the Crown with each transaction.⁷ Although it began as a simple process, grants under the terms of the Statute of Mortmain became a complicated procedure for transferring property, as royal authority was responsible for overseeing every transaction.⁸

The Church, too, had plenty of power to wield at court. The Yorkist kings were well aware of the importance of harnessing the power of a huge landed body such as the Church. It was able to demonstrate that it was not just an ecclesiastical authority that depended on the king for its power base, but was also a secular authority that assisted in the practice and overseeing of the law. This knowledge of the law was one of the reasons driving the Yorkist

kings to strengthen their relationship with the Church. They needed the Church's legal expertise, especially within the king's council.

To strengthen their show of authority, and to demonstrate their benevolent attitude to the Church, the House of York engaged in public displays of 'piety', patronage and ecclesiastical support. This was also true for the deposed Lancastrian factions seeking to challenge the Yorkist dynasty. For the House of York, the intent behind their patronage practices hinted at their devoutness. By publicly giving patronage to the Church and supporting the higher clergy, the Yorkist kings were able to demonstrate their authority and power by using the Church as a base, thus increasing their influence in many significant regions of England. Political needs and the influence of the Church's view emphasised an individual's accumulation of merit towards his salvation, for the king as much as for anyone else.⁹ The kings appealed to the Church for support for their own people, for their reign, protection from sin, and the security and personal salvation of the nobility but With political desires evident; pious practices of the Yorkists stressed God's approval was also bound by a growing need in the community for personal salvation, and salvation for their families.¹⁰ .As with many royal families, the Yorkist kings practiced personal piety for their own ends. Founding pious institutions where prayers could be secured to help seek salvation for their soul after death and engaging in a complex web of charitable gift giving all became politically motivated.

The medieval government and its function relied on the dual aspects of the king's participation in and his acceptance by the Church. These two factors were closely interlinked. The co-dependency between the Church and the House of York ultimately created a very intricate relationship, which could be changed when it suited the figure in power. Given the evidence from State records and chronicles demonstrating various relationships, did Edward or Richard display distinct patterns seen as unusual or normal in their treatment of the English Church and its officials during the Wars of the Roses?

Edward IV and Richard III and their Bishops

Surprising similarities can be derived from the information gathered when researching the Patent Rolls, and contemporary chronicles regarding the Yorkist kings and their bishops. Evidence demonstrates the complexity of the relationships between Edward IV, Richard III and their bishops throughout the period of their reigns. The structure and administrative procedures of the Church, its relations with the House of York and the importance the Yorkist kings placed upon the Church creates an interesting case that has been neglected in academic studies. Historian A. J. Pollard concluded in *British History in Perspective, The Wars of The Roses* that 'Overall, what is remarkable about the Church during the Wars of the Roses is its passivity and indifference', suggesting that the Church did not have a huge role to play during the period, either ecclesiastically or politically.¹¹

It is true that the Church had a comparatively small role to play in the dealings of the Wars of the Roses, but this does not mean that every member within the Church abstained from relationships with the Yorkist kings. As supported by the documentation, on an administrative level Edward and Richard used the expertise of various bishops as means to secure and back their claims to the throne. Whether these bishops, all chosen officials by the king, had direct influence over the nobility and their reciprocal acts of charitable giving and patronage is open for interpretation; nevertheless, the Yorkists' issuance of pardons, as well as the administrative roles and political stance of the major bishops of the period, provide evidence of the active involvement of the Church during the Wars of the Roses.

The bishops primarily sought to maintain the peace, solidarity, and neutrality of the English Church, despite the instability and the unpredictable world of English politics. To

say they were complaisant is simplistic. In larger dioceses, clergy supported the reigning monarch primarily as a political move to keep funds coming in.¹² Edward's first reign, from 1461-1469, had already tested his governance as the *A Second Continuation of the History of Croyland (CC2)* states: 'at this period, many nobles and great men of the kingdome, as well as very many bishops and abbats, were acused before the king of treason'.¹³ The value of this chronicle is its content relating to the knowledge of high politics is indispensable.¹⁴ To date, it is one of the more practical and accurate chronicles authored within the period, thus adding to its credibility. The quotation above suggests that the bishops would find themselves in an uneasy and difficult position if they presented the king with any opposition. Future proceeds and any political sway for grants in *mortmain* or *frankalmoin* would be placed out of reach and send their dioceses into financial disarray.

It was the king's duty to do justice, and also to be concerned for his soul. Pardons issued to prominent bishops were one way in which the king could demonstrate the importance of the state of the soul. Efforts were made by the Yorkist kings to issue pardons once a bishop earned retribution to the king's liking. The importance of these pardons was for a display of power that the House of York used to its fullest extent.¹⁵ As referenced in the Patent Rolls, these pardons were not all the same form of judicial pardons. Criminal and ecclesiastical pardons were two different distinct concepts. Pardons intended for criminal offences required justification and the completion of a sentence to be granted. Under canon law, however, some pardons were intended for offences of a spiritual manner and did not require justification: religious pardons were given as a form of alms. The two forms of pardons were distinguished by different laws and by the intentions with which they were granted. This is a shift from the traditional meaning of 'pardon' as a strictly legal definition.¹⁶ Once a pardon was sought, either a regular pardon or a general pardon, it was to gain back favourable status and be alleviated of any crime arising from any offence committed. Additionally, some of the types of pardons that are of focus of this discussion brought spiritual benefit to the grantor, usually the king, although even the religiously-based pardons also had a legal dimension (as Thomas J. McSweeney identifies in *The King's Courts and the King's Soul: Pardonning as Almsgiving in Medieval England*). Even though some of the pardons issued might not make sense from today's perspective, they do when taking into account the context of medieval society and the implications for the king's soul.¹⁷

Fifteenth-century kings issued pardons to mark important events. Edward IV issued pardons, both criminal and ecclesiastical, in the aftermath of the deposing of Henry VI. *Hall's Chronicle* refers to Edward's use of pardons upon his return to London after his exile:

xi. daye of April, sixe monethes after that he had sayled in to Flanders:... But when he had greuously wyth terrible words declared to them their sedicius crime & trayterous offence, he bad them of good comforte, & to expell all feare, for he released to them both the punyshment of theyr bodies, and losse of gooddes, and graunted to them Pardon for theyr faultes and offences,...¹⁸

Hall's Chronicle, originally authored by Edward Hall (1497-1547), a politician and lawyer, was subsequently edited and completed by Richard Grafton, historian and printer, who was left the chronicle in Hall's will in 1547. The chronicle humanist in nature; demonstrates an evaluation of critical events, and political developments. As Hall noted, Edward pardoned all officials who supported his reign on his return to London in a public statement thanking the citizens of London for their support and efforts to aid in his return. Those who stayed behind and supported Edward, 'dyvers Bisshoppis and other many, suche as were kyng Edwardes ffrendis, did in lykewyse went vnto Sayntuary places for their sauegard'.¹⁹ This passage can be backed up by evidence from the Patent Rolls, which lists

many pardons and fines for individuals failing to appear at court, along with punishment for other offences.

Pardons issued under Edward and Richard's reigns celebrated and supported changes of dynastic importance.²⁰ 'Pardoning acted as a symbol of reconciliation between the king and his subjects and also put royal power on display'.²¹ Signifying the dominance of the House of York, issuing pardons demonstrated that law did not bind the monarch and that he could enforce laws upon the bishops.²² These pardons, thus interpreted, were a product of this prerogative and of enforcement and compliance. Ultimately, the issuance of pardons for the bishops demonstrates Edward's involvement with the Church as politically motivated.

* * *

Between 1471 and 1473, Edward IV²³ issued five pardons to bishops (including the Archbishops of York and Canterbury) for 'offences committed'.²⁴ Edward's handling of the case of George Neville, Archbishop of York, is particularly interesting in the context of his relationship with individual bishops. The Archbishop of York was a member of one of many controversial families, the Nevilles that abandoned Edward to support Henry VI when Edward fled to Calais at the end of the first phase of his reign. The Patent Rolls show that Edward issued a pardon for 'George Nyville' (Neville),²⁵ on 21 April 1471, for offences before 13 April of the same year, after Edward had returned from exile. Bishop Neville's pardon can be interpreted as a political move as a part of Edward's plan to get the power-hungry Neville family out of London. The Neville family fell from the King's favour during the 1470s for many reasons. Treason was one of them. Confirmation of their disfavour is supported by the lack of Nevilles serving as witnesses to royal charters that they had previously performed in the past.²⁶

The animosity between the Nevilles and the Yorkists had a lengthy history. Upon entering the seminary, George Neville was shunned by many, as his family paid for his advancement and used their connections to gain him ecclesiastical office quickly.²⁷ This did not help relations between Edward and the Neville family, especially during the 'counter-revolution' of 1470-1471, when Archbishop Neville betrayed Edward. According to the *Second Continuation of the History of Croyland (CC2)*, 'George, archbishop of York, together with the duke of Clarence, the king's brother and the said earl of Warwick'²⁸ were among many who were disappointed with Edward IV and turned against him.

Neville sided with Henry VI, becoming his Chancellor, and helped foment an uprising in Yorkshire along with Richard Neville, the 16th earl of Warwick,²⁹ who was Edward IV's cousin and George Neville's brother. When Edward returned from exile in the spring of 1471, because of the fear of another uprising, he was unable to land at his planned destination in East Anglia.³⁰ Instead, he landed at Ravenspur, in Holderness, on 14 March.³¹ He then travelled north to the city of York. Under instruction from the earl of Warwick, Archbishop Neville was ordered to keep Edward out of London, but the Archbishop let him return to the city.³² The once-influential prelate, whom it was now impossible to forgive or trust, now provided the Yorkists with a significant problem. For Edward, determining the bishop's fate became tricky due to his ailing health. The Patent Rolls do not give precise details of Neville's punishment, but the chroniclers seem to fill this gap:

'This yere tharchebisshop of York, Nevyll, brother vnto therle of Warwyk, was sent vnto Guynys, wher he abood till the xvth yere of the kyng.'³³

Although it may have been mentioned for propaganda purposes exacerbating negative Edward's treatment of his officials, the bishop was apparently sent to Guynys, in Wales. As the clergy were exempt from civil punishment, Neville was sent to a castle far from his

seat of power. Eventually he was let go, although Edward was careful not to let him travel up north for most of the remainder of his life.³⁴ Archbishop Neville, with the support of friends both in England and the papal court, was granted another pardon on 11 November 1474.³⁵ He was released due to the influence of Pope Sixtus IV (*r.* 1471–84).³⁶ Nonetheless, by issuing a pardon, Edward presented the family with both a gesture of mercy and an expression of political favour. For Edward it was a good way to keep the powerful Nevilles at bay and appease any remaining political prejudices.

The Neville family, though not the typical aristocratic family, had a significant amount of power. Common belief tends to focus on the theory that the aristocracy dominated the episcopacy, yet these positions were also open to men of bourgeois origins.³⁷ One of the most influential positions within the Church was that of a bishop. This position brought hopes of becoming a senior councillor or chancellor to the king. A bishop in a noble family also brought some guarantee of ‘political loyalty or stability’, depending on his connections.³⁸ This is one of the many reasons why noble families in the Middle Ages sent a family member into the Church. It helped them impact on the scale of power or influence when needed and to establish a secure relationship with the Church. This was something the House of York did not have: a family member inside the Church. For the Neville family, having members within the Church was not just for ecclesiastical gain, but also for political support to help lead the family to greatness. Unfortunately, these hopes for a secure position of power were hindered by the disgrace of Archbishop Neville.

As affairs became more political with the Church, they touched many aspects of the Yorkist government. Failure of trust as a result of Archbishop Neville’s disgrace created problems in recruitment of senior clerics for positions in ecclesiastical office and threatened the welfare of York Minster. In 1474, residential canons John Gysburgh and William Poterman³⁹ travelled forty miles, equating to three and a half days, to Middleham Castle to consult Richard, Duke of York about the future of the Minster. Edward, in what some call a personal but speedy decision, replaced the unhappy Bishop Neville with Bishop Lawrence Booth of Durham.⁴⁰ The appointment was seen as a reward for Booth, justifiably as his half-brother William Booth had held the archiepiscopal throne before.⁴¹

It was not just the issuance of pardons to the bishops who committed treason that demonstrates Edward’s politically motivated involvement with the Church. Duties, administrative tasks, negotiating and even the tutoring of his children – all this he attempted to place on his bishops. There are forty-one mentions of regional bishops or archbishops performing, receiving or overseeing matters as local justices or keepers of letters at the king’s command between 1471 and 1473. In August 1471, in perhaps one of the most surprisingly political but also administrative moves by a bishop, Bishop Booth of Durham supported Edward in cancelling two grants for peace and trade treaties between Portugal and England over an unpaid debt of £20.⁴² This example is significant as it represents one of the many administrative acts for which Edward was commended; it also demonstrates his habit of assigning bishops to transact administrative affairs. Along with delegation of duties to the bishops, Edward went through previous financial records and collected or cancelled debts that were not paid after Henry VI was deposed. This entry, with the aid of the bishop’s administrative knowledge, is proof of Edward’s willingness to use bishops for his political and administrative needs.

Historians such as Pollard and Ross mention Edward did not always have the best judgement, and pursued a few failed policies. This was something that many of the chroniclers also tend to weave into their histories. The evidence in the Patent Rolls, however, cast doubt over these assertions. Edward had intended to restore the trust of the people, and also of the Church. He began by delegating solutions for paying the outstanding Lancastrian

debt and began to strongly support new and existing trading ventures. Edward addressed his council: 'I propose to live upon my own [ordinary revenue] and not charge my subjects except in great and urgent causes'.⁴³ Edward was creating a financial challenge for himself, but he was also giving his subjects something they wished for.⁴⁴ Politically the Church accepted Edward's policies, especially when they saw the benefit for themselves. By Edward revising the financial records and creating his own enterprises, he demonstrated himself to be a calculating and ambitious king. If Edward was ever to need the Church's financial backing, or if the Church were ever to need the King's assistance in their financial dealings, here was proof to the people that Edward was trustworthy, resourceful, and reliable.

Edward's knack for delegation can be traced in his treaties with the Burgundian state and other nations. Delegating awkward and difficult problems to his bishops was one of his favoured moves. A notable example is his request to John Alcock, Bishop of Rochester, in 1473 to settle a piracy claim against Edward by the King of Portugal:

24 Feb 1473
Westminster

Commission to J. bishop of Rochester, ... to enquire into the complaint of John de Elbys, knight, licentiate in civil law, orator, ambassador and proctor or advocate fiscal of the king's kinsman Alfonso, king of Portugal, that Thomas the Bastard of Fauconbrige and divers other pirates in the ninth year of the reign have plundered divers ships of Portugal, Notwithstanding the alliance between the king and his said kinsman, and to cause restitution to be made and to arrest the offenders and bring them before the king and council. (Note: there is no author of this commission in the record.)⁴⁵

What made this issue particularly sensitive was that Thomas the Bastard was a Neville.

As previously mentioned, there was longstanding competition between the Nevilles and the Yorks, primarily due to their power they gained as a family by bastard feudalism. Thomas Neville had been plundering Portuguese ships for years, and in 1471 Edward sought to have him executed.⁴⁶ This entry in the Patent Rolls show that not all political matters were a priority to Edward, as this account had been outstanding two years. Obviously, the Neville supporters, who did not know of Fauconbridg's death, were still pirating, and King Alfonso was still seeking retributions for his losses.

By 1473, the Neville pirates had been already chronicled in many others works from *The Chronicle of London* and below in *Hall's Chronicle*:

... for he was enformed how one Thomas Neuel bastard sonne to Thomas lord Fauconbridg the valiant capitayne, a man of no lesse corage then audacitie... This bastard was before this tyme appointed by the erle of Warwycke, to be Vice-admyrall of the sea, and bhad in charge so to kepe the passage bewene Douer and Caleys,... he robbed both on the sea & the lande, aswel his enemyes as also his frendes...⁴⁷

In *Hall's Chronicle*, Hall does not question the role of the Edward's bishops or the story behind Thomas Bastard of Fauconbridg. As we are reminded by John de Elbys, King Alfonso of Portugal was a relative of Edward's whose alliance would greatly benefit England. Edward was trying to go to war with France and needed allies, as later documented in Parliament and other histories. Edward needed to establish support, as well as demonstrate his control over the Neville family. He appointed the Bishop of Rochester to begin the investigation of the incident and to follow through on matters. This example demonstrates Edward's priorities in his dealings with religious entities, and it shows a similarity with his position towards diplomatic relations. He distanced himself from the duties, and passed them

on to another, making them seem less important. However, in terms of whom he assigned to undertake these tasks, his decisions remained consistent. John Alcock, the Bishop of Rochester was a good choice for Edward to delegate the piracy issue. He had been an ambassador to Castile, and already proved his negotiation skills. Edward was aware of his talents: his choice of such a powerful, qualified individual to negotiate with King Alfonso on behalf of Church and State was deliberate.

Edward sought the help of his clergy not only for conventional and spiritual reasons, but also for administrative and legal help with Parliament. He often seemed to choose individuals for more than just one duty, and demonstrated a marked preference for Alcock. His policies and requests of his bishops were demanding, as the chronicles seem to suggest:

During this Parliament, (which was * * presided over by a variety of chancellors, there being first, Robert, bishop of Bath, who did nothing except through his pupil, John Alcock, bishop of Worcester; secondly Lawrence, bishop of Durham, who became quite fatigued and weary with his endless labours; ⁴⁸

One of the few first-hand accounts of the period, mentioned in *A Third Continuation of the History of Croyland (CC3)*, states that Edward's bishops were tired and worn out from many of Edward's delegations. It is entirely possible Edward gave too much work to his bishops. Although overwhelmed, the ones who remained and endured his reign were eventually rewarded with higher positions, such as the Chancellorship. Furthermore, the next few years of Edward's second reign proved very complicated. The bishops were meant to have duties close to their principalities but Edward gave them many administrative jobs. The clergy did Edward's bidding, primarily administrative, thus supporting the king and the House of York in a road, high political context. Prelates went on diplomatic missions for Edward, attended his council meetings, and even held high offices under the Crown. They therefore did not represent the Church or their domination over the whole of England.⁴⁹

The chronicles help illustrate a king who is giving and ideal in the eyes of the Church, but who also performs his duties in an expected manner, and is thus equally exploited by his beneficiaries. The chronicle *CC2* and *CC3* overall is very pro-Edward in terms of perspective and authorship. This may have been because the abbey (Croyland) itself, as noted in *CC2*, received grants and licences under Edward IV for many great improvements. Under 'abbot John', Croyland was able to undergo the following work: 'erected many buildings in the court of the abbey... repairing his manor-houses... constructing new buildings, or in repairing old... procured the charters to be re-granted of privileges on vacation of our abbey...'⁵⁰ The gratitude for receiving these rewards is reciprocated in giving the king a history that notes, for example, that:

In the year of our Lord, 1461, at the beginning of March, ... he was immediately received with unbounded joy by the clergy and all the people, and especially by the citizens of London; and after a short time, Parliament being assembled, amid the acclamations of all he was made king of England...acting faithfully in the Lord, ...to avenge the injuries of the Church and the realm. For, as we have already stated, he was then of vigorous age and well fitted to endure the conflict of battle, while at the same time, he was fully equal to the management of the affairs of the state.⁵¹

For Edward, the relationship he had with the Church, though not unusual, proved beneficial when he needed support, and this was something the chroniclers of the period noticed.

* * *

In contrast, Richard III was not as consistent as Edward in his relationship with the clergy at an administrative level, and in the structure and organization of his offices. The communication between the bishops, the Church, and Richard upon the examination of issued pardons shows a level of inconsistency reflecting a political atmosphere of unrest. As the evidence shows, Richard's relationships with his bishops led to the opposition of the Church to the Yorkist cause during the Wars of the Roses. It demonstrates the actions of a king and of a Church concerned with their survival and salvation. Richard ended up realising even the bishops he most trusted and the ones whose loyalty could be 'bought' were the ones who betrayed him, simply because their loyalty was not persuaded or earned.

The King was dealing with opposition from various parts of the country before his coronation in July 1483. The issues with bishops stemmed from past and existing relations with the Woodvilles. A Woodville-dominated court was not appealing to Richard because of their past support of the Lancastrian cause. Their unusual closeness to Edward, and noticeable favouritism in court had been a sore point with the Earl of Warwick and others. Under Edward many '... spoke of the circle round the king, saying that he has scarcely any of the blood royal at court, and that Lord Rivers and his family dominated everything,' as mentioned in Jehan Waurin's *Recueil des croniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre*, a medieval chronicle recalling Warwick's dissatisfaction with the King in 1467.⁵² The closeness of the Woodvilles to the centre of power still lingered among the various bishops that Richard had throughout the realm and in his court.

Officials who had connections with the Woodvilles, bishops included, were an issue of contention for Richard. Thomas Rotherham, he acting Chancellor previously appointed by Edward on 27 May 1474, and also the Archbishop of York, posed a challenge for Richard.⁵³ Richard became 'Lord Protector' for Edward V upon Edward IV's death in April 1483. Rotherham, with the dowager Queen Elizabeth,⁵⁴ plotted a conspiracy seen as treasonous in nature.⁵⁵ Interestingly, he never was pardoned according to State records.⁵⁶ Rotherham was charged on 13 June 1483 for conspiracy involving the Woodvilles and Lord Hastings.

Although this could be one of Richard's many inconsistencies, Rotherham had a good reason for not receiving a pardon. When Elizabeth Woodville sought sanctuary after Richard had gained Lord Protector of her son, Edward V, Rotherham gave the Great Seal to her. The intentions behind Rotherham giving the Great Seal to Elizabeth were unclear, and resulted in mistrust from the soon-to-be king.⁵⁷ *Hall's Chronicle* explained:

The same night there came to doctor Rotherham Archebysshop of Yorke and lorde Chauncelour, a messenger from the lord Chambrelayne to Yorke place besyde Westminster: ... Wherupon the bishop culled vp all his seruantes and toke with hym the great seale and came before day to the quene,... The quene sat alone belowe on the rushes all desolate & dismayde, who the Archebysshoppe contorted in the best maner that he coulde, shewyng her that the matter was nothyng so sore as she tookc it for,... Madame quod he, be of good comforte and I assure you, yf they crowne any other kynge then your sonne whom they nowe haue, we thai on the morow croune his brother whom you haue here with you. And here is the great seale, which in lykewise as your noble husband deliuered it to me, so I deliuer it to you to the vse of your sonne and therwith deliuered her the greate seale, and departed home in the dawning of the day.⁵⁸

Rotherham, as evident from the example above, gave Elizabeth the seal out of loyalty to Edward V, Edward IV's presumed heir. To Richard, who was now Lord Protector, this

was an act of treason or conspiracy. As Lord Protector, Richard was to be more or less a regent for the Prince, overseeing and making government decisions. By bypassing Richard, Rotherham was showing himself to be disloyal. By placing Rotherham in custody, Richard was showing that, although Rotherham was an archbishop, the power still lay with the Lord Protector. This is supported by Kendall's statement that the Yorkist kings did feel that they were in fact the 'Supreme Head' of the Church and acted as such. Ultimately, there was no one to challenge their actions; even the Pope had chosen to remain out of England's affairs in previous years.

After conviction, Rotherham was released the following month, as noted in *Hall's Chronicle*: 'July... and the fifth daie... likewise the Archebishop of Yorke was delivered...' ⁵⁹ Rotherham was sent as prisoner varies depending on source. Sources such as *Hall's Chronicle* state first the Tower and *CC2* and *The Chronicle of London* mention Wales, but a different castle from that to which other bishops such as Neville were sent. Rotherham's absence from events is the best indication of his imprisonment or loss of favour with the king. The Archbishop of York was not in attendance for Richard's coronation or the festivities in York in August 1483. ⁶⁰ That September, Richard issued an order that Rotherham's tenants on his estates pay their fees, demonstrating that matters were not resolved between the King and the Bishop. ⁶¹

The relationship between Rotherham and Richard eventually became more civil. With the King and Rotherham present, the Great Seal was returned and presented to John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln and the new Chancellor on 13 May 1483, as recorded on 26 November 1483. Rotherham was also present at the 'triers of petitions' for Richard's only Parliament, in January 1484, and the previous September had helped in negotiations with the Scots in Nottingham. ⁶² The significance of the relationship that Richard had with Rotherham was one that demonstrates Richard as inconsistent in issuing his pardons, and less inclined than Edward to use them for political reasons. This hints at an inconsistency in Richard's dealings and relationship with the Church.

Richard faced strong opposition, especially after his coronation, and other bishops also fell foul of his distrust. John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, ⁶³ had been a trusted and reliable counsel to Edward in diplomatic affairs. Nonetheless, the new king had his doubts, and dismissed him from service as Edward V's tutor. Alcock was never arrested, and Richard eventually pardoned him on 11 October 1483 for 'ordinary of that place and keeper of the gaol of the clerks convict at the city of Worcester, of all escapes of Robert Harper late of Cowsill in Arithern, co. Warwick, "yeoman," attained of felony, from his custody'. ⁶⁴ Alcock had been a trustworthy bishop under Edward. Appointed as Edward V's tutor when the Prince was only three, Alcock was transferred from the bishopric of Rochester to Worcester on 15 July 1476. In Worcester, he was able to govern his lands and be of more assistance to the young prince, who was residing in Wales. ⁶⁵ To understand Alcock's position as Bishop of Worcester, his role to the town itself is significant. The bishop had control over lands owned by the cathedral. If the jail was included in this area such as in Worcester, he subsequently had control of the jail and was held responsible for all activity within the jail. This also followed for the individuals who worked there as demonstrated by the diversity and the wide range of duties that the bishops had control over in their precincts and individual cathedrals they governed. Moreover the 'ordinary of that place and keeper of the gaol of the clerks convict at the city of Worcester' ⁶⁶ would be Bishop Alcock. Therefore, Richard in this pardon is forgiving him by having an escapee, as the record indicates and though we do not know how he escaped, the only information given is that his crime was a 'felony' a serious crime. Richard knew the value Alcock would be to his council, so he pardoned him of this mishap.

Like the Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester also appears in chronicles in regards of negotiation matters between Scotland and England, with the King dated September 1484. As he proved his loyalty to Richard, and having past negotiating skills, it was evident that the King could still use his expertise:

(A.D. Sept 1484)

Reception of the Scotch Ambassadors

xj die Septembris

Thus day at aftyr none thembassadors cam yn to Nothyngnam acompanid with suche lordys and other as ys a fore sayd, etc.... England and Scotland and a nother commissyon undyr the seyd Gret Seall of Scotland for maryage by twyene the prince of Scottis and one of the kynges blood.

Xiiij, die Septembris apud castrum Nothyngnam

Thyes be the names of the lordys whome the kynges hyghnes hath ordeyned and mad to be hys commissarys ther to appoynt, accord and conclude with the foresyd orators of Scotland, that ys to sey, the erle of Arguile, the bysshopp of Alberdyen, and other, etc, for the peace to be made of bothe reamys...

Item, the namys of the lordys that schall commyn for the maryage:-

John, bysshopp of Worcester⁶⁷

Above, in James Gairdner's edited *Letters and Papers, Illustrative of the reigns of Richard III and Henry VII* documents this negotiation. Alcock attended negotiations with Richard and the rest of his council, in September 1484 at Nottingham to negotiate a peace treaty with the Scots. The Scots had been an ongoing problem for the north of England. Richard had led raids to keep the peace between the two countries under Edward IV during the mid-1470's until 1482 when he recaptured Berwick upon Tweed in August 1482.⁶⁸ Over a period of four days, terms to unite the countries through a marriage alliance by 'maryage by twyene the prince of Scottis and one of the kynges blood' were finalized. 'John, bysshopp of Worcester'⁶⁹ or Alcock, also the bishop of Rochester under Edward IV, was listed as present and as a witnesses to be present for the marriage if took place. Alcock's presence at the negotiation supports that Richard placed authority and responsibility upon selected church officials for administrative and negotiation affairs. Records researched indicate that Rotherham and Alcock eventually became a part of Richard's inner circle, but that cannot be said for all bishops he had relationships with.

Previously arrested at a council meeting on 13 June 1483,⁷⁰ John Morton, Bishop of Ely, became one of the conspirators in Buckingham's Rebellion, posing a dilemma for Richard. The king, 'without trial, and imprisoned ...the Bishop of Ely in separate places, ...'⁷¹ On 23 October 1483 the Patent Rolls state that Richard issued a proclamation upon news of the uprising. Sheriffs were appointed to find 'the great rebel the late Duke of Buckingham and bishops of Ely and Salisbury, offering rewards for their capture and pardon for all who withdraw from them. By K'.⁷² The chronicles confirm Bishop Morton's betrayal:

The ii yere he was unquieted by a conpiracye or rather a confe-deracye between the duke of Buckyngham and many other gentlemen, as ye shall heare:...

Morto bishop of Ely... whose only wypedome abused his pride, to his own deliurauce and the dukes distruction.⁷³

Morton is another bishop whom some historians such as Pollard fail to acknowledge as being involved politically in the Wars of the Roses. Nonetheless, he is not left out from the majority of the chroniclers and their works. For 'Morto bishop of Ely... whose only wypedome abused his pride', it wasn't just his wisdom that became abused, but also his career.⁷⁴ Bishop Morton had his lands in Suffolk confiscated on 23 November 1484.⁷⁵

Additionally, Morton was ‘the bishop, which favouered cuer the house of Lancaster...’⁷⁶ stated by *Hall’s Chronicle*. Suggesting there was some Lancastrian favour on Morton’s side and obviously this was not politically pleasing for the Yorkist king.

The fate of Morton, Bishop of Ely continues in other chronicles. *The Chronicle of London* gives an entry as to where Morton was sent next after his involvement in Buckingham’s Rebellion:

And the xiiijth day of Jun the lord Duke of Glowceter, sodeynly w^t oute Jugement, cawsid the lord Hastynges, Chamberlayne of England, to be beheded w⁴in the Tower. And forthwith sent the Bisshoppis of Ely and York in to Walys, there to haue been prysoned.⁷⁷

Stated in the quote above, Morton, the Bishop of Ely is sent to Wales. This information is also confirmed in *CC2*, as Morton was one of ‘two distinguished prelates also, Thomas, Archbishop of York and John, Bishop of Ely, being, out of respect for their order, held exempt from capital punishment, were carried prisoners to different castles in Wales’.⁷⁸ This incident along with many others gave Richard a clear indication that for diplomatic matters hesitation was needed when trusting some clergy members. Suspected of conspiracy already, Morton’s pardon did not happen right away. To say Richard was hesitant, he had every right to be. Morton more than likely had to gain the King’s trust and faith to earn this pardon, but according to the chroniclers he seemed to be a constant adversary. In January 1484, Bishop Morton’s escape to Flanders to assist Henry Tudor and other members of the nobility in a collation against Richard’s reign is also mentioned in *Hall’s Chronicle* and others.⁷⁹ John Morton, Bishop of Ely is a named a conspirator, finally received a general pardon on 11 December 1484 for of all his offences.

Subsequently it was not just John Morton, Bishop of Ely who was involved with the Buckingham conspiracy, but Lionel Wydeville, Bishop of Salisbury, who on 23 March 1484 lost his temporalities (revenues) and advowsons (*Advowson(s)*, in English ecclesiastical law, is the right to nominate a candidate to a benefice or church office.) associated with it, for his involvement in the rebellion according to record.⁸⁰ Some sources contradict this date, such as Rosemary Horrox’s *Richard III, A Study of Service*, notes that after the rebellion three bishops were attained, and had their lands seemingly temporalities seemingly forfeited: Lionel Woodville as early as 23 September, Piers Courtenay presumed in November, and Morton as early as 13 June 1483 when he was originally arrested.⁸¹

Had Richard shown the same amount of patronage to the south and succeeded in gaining more of a loyal base, the political unrest might have subsided. His efforts to gain support were inconsistent as were his governing policies as evident from analysing his policies in regards to the bishops during his reign. Richard granted seven pardons in two years and it’s these pardons that demonstrate an inconsistent relationship between Richard and the Church. The lack of support and the betrayal of southern bishops do seem to have spurred a large part of Richard’s political issues with the Church and subsequently with the people. Consequently, if the people did not trust the king, they would trust a prelate overall. Despite the political unrest in the country, piety and acts of devotion continued, and overall were at a general increase than during one of the most politically significant times of Richard’s reign.

* * *

How the Church alone could have had a small role in politics during the Wars of the Roses is possible to conclude. Yet the histories and relationships between Edward and Richard and their bishops did not reflect the Church’s stance. Owned by royal favour, some of the bishops were still politically employed and gained the reputation of a ‘trimmer,’

meaning the prelate would switch political sides when it suited them.⁸² This is very evident with the southern bishops during Richard's reign. Suggested pardons alleviated some of them of this connotation. Furthermore, 'keeping the peace' as Pollard states was to be a priority of the clergy, though not heavily practised. By switching political allegiance some could argue as keeping the peace, though at times just made situations more hazardous and complicated. It showed manipulation and hindrance of trust.

The bishops were very active in the political atmosphere of the fifteenth century, despite Pollard's view about the Church as a whole. Previously, in London the majority of the Church leant towards the Yorkist in 1450s before Edward came to the throne. This was mainly due to well-known citizens, including Edward's father Richard, the Duke of York⁸³ and their associations with political factions and religious priorities. It was these connections, that the Yorkist regime gained political favour within the clergy. Their reasons for support are evident. Finally, the relationships between the kings and their bishops that are demonstrated are usual in terms of administration and policy and in terms of the changing political atmosphere under both kings.

The Evidence of the Patent Rolls, Papal Letters and Chronicles

Edward:

It was not just the bishops who contributed to the relationships between the Yorkist kings and the Church but the overall presence of the Church as illustrated within the Patent Rolls, Papal Letters and chronicles. The importance of this relationship demonstrates an array of different affairs seemingly usual of the Yorkist kings. Firstly, Edward's attitude towards religion summarized by Ross was 'a characteristic of Edward that his rather sparse patronage of religion was expressed in close connection with his favourite residences, where colleges or religious house could be used by the royal family'.⁸⁴ Historian, Hannes Kleineke, in *Edward IV*, describes Edward as a king who viewed religion as unfavourable in attitude when compared to the rest of his family.⁸⁵ He 'lacked a sense of interest' suggesting Edward could be considered agnostic by today's standards.⁸⁶ Kleineke similarly sides with past historians who regard Edward with a laze faire attitude towards religion that can be added to Ross's statement. These obsolete views question the source material of older historians as 'Victorian in nature' revealed by further study into Edward's relationship with the Church.⁸⁷

To say Edward's efforts were sparse or unorthodox in nature is far-fetched, as further analysis within this dissertation will show. A significant amount of supportive information held within the Patent Rolls and chronicles tell of Edward's patronage. Polydore Vergil, a sixteenth century Italian scholar and controversial chronicler, mentions that Edward, 'was always careful to confer ecclesiastical honours on the most distinguished men, and especially relied on their counsel'.⁸⁸ These statements alone, do not disregard Edward's piety or devotional efforts, but give an inclination that Edward did support the Church financially, and used them for conducting government business. Edward's patronage of hospitals, monastic houses, support for religious needs, and the information within his *Black Book of The Household of Edward IV (Black Book)* all suggest a king who is usual of the period, in reference to his salvation that strengthened his support base and furthered the relationship between the Church and the House of York.

* * *

Edward IV as a medieval monarch strived to support the Church financially and spiritually. Edward like any Christian king hoped for a spiritual return by the means of salvation that would grant him a path to the kingdom of heaven. His reign intended to be

one that renewed the country and one that rescued the Church from itself and strengthened the relationship between the King and the Church. Edward IV was the king who had the patrons of St. George and St. Anne at his side.⁸⁹ Chroniclers used this imagery to portray the king in a favourable light. Edward, like his predecessors had an obligation to have such devotions and priorities within the Church and the association of his patron saints supported this. These obligations also led to other duties and his support of the Church of the religious duties he upheld as king.

Edward's ecclesiastical support can be traced to his issuance of grants to the areas of the country in which he held the most religious favour. Significant patterns can be seen where the grants seem to fall once they implemented by the King's authority. When comparing Edward IV's second reign, 1471-1473 to Richard III's reign 1483-1485 though short, there is a significant pattern to where the grants were made and issued within the country. Edward in total had thirty grants that showed varied religious and charitable contributions that he oversaw or initiated for nobles or for himself. A third of these grants were made to the southwest area of England. Out of the thirty records examined, nine grants were issued between the areas of Oxford, Berkshire, London and Wiltshire. The rest were scattered throughout the country. Three grants specifically cite *frankalmoin* transactions. Many of these grants Edward administered are transactions between other grantors and beneficiaries, not the king. Nonetheless, Edward's court governed the initial requests (grants for licences, chantries, etc.). This proves he was somewhat concerned or aware of the needs of others. Edward was not a 'sparse' king. He followed through the requests made through council records. The affiliation between Edward and the Church in terms of these transactions shows a normal relationship. It shows a king fulfilling his obligations.

Edward not only oversaw these grants demonstrating his patronage for his own goodwill but also the goodwill of the lesser nobility. Even small acts of patronage and ones made in support of his name, added to Edward's devotional practices. Houses of friars, chantries, collegiate churches, hospitals, and schools caught the noblest of family's patronage, especially Edward and his queen.⁹⁰ One significant example demonstrates this relationship between Edward and the Church and can be seen in the many requests made by others throughout the country. Having a reputable relationship with the Church influenced many to emulate this bond. The king set an example and many followed even for smaller affairs:

24 Feb 1473

Westminster

Grant in frank almoin to William Pole, sometime one of the yeomen of the crown, smitten with leprosy, of a parcel of land lying in the highway between Highgate and Holwey, co. Middlesex, containing 60 feet in length and 24 feet in breadth, to the intent that he may build a hospital with a chapel in honour of St. Anthony, for the relief of divers persons smitten with this sickness and destitute and walking at large within the realm. By p.s. [3663]⁹¹

Individuals could grant or display acts of patronage within their lifetime to secure their own salvation, as seen in the above example. To give charitably or grant a licence in this instance in *frank almoin* or held in 'tenure in free alms' the grant is going to a worthy cause. Though small and possibly the only tangible asset available, this land grant of 60 feet by 24 feet is not going directly to the Church, but to William Pole. Pole was a former yeoman of the crown and lower gentry and this helped his request become prioritised. This grant is for founding a small hospital with a chapel in honour of St. Anthony, the patron saint of lost and stolen articles. Regardless of the size, Pole expressed the desire to request this grant. A strong relationship between Pole and the Church is mentioned, even for the most

humble of gifts. This is just one of the many transactions that Edward IV oversaw, as he had the judicial authority to grant, to move, and to give these lands. Most of gifts and bequests from this period point to a wealth of information about piety and pious practices of the late Middle Ages.⁹² The King supported these transactions, not just for himself but also for his people promoting an ideal relationship with the Church. It is transactions like this that display the House of York's influence in regards of religious or 'fashionable' trends in whom they give charitably too.

There are similar grants to this throughout the Patent Rolls. This one is particularly unique as it addresses an illness: leprosy, as a main reason for the hospital's instillation. The need to relieve the sufferers of leprosy also was the intent for the hospital foundation. Yet it also raises distinct uniqueness in regards to its request. Addressed is a particular need and there is also detail that is given behind the request that is not always recorded in documents of this kind. By being charitable and supportive of an ailment, this act was seen by the Church as very pious in nature and one that showed mercy towards others. The king as a public figure, majority of his acts, including private devotional practice, were considered public in terms of display and stressed authority, rather than *sensu stricto* (in the narrow sense) religious sentiment. Edward had some sense of his stance with the Church otherwise why would he ever see a hospital for leprosy of one of his nobles? From what we know about kings of the period, his actions according to record are quite normal.

As a beneficiary, Edward expressed a firm interest in the Carthusian Order in terms of patronage. This is anything but greatly and almost makes the relationship between Edward and the Church unusual. Between the Patent Rolls, and the Papal Letters, there are three entries: 23 November 1471, *frankalmoin* in York as a gift of a manor; 5 May 1476, a licence for *alienation in mortmain* of an estate held by Anne duchess of Buckingham⁹³ to Visitation of St. Mary of Carthusian Order. Finally, on 13 June 1476, is a grant for licence for *alienation in mortmain* for lands to be given to the Carthusian Order.⁹⁴ All transactions Edward proceeded over. Furthermore, there are two petitions in the Papal Letters, specifically from Edward and his queen that supports them as patrons. The Carthusian Order was a favourite of the king and queen to give to and became a popular recipient of other benefactors previously indicated during Edward's reign:

23 Nov 1471

Westminster

Grant in frank almoin to Robert the prior, and the convent of the house of the Assumption of St. Mary, Mountgrace, of the Carthusian order, in the diocese of York, of the manor or alien prior of Begger, co. York, ... that they may pray for the good estate of the king and for his soul after death and for the souls of the king's father Richard, late duke of York, and the king's brothers and sisters, and because they under took to celebrate three masses daily within their house, to wit of St. Mary, the Holy Trinity and St. Erasmus the Bishop.⁹⁵

Patronage and to a particular religious house such as the favourite of the Kings' was intended to set an example to the rest of the court and other members of nobility as the fashionable or politically pleasing order to support, as this example shows. Edward's support of the Carthusian Order in Papal Letters from 1471-1484, also emphasize and support the personal significance to his household. It also shows that their patronage seemed limitless, in terms of how much support they could give to an order.

Moreover, a petition dated 14 September 1479 granting Queen Elizabeth and Edward IV from Pope Sixtus IV, is a licence to visit as pilgrims to the Carthusian Monastery at Sheen, near London.⁹⁶ The priory was re-established by Henry V in 1414 as means to

preserve the dynastic link to his house of Lancaster and Plantagenet in honour of his father.⁹⁷ Edward and his queen continued their contributions to benefit the Carthusian Order and eventually this earned them religious favour. They were granted a licence to attend divine services in a chapel separate from the choir at one of the monasteries. Recorded on 6 May 1477, is another petition from Elizabeth, asking for women to enter primarily her servants, into the house of the Carthusian Order through a separate door.⁹⁸

Edward and Elizabeth then made an additional request for pardons of the highest level in a papal letter dated 1480–14 Non. Jan., and in the *Sacrum Horae*, according to Eamon Duffy.⁹⁹ Detailed in this letter is of the reward of indulgences of a high standing. They are to be of 300 days at each recital, in exchange for all who used a particular devotion in honour of the Virgin, three times a day, at Ave or Angelus Bell granted by Pope Sixtus VI.¹⁰⁰ This reward symbolizes a very close relationship between House of York and the Church and even the Pope. The relationship between monarch and Church at this time was at a level where validation and influence was very significant, as this example regarding Edward and Elizabeth demonstrates. The continued patronage and support of the Carthusian Order including the requests for visitations all support Edward's sense of piety, and devotional practices to the Church supporting a desired relationship. This also challenges the view that Edward was sparse in his contributions and practices that eventually evolved into the political closeness, and support of the Church.

Religious endowments and patronage did not just halt after being granted indulgences from the Pope for Edward. Edward with the support of his sister, Margaret of Burgundy, introduced the Order of Observant Franciscans. Their home was established in Greenwich when Margret visited the order during the summer of 1480. Margaret may have felt that her brother's soul needed prayers.¹⁰¹ It is hypothesized Edward's family began to show concern about his health.¹⁰² Individuals such as Edward or his family members would have sought good health, the ability to be healed, both physically and philosophically and cures for their body and soul from these orders.¹⁰³ It is not entirely known if poor health was the cause of Edward's death in April 1483 but with the rules of the Franciscan Order and the power of the saints held within their shrines, the family must have thought it important.

Nonetheless, the attention to a specific religious order by Edward with his queen, and his sister is significant. Edward demonstrated the need to be a patron for various religious houses and by his continuous public duty towards the Church. By establishing this relationship he was setting an example for his peers, and onlookers alike including chroniclers, as *CC2* mentions:

This prince, although in his day he was thought to have indulged his passions and desires too intemperately, was still, in religion, a most devout Catholic, a most unsparing enemy to all heretics, and a most loving encourager of wise and learned men, and of the clergy. He was also a most devout reverer of the Sacraments of the Church, and most sincerely repentant for all his sins.¹⁰⁴

CC2 illustrates Edward was a 'devout Catholic, a most unsparing enemy to all heretics, and a most loving encourager of wise and learned men, and of the clergy.'¹⁰⁵ This chronicle also supports that Edward was most 'devout reverer of the Sacraments of the Church',¹⁰⁶ but also hints at his misdoings and not so reputable behaviours as it references his sins. Edward might have not been a perfect model king and at times did not completely focus all his attention to the religious practices of the day but he did acknowledge his religiosity to some degree. In terms of his relationship with the Church, Edward did his part by supporting and practising his faith despite his many misdoings.

Even within the household, Edward and Elizabeth's pious and devotional fashions influenced personal religious needs. Historians at times often confuse these items in context to the overall experience between the Church and its followers in the fifteenth century. Though personal in nature, such as the personal altar below, it could also be seen as a communal piece. Its intent for devotional practices for the whole household is shown according a record within the Papal Letters:

1474

10 Kal, June.

(23 May)

St. Peter's, Rome

(f. 304r.)

'To Elizabeth, queen of England. Indult to have a portable alter, as above, f. 281r *Sincere etc.*'¹⁰⁷

A private chapel and even a portable altar, as mentioned above transgressed to a symbol of devotion and emphasised the importance of piety of its' owner and household. It became common amongst the nobility as it identified enlighten social status starting by end of the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁸ Royal families, held these in conjunction with private chaplains or bishop confessors, who would sit 'in the kings courte chambre'¹⁰⁹ as noted in the household accounts of Edward and Cecily Neville, the Duchess of York, his mother.¹¹⁰ A chaplain preformed services no matter how simple or elaborate they were and portable altars were to aid in religious practices within the household. Though the chaplain's authority could not grant additional portable altars, or requests for indulgences, these requests still had to go to the local bishops or Pope.¹¹¹ As these requests were sent to the Pope, they would have required a significant sum of money to franchise, thus not everyone or every household could afford the associated cost.

Genuine personal piety, requests and receiving holy items can be interpreted in many ways. To deem these items as personal in nature would be acknowledging the intent behind its use. Many of these altars were obtained because of the constant mobility of aristocratic families, such as Edwards, to keep up with fashionable trends, and other underlying reasons.¹¹² Elizabeth's mother, Jacquetta of *Luxembourg*¹¹³ was put on trial for suggested witchcraft on 21 February 1470.¹¹⁴ Having an item like this would secure any questions in regards to Elizabeth and Edward and their household's worthiness within the Church and to anyone questioned their religious loyalties. In terms of this request as being seen as unusual or normal, it can be firmly established it was normal. Many in the aristocracy had such items, but in terms of intention cannot be judged by the record of the request alone. This is something these records cannot tell us. Overall, the intended use of these altars attributed to private and communal use within the household. Edward and his household had no more than a normal religious preoccupation by having these religious items in comparison to any other king of the period.¹¹⁵

Edward seems to have eluded historians, to think his view and importance towards the Church was insignificant. This cannot be more condemning when looking at *The Black Book of The Household of Edward IV*, edited by A. R. Myers in conjunction with the Patent Roll records. The *Black Book* opens a small window into Edward's daily life. The book is a translated, but first-hand account of various priorities, including religious appointments for the king and his household. Included is accounting records, rank and function of chaplain to squires, all of a personal view differing from court documentation, or a chronicle that had could be seen as propaganda. Importance was also placed on those who worked 'below-stairs', whom were monitored down to how many candles they used and the

monitoring of the expenses associated with them within this part of the household.¹¹⁶ First of all, the book is claimed to be ‘official inspiration’, and said to have been made ‘by the greate counsyaill of lordez spirituall and temporall, the Cardinal of Canterbury... Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the wise and discrete jugez, and other sad, advised and well lerned men of Ingland in all aprowmentes.’¹¹⁷ The mention of the Archbishop suggests some religious significance behind its intention and also stresses the closeness of Church to the monarchy. Encompassed in the text are various lay duties, and ones specific to clerical office. Described below is the importance of religious feast days and what gifts are expected and offered:

viiij. Item, to the kinges offringes to the crosse on Good Friday, oute from the countynhouse for medycynable ringes in gold and sylver delyuered to the iuel-house, xxvs. Item the king offerithe or sendithe to the shryne of Seint Thomas of Caunterbury, in the name of chyuyage, iij florynes of golde fro his priuy cofers yerely.¹¹⁸

Listed is Good Friday one of the most celebrated feast days in the medieval church. Additionally described is when the household was to hold observance and where and what to take the feast day’s offerings too. The King is to give offerings to the Cross symbolizing Christ, on Good Friday, then those offerings are to be sent to Thomas of Canterbury or ‘Seint Thomas’. The entry additionally lists other feast days, in which offerings are to be observed:

‘All Halowen-day, Michaelmas day, Concepcion of Our Lady, Cristmasse-day, Newyeresday, Epiphany, Purificacion and Annunciacion of Oure Lady, Good Friday, Estyrdays, Ascencion-day, Whitsunday, Trinitee... Sondag, Corporis X-day, Assumpcion-day, and Natiuitee of Oure Blessid Lady.’¹¹⁹

If Edward was to gain any political or spiritual favour with major Church officials, especially the Pope, he needed to observe feast days. This book can also be seen as a guide proving Edward was an ideal Christian king and attempted to uphold the Church’s practices within his household. By following these instructions, a good impression to visitors would have been demonstrated and displayed the family as good Christians who kept their faith. This was especially important when people started to create claims about Edward’s illegitimacy, and his questionable first marriage to Eleanor Talbot.¹²⁰

To say Edward was ‘sparse’ in his religious duties can be refuted by this example. Edward and his household practiced various religious observances as evident from the pages within the *Black Book*. Along with observance being honoured, the household though busy, gave offerings on the aforesaid mentioned feast days to promote the communal effect of piety and devotional matters of the king. As supported again by the chroniclers as this extract from CC2:

King Edward kept the following feast of the Nativity at his palace of Westminster, frequently appearing clad in a great variety of most costly garments, ... he being a person of most elegant appearance, and remarkable beyond all others for the attractions of his person. You might have seen, in those days, the royal court presenting no other appearance than such as fully befits a most mighty kingdom, filled with riches and with people of almost all nations, and (a point in which it excelled all others) boasting of those most sweet and beautiful children, the issue of his marriage, which has been previously mentioned, with queen Elizabeth.¹²¹

Edward’s relationship with his faith and the Church sets an example of a devout

household as demonstrated. Edward and his family had almost a picturesque family in the entry from *CC2*. Additionally, to religious official serving the king, they would also have been the idea family. The *Black Book, CC2 and CC3* all support Edward's religiosity and this evidence in his acts of patronage and is backed up by the information found in the Papal Letters and the Patent Rolls.

Edward's attention to religion and the Church is exemplified by the importance he assigned to ceremonies and the importance of St. George's Chapel at Windsor. The Order of the Garter, re-established by Edward III, was of special interest to Edward and it was at St. George's Chapel, that Edward used the membership of the Garter to his political advantage. With influence from Rome, and a grant of indulgences by Pope Sixtus IV, visitors to the Garter Chapel would be granted remission of all sins, and for this favour Edward chose his Englishmen very selectively.¹²² This represented symbolically his ability to demonstrate authority over the Church and the people to the highest degree. By naming the chapel 'St. George' Edward not only displayed his patronage spiritually, he gained political and dynastic significance for the House of York as chronicled in *The Arrival of Edward IV (The Arrival)* below:

And Fryday, the xix day of Aprille, he departyd out of London, and went to Wyndstore, ther to thanke and honor God, and Seint George, where he kept also the feaste of Seint George, tarienge somewhat the longer there for that he had commaundyd all the people, and those that wold serve hym in this journey, to draw unto hym thithat, and from thens, suche waye as sholde happen hym take towards his enemyes.¹²³

By Edward having a patron saint, it gave his reign purpose and something the people and the Church could relate to. The king reinforced this imagery and used it to support his on-going patronage to the Church creating a deeper meaning behind his intentions. Edward would spend the feast day of St. George, 22 April, at the Chapel at Windsor, as noted by the chronicle, yearly. *The Arrival* is an important chronicle in understanding Edward IV and his reign as it was written very close to the events it retells. The author is unknown, but from the text it is believed the writer was a servant of Edward IV or someone who knew him due to the sympathetic nature of the chronicle.¹²⁴ As demonstrated, the chronicle highlights the significance and the pilgrimages Edward made to St. George's Chapel. His pilgrimage to the chapel on this feast day of St. George, and any other significant occasions, brought tremendous wealth by payment of many alms and donations to the Church. His patronage of the Chapel itself was a huge financial benefit to the Church in the fifteenth century. As we have seen, Edward used it as a site for conducting government business signifying a political element to its purpose and as a symbol of his sacred kingship.

Edward's administration within the Church, gave him the reputation of being 'illustrious'.¹²⁵ The remarkable likeliness of the king was supported even down to the symbols that represented and validated their reign. With a desired saintly demeanour, common for medieval kings, each reign was marked with a new issuance of coinage.¹²⁶ The significance of angels introduced on coins under Edward gave him the status and authority almost saintly in nature by this representation as discussed below:

The piety of the House of York had no reluctance in placing the royal arms besides the most sacred emblems, any more than in striking the 'Angel' its distinctive issue of coinage, with the sign of the Cross and the invocation 'Per Crucem Tuam Salva Nos'.¹²⁷

The image of an angel on this highly valued coin demonstrates how the House of York

used religious objects as imagery to validate their reign. Religious imagery gave the dynasty further validation and spiritual support. This was something that the House of York and their kings took pride in. The issuance of a new form of coin, along with the 'ryals', was introduced in 1465.¹²⁸ This coin replaced the existing 'Nobles' that had been under circulation before 1465.¹²⁹ Created in two different forms, the coins had a variation of an image of a rose and lettering.¹³⁰ There is some speculation that these coins were also considered to be a 'touch-piece' meaning they had the significance of a talisman or 'healing piece'.¹³¹ These coins also symbolised Edward's preoccupation with religious significance in terms of the Yorkist dynasty. They illustrates the lengths the House of York took to justify their reign not only by using these sacred images along with the cross but they emphasises the validation of the king's place within the highest authority of the land and God. This sacred image was something that would be displayed and used throughout the country and the continent thus significantly marking Edward's rule in addition to his other duties, as intended.

* * *

Can these examples between Edward and the Church be actual acts of piety from the monarchy, or are they more? Are they a representation of dealings in administrative procedure and the closeness between Edward and the Church? These worldly duties reflect ceremonial and spiritual importance and high politics, as they became centre stage for Edward. To some Edward's reign was highly criticized, despite his skills in administrative affairs, and his reign suffered from 'accusations of misjudgement and bad faith'.¹³² Edward did have some sense and need for personal and public devotion that was exhibited to his people. Some of his activities during his life might have been questionable, but the base of his character, according to the chroniclers mentioned is moral and well versed in ecclesiastical desires. This religious element is evident even from writers who received their information directly from those involved in Edward's court. Even though Edward in his second reign 'began to slyde by lyttle and lyttle into avarice',¹³³ it was one that was marked with the reform of the household with a greater handle on administration matters, and various advances involving trade.¹³⁴

Edward upon further examination demonstrates a king, who gave and sponsored monastic houses of the Church. He built a chapel that today holds both royal and ecclesiastical significance. He displayed the duties he was obliged to keep in regards to the religious practices and duties within his household and the Church. He also assisted his peers with their spiritual desires as well. Edward's pious and devotional practices not only supported the Church financially, but the favour was returned through political support by assistance in administration duties that was validated by the bishops he held in his counsel. The Church above all, was the strongest ally that any ruler could have in the Middle Ages. It was an establishment that could also help win wars and secure a dynasty that the Yorkist kings, and Edward furiously sought and wished to keep.

Richard:

Richard III and his relationship with the Church is a complicated issue for several reasons. Richard's reign is renowned for its unexpected ironies and misinterpretations historically.¹³⁵ Firstly, given the widely differing views about his character that either portrays him as evil or godly, it is difficult to make an objective assessment about him and his relationship with the Church. Secondly, the sources that we have vary greatly in their reliability and therefore credibility such as Rous' *Historia Regum Angliae*, *Hall's Chronicle* and more credible the Papal Letters, and the Patent Rolls. Thirdly, Richard's reign was short,

which makes it difficult to make general judgements based on a fairly limited number of individual actions involving the Church. However, it is possible to detect a pattern in his behaviour towards the Church, though what this means is not always clear and can be interpreted in more than one way.

Historians over time have been given an image of a king that out of obligation did what was expected of him in regards a relationship with the Church. Existing documentation displays a relationship between king and an institution that strongly supports efforts in governing, maintaining order and stability. In terms of his patronage of both secular and ecclesiastical establishments, and the significance of his Book of Hours, Richard did demonstrate the expectations and obligations of a Christian king, despite the shortness of his reign. Richard had an expected relationship with the Church that can be demonstrated by his acts both unusual or normal in terms of patronage of York Minster, universities, ecclesiastical colleges and his Book of Hours.

* * *

Richard's acts of patronage and the contributions he planned to initiate to the Church can be deemed as expected for a king who only reigned for two years and as one who cared for a prosperous relationship. Between 1483 and 1485 records indicate forty-three accounts¹³⁶ that can be used to differentiate examples of various acts that indicate the complex relationship between the King and the Church. All of these records support the kind of relationship Richard had with the Church, as one that was normal. But the inconsistency in administration of his policies in these records can be deemed as unusual. Furthermore, in terms of evidence, within documentation and chronicles that emphasize and re-tell of Richard's patronage more so to specific northern areas of England that is unusual.

Richard had a strong connection to the north of England, as this was his home. Richard had been appointed to govern and control the Scottish as 'Lieutenant of the North' in 1471. Richard continued to do so until Edward IV's death in April 1483. It was this region that was his primary place of residence from 1472 until he became king. Richard's association with the north also seemed to dominate the works by various chroniclers. Regardless, Richard's governing presence in the north helped promote York Minster as one of the most important establishments for the Church in the North of England.

The Church in the north used its resources to secure and keep wealthy parishioners pleased, especially those who served both Church and State, to the highest level.¹³⁷ York Minster was supported by aristocratic families who helped with arising predicaments and financial need as a reward for good service. In 1461 the Neville family supported the Minster as early patrons and sponsored the founding of the college of St. William.¹³⁸ In promoting the grandeur of the establishment, installed was thirty-six canons, thirty vicars choral, twenty parsons or chantry priests, with lesser clergy and ecclesiastical lawyers, and governing parties.¹³⁹ Patronage from the Neville family significantly changed once Edward IV redistributed lands, after the death of Earl of Warwick. Richard's marriage to Anne Neville also sparked a dispute involving the Neville inheritance and its distribution with his brother George, Duke of Clarence¹⁴⁰ in 1475. After the dispute was settled, Richard under Edward, planned further patronage to the Minster.¹⁴¹

First of all, one act of patronage demonstrating Richard's relationship with the Church is Richard's intention of founding one hundred priests at York Minster. Two contemporary sources, *The Croyland Chronicle* and Dominic Mancini's *The Usurpation of Richard III*, do not mention the one hundred priests. The absence of this information in Mancini's work can be justified, as he was not in England very long after Richard's coronation. His

information came to him from a third party and it is very likely that he was just not informed and lacked knowledge of it. This information had been previous news upon his arrival to court in 1483. The chroniclers at Croyland might not have thought it was significant and knew the plans never progressed so therefore it was left out of their records. Richard's intentions to 'founde a college of hundreth prestes, which foundacion with the founder shortelye toke an ende'¹⁴² nonetheless is documented in *Hall's Chronicle*. John Rous¹⁴³ a contemporary chronicler who wrote *Historia Regum Angliae*, also documents 'King Richard was praiseworthy... He founded a noble chantry for a hundred priests' in York Minster also supporting his intentions.¹⁴⁴ The completion of his intention to have one hundred priests instilled at the Minster did not materialize as Richard died. It is possible to speculate, from the sources that the information was exaggerated, a rumour or propaganda promoting a positive and pious view of the king, and a relationship with the Church that was politically and religiously supported.

Rous's account of Richard changes later in his history. This is just one of the few praiseworthy points that he credits the king. The information supporting the creation of one hundred priests to be installed in York is unusual because there are no government records indicating that any of the priests ever arrived or were assigned to the Minster. The only information we have is that there was a dean currently at the Minster at the time of Richard's coronation and of his son's investiture in 1483, Robert Booth.¹⁴⁵ Similarly there are no physical records indicating any work was done at the Minster or additions made upon Richard's direction or behalf. Moreover, Charles Ross mentions that Richard had planned for six choristers to be added to the Minster.¹⁴⁶ They were named after his six favourite saints (Our Lady, SS, George, Catherine, Ninian, Cuthbert, Anthony and Barbara).¹⁴⁷ Ross additionally references the information to a journal by antiquarian J. Raine in *Archaeological Journal*, liv (1847), pp. 161-170.¹⁴⁸ The choristers by having the names of Richard's favourite saints suggest there was some personal desire or wish behind Richard's intentions. Yet the true intentions behind these requests are difficult to delineate. Historian Alison Hanham suggests information from the folio of B.L. MS Cotton Vespasian A. XII, that the abandoned chantry projects at the Minster eventually became a part of Ricardian mythology lessening the chronicler's credibility.¹⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the building was under his direction to some degree and can be an example of personal devotion on a public stage demonstrating a relationship of common closeness to the Church.¹⁵⁰

Richard's obligatory visits to the city helped finance the Minster. The Church and the city of York returned this favour as *Hall's Chronicle* mentions. For 'kyng Richard magnified and applauded of the northe nacion', and even 'made proclamacion that all persones should resorte to Yorke on the daie of the assencion of oure lorde', offering benefits and rewards for their patronage.¹⁵¹ During these celebrations, the amount of people that would come and give alms or donations as patronage would be immense. Benefiting from the alms and donations would be the receiving church. Eventually the king would benefit when he needed financial support and spiritual validation. Therefore, the significance of the six choristers, Richard's intentions to place one hundred priests at the Minster and its chronicled significance, and finally the reception and promise of future loyalty he received upon visiting York, is evidence of the closeness of the relationship Richard had with the city of York and his relationship with the Church.

Richard's patronage was not limited to the Minster alone. In the Papal Letters, during the years 1471-1484 Richard made very few letters of request. The contents of the letters he initiated are valuable in terms of acts of patronage for intentions relating to religious establishments. On 6 July 1481, a request was made to found a college at Middleham while

Richard was still Duke of Gloucester.¹⁵² A second request dated 12 May 1482 gives further information about the college at Middleham by the appointment of deans, clerks, and chaplains.¹⁵³ Richard also intended for a second college to be established inside Barnard Castle, according to two entries in the Patent Rolls records for the same day mentioned below. The expense to establish two colleges consecutively was substantial even for a king. The next two citations describe Richard's intended plans for both Middleham and Barnard Castle colleges:

21 Feb 1478
Westminster

Licence for the kings brother Richard, duke of Gloucester or his heirs are executors to found the college at Bernard Castell within the castle there and of the dean and twelve chaplains, ten clerics, and six choristers and one clerk to celebrate divine service and offices in the chapel within the castle for the good estate of the king and his consort Elizabeth, queen of England, and the said duke and Anne his wife and his heirs, and for their souls after death, and the souls of the king's father Richard, late duke of York, and the king's brothers and sisters, to be called the college of said duke at Barnard Castell, and for the said dean and chaplains to acquire in mortmain lands, rents services and other possessions and advowsons of churches to the value of 400 marks yearly.

[Monasticon. VI. 1440]

By p.s.

21 Feb 1478
Westminster

License for the same to found a college at Middelham of a dean and six chaplains, four clerks and six choristers and one clerk to celebrate divine service and offices as above in the parish church there, to be called the college of the said duke at Middleham co, York, and for the said dean and chaplains to acquire in mortmain lands, rents services and other possessions and advowsons of churches to the value of 200 marks yearly.

[Monasticon. VI. 1440]

By p.s.¹⁵⁴

Middleham College unfortunately, was never finished, and Barnard College the larger of the two colleges did not survive. As mentioned, Richard embarked on these tasks consecutively in 1478. They may seem a bit unusual, but he wasn't king at the time of their initiation. These intentions were also followed up and request was sent again as a papal letter, previously mentioned above, but Barnard Castle is not mentioned, in the letters from 1481 and 1482. The language in the Patent Letters note that the college at Barnard Castle was to be established within the castle, this maybe a reason for its omission from Papal Letter requests. Today, only the church of St. Mary's survives. It references Richard as a benefactor.¹⁵⁵

Also unusual is that there are no records showing that building ever commenced, supplies sent, and builders hired even though the intent was widely documented. This adds a level of complexity to the intentions behind Richard's reasoning. Middleham College remained unfinished and the contemporary sources are confusing as to whether a dean was even assigned to the college. What we know is the college was started at the local church according to the entry above, notes 'a dean ... as above in the parish church there, to be called the college of the said duke at Middleham co., York'¹⁵⁶ suggesting it was formed from existing buildings within the parish, but it's full transformation was never completed. Although, identified by R.B. Dobson, in 'Richard III and the Church of York', and a Papal Letter dated 16 May 1484, Master William Beverly, 'dean of chapel or college of St. George,

Wyndsore, in the diocese of Salisbury', became rector and first dean of Middleham. He was noted to be 'fulle trusty clerics and counsellor's' and was assigned to the college by Richard as granted dispensation from Pope Sixtus IV.¹⁵⁷ In truth the intentions and the reasoning behind these colleges in terms of Richard reasoning are very unusual. They show a very erratic thought process in terms of size and expected simultaneous construction. It also makes one question his relationship further with the Church, in terms of expectations and ecclesiastical influence within politics and administration.

As these colleges were intended to school monks and priests to prepare them for work within the Church, they would later be sent to work for the high council, and if lucky a position in the king's counsel. The colleges were also lucrative in revenue. The proceeds accrued by the parish would with the addition of a college, added to value to the parish church. The more lucrative they became, the greater their revenues. Additionally, the substantial revenues that the deans had at their disposal, was more than half of the non-existent canons salaries.¹⁵⁸ These funds the king could access if needed. By creating these colleges Richard was building a power base of ecclesiastics from which he could eventually make appointments for governmental duties and these appointees would support him with long-term loyalty if he remained in the north. This was more than likely what Edward and Richard were planning for the future.

Furthermore, the value of the money invested to the colleges' yearly, show their significance to the King and an indication of size. Using Barnard Castle College as an example, one mark is equal to the amount of $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of a pound. In 1470, £264 (400 marks of the yearly value) would have the spending worth today of £132,153.12 and therefore 400 marks is a considerable amount of money also equating to size.¹⁵⁹ The value and placement along with the reasoning behind all of these institutions shows Richard might have intended to spend more time in the North. He was creating a power base that he could appoint officials of the Church that were more similar in mind with his policies. Hence he wanted more diversity of learned churchmen to choose from for his administration if he chose to reside there permanently.

While Richard was the Duke of Gloucester and king, there are two grants that show his patronage to Cambridge University. Educational endowments in the fifteenth century were a fashionable form of aristocratic piety and Richard's continued patronage reflects this.¹⁶⁰ After twenty-two years of a standstill in building, Richard continued work on King's College Chapel. Cambridge University mentions that Edward IV only passed on the funds left by Henry VI to the chapel and work did not continue. In 1483, Richard then king resumed the building. He gave specific instructions: 'the building should go on with all possible despatch' and to 'press workmen and all possible hands, provide materials and imprison anyone who opposed or delayed'.¹⁶¹ By the time of Richard's death, the first six bays of the chapel had been constructed, with five bays being roofed complete with oak and lead.¹⁶² His patronage also spread to other buildings at the university.

The patronage given to the Church and its' institutions, demonstrate that Richard had a strong desire and interest to be in the company of learned men.¹⁶³ This theory is discussed by Dobson and also highlighted and presented in *The Hours of Richard III* by Anne E. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, in a discussion about defining Richard's sense of piety. Richard continued to support the institution for political, not just public devotional or charitable reasons. What seemed to be an ordinary gesture of patronage might have been more. Richard used this act of patronage as means to boost his power by supporting a Lancastrian foundation, an unusual move to gain Yorkist favour from the Church. Any positive actions made towards the Church or the institution in this situation, especially from

opposing political factions would strengthen and justify any political claim or opposition. The next two citations show supplies being sent to Cambridge for construction and labourers hired for their respective trades:

10 July 1480

Westminster

Appointment of Martin Prenteys and John Sturgeon, ‘carpenter,’ to take carriage by land and water for timber for the building of the king’s college of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, Cambridge, and other wood an underwood which the king has bought from the abbot of Walden for the building. (Note: there is no author of this commission in the record.)¹⁶⁴

28 August 1484

Buckden

Appointment of Robert Brewes, Simon Clerk, Thomas Stoneham, John Sturgeon, Martin Prentice and William Wright to take stone-cutters, smiths, carpenters, masons, glaziers and other workmen, and timber, iron, lead, glass, shingles, tiles, stone, lime and sand and other necessities, for the works within the royal college of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, Cambridge, and carriage for the same.
By K.¹⁶⁵

The first passage dated in 1480 has no author, but the second dated 1484, was approved by Richard as king. King’s College was initially a Lancastrian establishment as previously mentioned. Both the Yorkists kings contributed to its building demonstrating the unusual significance of this patronage. These records provide the missing details and information from records that should have followed the establishments at Middleham and Bernard Castle if they had been expanded. This information is unusual because it show that work is being done and they are not just permits for building. In comparison to Richard’s past commissions, there are no records that show materials, men being hired for their specific trades, and being sent to the building site, as the records above show. The supplies and purchasing of land from the abbot of Walden by the King, demonstrate progress being made, and where the supplies originated. This information is what makes Richard’s contributions to Cambridge significant and justifiable. Richard’s support of King’s College at Cambridge demonstrates his desires and continued patronage and is of significance as it is unusual in reasoning, though normal in terms of expectations of a king.

Richard during his lifetime oversaw a total of ten chantry and/or collegiate foundations.¹⁶⁶ In 1484, the Canterbury Convocation recognised Richard for ‘his most noble and blessed disposition’ for his contributions to the Church.¹⁶⁷ This recognition was common amongst the Christian kings of the period. It symbolizes their compliance and obligations to the Church. Richard’s achievements also chronicled by many including John Rous though his reputation is questionable. This demonstrated the magnitude of Richard’s patronage as reputable in nature, as cited in the next example:

He founded another in the church of St. Mary of Barking, by the Tower of London, and endowed the Queen's College at Cambridge with 500 marks annual rent.¹⁶⁸

Rous credits Richard, with founding another church within the existing St. Mary of Barking near the Tower of London. He also credits Richard for his contributions to Cambridge’s Queen’s College of 500 marks. This patronage recorded by Rous, is unusual, in terms of the political nature and bias of his writings. Further investigation of the records name Sir John of Millom, acting as Richard’s attorney for unknown reasons, assisted in establishing a grant to Queen’s College, Cambridge in 1477. Prayers were also requested

from the college to be said for the benefactors.¹⁶⁹ Another entry is made for the same year that illustrates Richard acting as executor. He oversaw the estate of the late Countess Elizabeth, widow of the 12th earl of Suffolk and Essex and her heirs whom had holdings that were wished to the college. These holdings eventually became distributed to Queen's College, Cambridge. Her manor, Fowlmere had been left in her will and was given in exchange for prayers for the king and queen.¹⁷⁰ Richard as the Duke of Gloucester was the lord governing the lands, as the countess had no one to probate her estate Richard was the only one with the authority to do so, or help in execution of the intended wishes of the deceased.

Queen's College primary purpose was to be an establishment representing the queens of England. Patronage was made in reference to England's queens. Supporting the expected actions of a king of the period, records indicate that Richard made two grants in Anne's name. In a licence dated 25 March 1484, it states that the College was established by the 'patronage of our aforesaid consort'; at the time it was Queen Anne. Furthermore, a grant of land on 5 July 1484 was also made in consideration for Anne.¹⁷¹ Richard's patronage when examining the contributions to Queen's College can be deemed as normal of a king who was fulfilling the wishes of the reasoning behind an institution's founding. He upheld acts of patronage and showed the expected responsibility and support of a king, that the Church would have expected. The significance of the chronicles, also all demonstrate that Richard was recognised for observance of sense of piety on a highly public scale that demonstrated his governance and the eyes of the Church.

* * *

Not all of Richard's relationship with the Church or God can be seen as endowments or in forms of patronage to the Church. An important element that demonstrates his relationship with God is his Book of Hours. The Book of Hours itself though not a formal presentation, demonstrates the significance of this book in showing a common trend in devotional practices of the period. The popularity of these books today resides in approximately 800 manuscripts that were used in England alone, and today scattered all over the world.¹⁷² These numbers show that even the wealthy laity was no different from the rest of society in wanting urgent but moving prayers that stressed deliverance from their enemies. Historically, Book of Hours is a result of a long development of ideas and trends towards a more personal expression of religious feeling.¹⁷³ Historians Anne E. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs in *The Hours of Richard III* have examined Richard's Book of Hours as an example of personal devotion, within a large contextual base. They also suggest that the issue of Richard's piety is something that cannot be omitted when examining certain aspects of the book, specifically 'The Prayer of Richard III' or 'The Long Prayer'.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, by placing religiosity of 'The Prayer of Richard III' within the functionality of Richard's Book of Hours in entirety is an example that can be used to define Richard's connection to God and the Church as normal or unusual.

Many including the laity, priests and monks, like Richard, used these books as a way to express their faith by reading the contents on the hours where they are notated.¹⁷⁵ These books once highly expensive lavishly decorated and at times contained portraits of their owners, mainly female during the thirteenth century even held a connection to particular religious orders.¹⁷⁶ Primarily marketed two centuries before the Reformation, a large increase in their production and decrease in price is proof of their popularity within lay society.¹⁷⁷ Additionally, the contents within these Books of Hours are valuable in understanding the prayer-life to the most private of thoughts of medieval men and women.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, within these common devotional items, the hours or *horae*, were not marked

as standard recording of time in sixty minutes but as time divided by the day and the night, the position of the sun, and variations relating to the seasons.¹⁷⁹ It is these references of time when the devotional material would be recited that gave the book its name.

It is the nature of the material that is presented, and the significance of this prayer in the Book of Hours that can engage an assessment into Richard's piety and his relationship with the Church, and God. It promotes further exploration into his character and suggestive motives of his religious nature. The following passage is perhaps one of the most famous parts of 'The Prayer of Richard III' within Richard's Book of Hours:

Lord Jesus Christ, to keep me, your servant King Richard, ... from every tribulation, sorrow and trouble in which I am placed...hear me, in the name of all your goodness, for which I give thanks, and for all the gifts granted to me, because you made me from nothing and redeemed me out of your bounteous love and pity from eternal damnation to promising eternal life.¹⁸⁰

First of all, the text of this prayer, known as 'The Prayer of Richard III', is a combination of various copies, dating back to the middle of the fourteenth century.¹⁸¹ The only surviving copies of this prayer of English origin other than Richards are two located in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. One is of a Franciscan origin, and the other Roman. Later versions of the prayer, point to Franciscan and of Italian origin.¹⁸² Richard's choice of this prayer is not unique but it leads one to question how did he know of this prayer? As suggested, he might have known about it at the time. Someone he knew could have brought this prayer to his attention. Furthermore, his own personal confessor, John Roby a Franciscan friar and doctor of Theology might have suggested it and either personally copied it or had it copied into the book.¹⁸³ Whoever did the work, was probably a scholar, and had an excellent understanding of Latin, and except for one bit, all grammar and wording is correct.¹⁸⁴

Secondly, this passage is unusual as Richard is praying directly to Jesus. Normally these devotions were said to the saints alone. As the passage that would have been reserved for St. Augustine, as suggested by Sutton, this prayer may have been said to the saint, not Christ. For a layperson to pray or approach Christ for these requests was considered inappropriate. Reservations were made for the very devout and elite. Being the king and of high authority and appointment, some liberty was given. Additionally, some of the pages in Richard's Book of Hours are missing; these pages would have been referenced to a saint, believed to be St. Augustine.¹⁸⁵

Finally, the prayer even though it identifies with chivalric influence it is significant in that it was written under the inspiration of the Franciscan Order. To ensure the impact of these devotions a saint showing chivalric influence from the order was ascribed to the prayer. This prayer not only asked for protection and relief from grief and sickness, but it also asks for protection from the hatred from his enemies and for reconciliation or forgiveness. With the influence of their holiness and fame the saint could guarantee the devotion's effectiveness.¹⁸⁶

In conclusion, Richard's prayer and his Book of Hours demonstrate a different view of Richard in terms of his religiosity and it supports a normal relationship he had with the Church. This prayer was shared widely and circulated by some of Richard's contemporaries such as the Valois Dukes of Burgundy and Alexander, Prince of Poland. It became standard staple in the Counter-Reformation of lay piety summarized by Eamon Duffy, in *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240-1570*. The prayer in context to Richard, when analysed tells of a man who did have enemies and very well knew it. He sought God's

protection from them, showing his intentions and desire to do ultimately the right thing in the eyes of God. In terms of piety, the individual, the King included, was a required characteristic in the fifteenth century, in terms of devotion to God, and was expected, if not always achieved in some way or another.¹⁸⁷ For all intents and purposes, these Books of Hours, according to Duffy, were ‘intensely personal objects’ but how personal we might never really know.¹⁸⁸

The Book of Hours overall shows its value that it points to the simple fact that Richard did have a connection to God, and the Church. Unlike government documents, a personal item like his hours, the intent and meaning is easier to understand knowing the context within society that the books were used. Whether it was his own personal talisman, or a treasured necessity is hard to distinguish even though some try to argue that these books show some sort of personal connection to God. Is this information, unusual or normal in terms of a king of the period? In terms of ownership of these books is Richard unusual? No. Many kings as demonstrated did have Book of Hours with similar prayers included in their volumes. If one was to conclude that the Book of Hours owned by Richard is seen as unusual, it could be significant simply because the book was found, suggesting it was a rare find. Second, it might have a strong personal connection to him, in terms of his personal writing within the pages. Third, whom the book ended up with, it went to Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII. Finally, where the book was found, at Bosworth, can be deemed unusual, depending on analysis. It is easy to challenge this information as it could be propaganda, and rumour as passed down information. Why Richard had the book at the battle could be seen as unusual. Did all kings carry Book of Hours with them to battle? We have no idea of knowing this as this the only one found, or mentioned to date with this kind of history.

* * *

Richard’s fondness of religion shows genuine concern as a ‘good friend and protector of the Church’¹⁸⁹ as evident from this discussion. Yet were any of his acts of patronage unusual or normal? The information given in the Patent Rolls, Papal Letters, the chronicles and his Book of Hours suggest Richard’s acts of patronage and his intentions were normal. However, other aspects of this relationship can be seen as unusual when delineating the information behind his planned intentions of the many establishments Richard later supported, specifically King’s College Chapel. Also unusual, Richard conducted endowments before becoming king and many were not followed through. Then again, this could be challenged because he did not have the time or the ability to follow through because of presenting matters and the political atmosphere.

Richard was attempting to create a power base as discussed transforming his intentions behind the simultaneous colleges at Middleham and Barnard Castle as a normal expectation.¹⁹⁰ The planned institutions were to be created for appointment of future councillors with similar political views if needed. There was also the possibility that they would eventually come to work with jurisdictional matters, within their dioceses, and later become the heads of their chapters, and carry out all the administrative duties and tasks for those areas under the king.¹⁹¹

Richard was king for a short period of time and this hindered his governing. The information we have regarding his reign is limited but some information does exist that gives a little insight to his administration and policies in regards to his relationship with the Church. King’s College Chapel at Cambridge is an example Richard’s continued patronage though his intent behind the patronage is questionable. Did he continue to support the construction because he was truly pious, was trying to impress the Church or was it out of

obligation? This is something that cannot be deduced from historical record. However, it is unusual as it was a Lancastrian establishment that Richard continued his patronage to. The same can be said for his intentions behind the one hundred priests at York Minster. Richard wanted to expand the college, this patronage was to support it, but it is unusual, simply because there is no concrete information suggesting this intention or its origin, speculating it could be a creation of propaganda. Nonetheless, the many planned achievements Richard attempted to make on behalf of the House of York, indicates his relationship with the Church was one of obligation. The majority of his acts of patronage reflect this though the follow through of these projects and his policies can be seen as unusual.

Finally, Richard's Book of Hours is significant as it shows a normal relationship between king in the Church and with God. It showed he cared about God enough to have a devotional item like a Book of Hours. Although the extent or level of his relationship with God, showing a certain level of personal piety is hard to distinguish. Privately and publicly, Richard shared the ideas of religious patronage that were common to kings of the period and to the individual. Despite the influence of power and prayer, ability to aid in 'richness and worth'¹⁹² was something the House of York, Richard tried to achieve.

Conclusion

This dissertation has challenged many predetermined expectations and identified a number of anomalies in examining the symbiotic nature of the relationship between the Church and the Yorkist kings. First, it has demonstrated that it is not practical to apply modern-day standards in studying the relationships between Church and king, and that fifteenth century standards should be used as much as possible instead. These relationships and the hierarchy of the Church have changed significantly since the medieval era. Second, Edward and Richard both represented the Yorkist regime but are two completely different kings in terms of governing, history and length of reign, how they carried out policies and how they valued their relationship with the Church. Third, a single Yorkist kingship as defined in terms of religiosity and the relationship between Edward and Richard and Church is not easily identifiable.

Edward and Richard cannot be placed under the same umbrella by saying they had a similar ideal of, or symbiotic relationship with, the Church. Both kings had very different relationships with the Church and its officials, as is evident from the provided documentation. Many of the examples, even in the Patent Rolls, are *frankalmoin* or *mortmain* transactions that are consistent between both kings, though the detail and instances of pardons are very different. How each king worked with the Church in terms of policy did not change, but the consistency of their individual policies was different. What is clear is that in their relationship with the Church both Edward and Richard sought the illustrious vision of a sacred kingship validated by both the State and clerical authority.¹⁹³

What led to the differences in Edward and Richard's relationship with the Church is that the kings faced very different political circumstances. Their different approaches to these different conditions had less to do with personality, which is in any case very difficult to judge from historical documentation. Positive references in the chronicles highlighting religiosity are mainly of Edward, especially in *The Arrival of Edward IV*; again, however, character references do not equate to personality. For that sort of assessment one would need more concrete information, either a personal written account by the person or a diary. Personality aside, the most that can be said of Edward's relationship with the Church is that it was the more predictable of the two Yorkist kings.

Edward's authority and motivations in his relationship with the Church and its officials

was normal for a king of this period. The great wealth of information and documents of recorded these transactions assist in drawing this conclusion. First, he was consistent in the way he managed situations throughout his reign, from delegation to administration. The pirating incident involving Thomas Neville, the Bastard of Fauconbrige and the Bishop of Rochester shows how Edward viewed and prioritized his relationship with church officials. It is obvious by looking at the length of time that had passed that the money involved was not a priority. Lack of Edward's signature on the order, and delegating a bishop to deal with the matter, also supports the theory that paying retributions was a lesser priority. King Alfonso's restitution became an afterthought for the King. Bishop Alcock, a negotiator with appropriate language skills who had made several visits to the continent and Castile in particular, Castile particularly, was a good choice for Edward to send to do negotiations while keeping the financial interests of the Crown secure.

Nonetheless, the issue of time and attention is significant in evaluating Edward's relationships with his bishops and policies. Edward had many other matters to attend to, which he often prioritized over his dealings with the Church. The pressures on government and administration during Edward's second reign were immense due to the events leading to the Treaty of Picquigny in 1475. Edward also had a desire for a good relationship with Burgundy for diplomatic and financial reasons. An example of this highly prioritized relationship is demonstrated in his first reign, with the marriage negotiations of his sister Margaret of York and Charles the Duke of Burgundy in 1468. Prioritizing, Edward negotiated the financial interests of his country and secured an ally against France, as the many treaties demonstrate. These preoccupations left little room for Church matters, and we do not see these prioritized so much during Edward's second reign. Edward's treatment of his bishops as administrators was similar to the way he viewed the French ambassador at court. According to Waurin's chronicles, the French ambassadors often grumbled because Edward frequently showed them little or no welcome or acknowledgement,¹⁹⁴ thus giving the impression of a king who could not be bothered. It was the same with his bishops, whom he irritated during parliamentary sessions by demonstrating that he was pulled too thin to pay respects to everyone in his company. Some shunned this behaviour. This suggests a king who, even in times of peace, was pressed with many matters.

Edward's relationship with the Church was based on priorities of duties and obligations that can also be identified in aspects of policies in other, more secular areas of his reign. Edward's relationship with the Church was normal by the standards of any of the medieval kings. There is no extravagance mentioned, unless chronicled in praise. He was not as greatly attached to the church as some, such as Henry VI, who was deemed a saint. Edward was extremely predictable, however, Richard's relationship with the Church was very different and by no means as easy to understand.

Examination of the public records and chronicles shows signs of dysfunction in Richard's short reign. In contrast with Edward's precedent, they show reluctance in the use of the Church officials to support his policies and assist him in administration. The opposition Richard faced after he took the throne reflects this. This is something that is not suggested in Edward's reign, unless one was to challenge and fully re-examine his relationship with Bishop Neville. The inconsistencies may be a symptom of a period of political unrest; this is especially true of Richard's relationship with Bishop Rotherham. Once a loyal supporter under Edward IV, he demonstrated his opposition to Richard's political authority by giving the great seal to Elizabeth Woodville. This also led to further distrust of him from former supporters of Edward IV and Edward V, now clustered under Richard's banner.

Richard displays many inconsistencies that further demonstrate his attitude towards

his previously planned religious establishments. The one hundred priests at York Minster, although Richard abandoned this project after becoming king, had been intended also by Edward to form a second power base. This establishment at York Minster would have been Richard and Edward's personal pool of priests or administrators to be appointed when needed. The halting of patronage to the establishment of priests suggests that priorities had changed. Would Richard have had any use for these abandoned establishments while struggling to secure his reign? It is difficult to conclude as the shortness of his reign ended further work, and, like Edward, Richard did not have enough time to deal with all the issues he was faced with. He, too, was forced to prioritize. Middleham and Barnard Castle were halted and work was progressed instead at Cambridge. Richard oversaw donations made to Queen's College at Cambridge, all obligatory in nature and normal for any king. Once Richard's official duties changed, so too did his priorities.

As disjointed and erratic as his official acts of piety were, however, Richard's personal devotion was never in doubt. He was more connected to his religion than Edward. Richard's Book of Hours is perhaps the only bit of hard evidence that supports the contention that Richard sought and valued a relationship with the Church. We know he cared enough about the Church to own a devotional item such as the Book of Hours, although his acts of patronage are slim after he became king. Therefore, though his outward attitude towards the Church changed, Richard's care for God remained consistent, as the book demonstrates.

Part of the challenge involved in examining Richard and his relationships (and not just with the Church) is that there is a very active mythology today surrounding many of his achievements, as suggested by Hanham. Richard's history is full of inconsistencies and misinterpretations, as shown by the many personal prejudices and *propagandic* opinions that overrode historical fact over time. Despite the fact that the clergy had a reputation for trustworthiness under Edward, they ultimately ended up contributing to the breakdown of Richard's reign. Unfortunately, Richard's disregard for his bishops became a necessity. He did not have time to deal with all the clerical issues he was faced with on top of the pressing political challenges to his reign. However, he paid dearly for that neglect.

This dissertation hopes to have added to scholarship by shedding light on the influence of the Church and the monarchy during the Wars of the Roses. Firstly, although there is on the face of it nothing remarkable about either Edward or Richard's governing relationship with the Church, the differences in the way in which they dealt with various Church issues, policies and officials are very clear. This shows them as being more individualistic in their attempts to personalize their reigns. Secondly, although both kings demonstrated a relationship with the Church that was typical of the period, it cannot be summed up in terms of similarity or as a specific 'Yorkist Kingship'. Edward and Richard were just too different, and the information presented cannot be used to distinguish whether they were collectively unusual or normal within their reigns when compared to another period. The information is best used in comparing the two kings alone. This was a very unexpected result of the study as a whole.

Thirdly and finally, successful administration was the key to the prosperity of any reign and a relationship with the Church was, if anything, symbiotic. Both kings relied on this part of their relationship to work effectively. Without the assistance of the king, the Church would falter, and this trickled down into the finances of each diocese, eventually returning to the king, who relied on Church resources. This was why it was so important for the king to have a good and working relationship with his bishops and other officials (and vice versa). Ultimately, the power and financial backing of the House of York and the Church was based on a relationship that suited each other's needs. It eventually became an indispensable resource, from which both drew benefits.

Endnotes

- ¹ Paul Murray Kendall, *The Yorkist Age, Daily Life During the Wars of The Roses*, (London, 2001), p. 252.
- ² *The Croyland Chronicle* is known under two different spellings. ‘Crowland’ refers to the town in Lincolnshire, and at one time the abbey had the same spelling of the name. A mistake in spelling resulted in two different versions of the name. For this dissertation we will use ‘Croyland’ for consistency.
- ³ *The Second Continuation of the History of Croyland* covers the first ten years of Edward IV’s reign from 1461 to 1469, and *The Third Continuation of the History of Croyland* covers the years of his second reign and the reign of Richard III (1469-1485).
- ⁴ R. Lennard, *Rural England 1086-1135*, (Oxford, 1959), p. 25.
- ⁵ Sandra Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church, 1279-1500*, (Cambridge, 1982), 7.
- ⁶ Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church*, 7, 23.
- ⁷ These charges, consisting of fines of as much as 10l or 20l, could be paid with items *in lieu* such as grain or wool, that when needed was rendered to authorities during tenure.
- ⁸ Andrew D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England, The Diocese of Salisbury, 1250-1550*, (Oxford, 1995), p. 28.
- ⁹ J.R., Lander, ‘The Yorkist Council and Administration, 1461-1485’, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 73, No. 286, (Oxford, Jan 1958), pp. 30-31.
- ¹⁰ Brown, *Popular Piety*, p. 17.
- ¹¹ A.J. Pollard, *The Wars of The Roses*, (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 95.
- ¹² Pollard, *The Wars of The Roses*, p. 95.
- ¹³ Henry T. Riley, (trans.), *Ingulph’s Chronicle of the Abbey Croyland with the Continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), p. 439.
- ¹⁴ Michael Hicks, ‘The Second Anonymous Continuation of the Crowland Abbey Chronicle 1459– 86 Revisited’, *English Historical Review*, (2007) CXXII (496), p. 350.
- ¹⁵ Thomas J. McSweeney, ‘The King’s Courts and the King’s Soul: Pardoning as Almsgiving in Medieval England’, *Reading Medieval Studies XL*, (2014), p. 171.
- ¹⁶ McSweeney, ‘The King’s Courts’, p. 160.
- ¹⁷ McSweeney, ‘The King’s Courts’, p. 167.
- ¹⁸ Edward Hall, Sir Henry Ellis (ed.), *Hall’s Chronicle, Containing the History of England, during the reign of Henry the Fourth, and the succeeding monarchs, to the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth*, (London, 1809), p. 294.
- ¹⁹ C.L. Kingsford, (ed.), *The Chronicles of London*, (Oxford, 1905), p. 182.
- ²⁰ McSweeney, ‘The King’s Courts’, p. 171.
- ²¹ McSweeney, ‘The King’s Courts’, p. 171.
- ²² McSweeney, ‘The King’s Courts’, p. 171.
- ²³ When Edward IV took the throne in 1460, there were a total of five bishops in office of noble standing. This number later fell to three. (Source: Joel Thomas Rosenthal, ‘The Training of an Elite Group: English Bishops in the Fifteenth Century’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 60, No. 5 (1970), p. 9.)
- ²⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward IV & Henry VI, 1467-1477*, Reprint Edition, (Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1971), p. 258. (Hereinafter: *CPR, Edward IV & Henry VI, 1467-1477*)
- ²⁵ *CPR, Edward IV & Henry VI, 1467-1477*, p. 258; George Neville (b. 1432 – d. 8 June 1476) was Richard Neville, the 16th Earl of Warwick, the "Kingmaker" brother, who died at the Battle of Barnet, 14 of April 1471.

- 26 Theron Westervelt, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists and The Politics of The Reign of Edward IV', *Institute of Historical Research*, vol. 81, No. 212, (May, 2008), pp. 217-218.
- 27 Michael Hicks, 'Neville, George (1432-1476)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004), p. 1.
- 28 Riley, *The Croyland Chronicle*, p. 447.
- 29 Richard Neville, 16th Earl of Warwick or the "Kingmaker" (b. 22 November 1428 – d. 14 April 1471)
- 30 Under Edward IV, there had been a number of uprisings before he fled to Calais: The Yorkshire Rebellion of 1469, Lincolnshire Rebellion of March 1470, and the Yorkshire Rising of May and July 1470.
- 31 Kingsford, *Chronicle of London*, p. 183; Horrox, 'Edward IV (1442-1483)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 8.
- 32 Hicks, 'Neville, George (1432-1476)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 5.
- 33 Kingsford, *Chronicle of London*, pp. 185-186.
- 34 Hicks, 'Neville, George (1432-1476)', *Oxford Dictionary*, p. 6.
- 35 Hicks, 'Neville, George (1432-1476)', *Oxford Dictionary*, p. 6.
- 36 Hicks, 'Neville, George (1432-1476)', *Oxford Dictionary*, p. 6.
- 37 Joel Thomas Rosenthal, 'The Training of an Elite Group: English Bishops in the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 60, No. 5 (1970), p. 7.
- 38 Rosenthal, 'The Training of an Elite Group', p. 9.
- 39 John Gysburgh and William Poterman were the only two residential canons that administered the York Minster archdiocese. (Source: R.B. Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*, (London, 1996), p. 233.)
- 40 Bishop Lawrence Booth, of Durham (b. 1420 – d. 1480)
- 41 R.B. Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*, (London, 1996), pp. 231-232.
- 42 CPR, *Edward IV & Henry VI, 1467-1477*, p. 273.
- 43 Anne Crawford, *The Yorkists, The History of A Dynasty*, (London and New York, 2007), p. 38.
- 44 Crawford, *The Yorkists*, p. 38.
- 45 CPR, *Edward IV & Henry VI, 1467-1477*, p. 379.
- 46 Thomas Neville, or 'The Bastard of Fauconbrige(e) (Fauconbrige and Fauconberg)' (1429-1471). Initially, a Lancastrian supporter, later Yorkist, he supported his cousin, Richard Neville, 18th Earl of Warwick while under Edward IV for his claim to the throne and when they initially deposed Henry VI. His political recklessness landed him in exile in 1469, along with Warwick. While Warwick was away in France, Thomas took control of his cousin's fleet and began to raid English ships. After growing general discontent and being refused entry, back into London in the summer of 1471, he set fire to Southwark and proceeded to attack London. Eventually, he was captured in Southampton by Edward IV. On 22 September 1471, he was executed at Middleham Castle, and his head was sent to London Bridge for display.
- 47 Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, pp. 301-302.
- 48 Riley, *The Croyland Chronicle*, p. 470.
- 49 Kendall, *The Yorkist Age*, p. 252.
- 50 Riley, *The Croyland Chronicle*, p. 430.
- 51 Riley, *The Croyland Chronicle*, pp. 424-425.
- 52 Jehan Waurin, William Hardy (ed.), *Recueil des croniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre*, vol. v, (London, 1864), p. 546; 'disans quil navoit point desat royal a la court et que le seigneur des Rivers et ses enfans conduissoient tout'.

- 53 Rosemary Horrox, 'Rotherham, Thomas (1423–1500)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004), p. 1.
- 54 Queen Elizabeth Woodville (c. 1437– d. 8 June 1492) Queen and consort of Edward IV.
- 55 Horrox, 'Rotherham, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 2.
- 56 Charles Ross, *Richard III*, (Berkeley, 1981), p. 76.
- 57 Horrox, 'Rotherham, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 2.
- 58 Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 350.
- 59 Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 375.
- 60 Horrox, 'Rotherham, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 2.
- 61 Horrox, 'Rotherham, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 2.
- 62 Horrox, 'Rotherham, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 2.
- 63 John Alcock (b. 1430-d. 1500) Under Edward, he was appointed tutor of his son, Edward V. He had been dismissed from his office of council, upon interception at Stony Stratford when Richard took custody of Edward V. He later rejoined Richard's council and traveled with Richard to York in August 1483. He assisted Richard in negotiations with the Scots at Nottingham.
- 64 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward IV & V, Richard III, 1476-1485*, (London: H.M.S.O., 1901), p. 367, (Hereinafter: *CPR, Edward IV & V, Richard III, 1476-1485*)
- 65 R. J. Schoeck, 'Alcock, John (1430–1500)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004), pp. 1-2.
- 66 *CPR, Edward IV & V, Richard III, 1476-1485*, p. 367.
- 67 James Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, vol. 2, (London, 1863), pp. 63-67.
- 68 Peter Booth, 'Richard Duke of Gloucester and the West March Towards Scotland, 1470-1483', *Northern History*, XXXVI: 2, (The University of Leeds, September 2000), pp. 233-246; Ross, *Richard III*, pp. 35, 44-47.
- 69 Gairdner, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, pp. 63-67.
- 70 Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John (d. 1500)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004), p. 2.
- 71 Alison Hanham, *Richard III and His Early Historians*, (Oxford, 1975), pp. 121.
- 72 *CPR, Edward IV & V, Richard III, 1476-1485*, p. 371.
- 73 Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, pp. 381-382.
- 74 Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, pp. 381-382.
- 75 *CPR, Edward IV & V, Richard III, 1476-1485*, p. 500.
- 76 Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 389.
- 77 Kingsford, *Chronicle of London*, p. 190.
- 78 Riley, *The Croyland Chronicle*, p. 488.
- 79 Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John (d. 1500)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 2; Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 390.
- 80 *CPR, Edward IV & V, Richard III, 1476-1485*, p. 387.
- 81 Rosemary Horrox, *Richard III, A Study of Service*, (Cambridge, 1989), p. 154.
- 82 Pollard, *The Wars of The Roses*, p. 94.
- 83 Richard, 3rd Duke of York (b. 21 September 1411 – d. 30 December 1460) Died at the Battle of Wakefield, Yorkshire along with his second oldest son Edmund of Rutland (b. 17 May 1443 – d. 30 December 1460).
- 84 Ross, *Edward IV*, (Berkeley, 1974), p. 273.
- 85 Hannes Kleineke, *Edward IV*, (London, New York, 2009), p. 182.
- 86 Kleineke, *Edward IV*, p. 182.
- 87 Michael Hicks, *Reputations: Edward IV*, (London, 2004), pp. 68-73.
- 88 Polydore Vergil, Dana F. Sutton, (trans.), 'Edward IV, XXIV', *Polydore Vergil*,

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- Anglica Historia (1555 version), University of Birmingham, (2005), Last modified 25 May 2010, (accessed: 10 August 2016), philological.bham.ac.uk/polverg/24eng.html; section 21.
- 89 John Bruce, esq., F.S.A., (ed.), *Histoire of The Arrival of Edward IV, in England and The Finall Recouerye of His Kingdomes From Henry VI. A.D. M.CCCC.LXXI.*, (London, 1838), pp. 12, 19-20.
- 90 Joel T. Rosenthal, 'Richard, Duke of York: A Fifteenth-Century Layman And the Church', *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Jul. 1964), p. 171.
- 91 CPR, *Edward IV & Henry VI, 1467-1477*, p. 373.
- 92 Brown, *Piety*, p. 25.
- 93 Anne Duchess of Buckingham (d. 1480) Daughter of Ralph Neville 1st Earl of Westmoreland. She was also a legitimate heir of John the Gaunt. She was married to Humphrey Stafford, whom at the time was considered one of the wealthiest men in all England. Sources indicate she like many noblewomen was a book collector, and highly educated. (Rebecca Krug, 'Reading Families', *Women's literate practice in late medieval England*, (New York 2002), p.75).
- 94 CPR, *Edward IV & Henry VI, 1467-1477*, pp. 135, 304, 585.
- 95 CPR, *Edward IV & Henry VI, 1467-1477*, p. 304.
- 96 J. A. Twemlow, MA., *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers, Relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal Letters 1471-1484, Vol. XIII- Part I*, (London, 1955), p. 8; (Hereinafter: *Papal Letters*).
- 97 Cloake, John. *Richmond Palace, its History and its Plan*. (London, 2001), pp. 6–7; The Monastery of St. Saviour and St. Bridget of Syon of the St. Augustine Order, or Syon Abbey was also known as one of the "King's Great Works".
- 98 Twemlow, *Papal Letters*, pp. 582-583.
- 99 Eamon Duffy, *Stripping of The Altars*, (Yale, 2005), 289.
- 100 Duffy, *Stripping of The Altars*, p. 289.
- 101 Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 273.
- 102 Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 273.
- 103 Horrox, Rosemary (ed.), *Fifteenth Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Late Medieval Society*, (Cambridge, 1996), 188.
- 104 Riley, *The Croyland Chronicle*, p. 483.
- 105 Riley, *The Croyland Chronicle*, p. 483.
- 106 Riley, *The Croyland Chronicle*, p. 483.
- 107 Twemlow, *Papal Letters*, p. 381.
- 108 Brown, *Piety*, p. 204.
- 109 A. R. Myers (ed.), 'The Black Book of The Household of Edward IV', *The Household of Edward IV, The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478*, (Manchester, 1953), p. 100. (Hereinafter: 'Black Book')
- 110 Cecily Neville, Duchess of York, Mother of Edward IV and Richard III (b. 3 May 1415 – d. 31 May 1495)
- 111 Peter D. Clarke, 'New Evidence of Noble and Gentry Piety in Fifteenth-Century England and Wales', *Journal of Medieval History*, 34 (2008), p. 29.
- 112 Clarke, 'Evidence of Noble and Gentry Piety in Fifteenth-Century England and Wales', p. 29.
- 113 Jacquetta of *Luxembourg*, Countess Rivers and Mother of Queen Elizabeth Woodville: (b. 1415/1416 – d. 30 May 1472).
- 114 CPR, *Edward VI & Henry VI, 1467-1477*, p. 190.
- 115 Clarke, 'Evidence of Noble and Gentry Piety in Fifteenth-Century England and Wales', p. 24.
- 116 Kendall, *The Yorkist Age*, p. 181.
- 117 Myers, 'Black Book', p. 15.

- 118 Myers, 'Black Book', p. 91.
- 119 Myers, 'Black Book', p. 91.
- 120 Eleanor Talbot (b. 1436 – d. 30 June 1468) or known as 'Butler' her name after marriage, was theorized by historians as having a pre-contract of marriage to Edward IV, as reinforced by Richard III, after his death to claim his heirs were illegitimate.
- 121 Riley, *The Croyland Chronicle*, pp. 481-482.
- 122 Bruce, *The Arrival of King Edward IV*, pp. 19-24.
- 123 Bruce, *The Arrival of King Edward IV*, p. 24.
- 124 J.A.F. Thomson, 'The Arrival of Edward IV, The Development of Text', *Speculum*, Vol. 46. No. 1, (Jan. 1971), p. 84.
- 125 Riley, *The Croyland Chronicle*, p. 477.
- 126 C.E. Blunt and C.A. Whitton, 'The Coinages of Edward IV and Henry VI (Restored)', *British Numismatic Society*, (1945), p. 145.
- 127 C.A.J. Armstrong, *England, France, and Burgundy in The Fifteenth Century*, (London, 1983), p. 139; *per crucem tuam salva nos christe redemptor*, full meaning: 'By Thy cross save us, Christ Redeemer.'
- 128 The coin 'Angel' during Edward IV's reign was worth six shillings and eight pence, as it replaced the Noble' coin.
- 129 Blunt and Whitton, 'The Coinages of Edward IV and Henry VI', p. 145.
- 130 Blunt and Whitton, 'Coinages of Edward IV and Henry VI', p. 145.
- 131 Armstrong, *England, France and Burgundy*, p. 140, fn. 10.
- 132 Horrox, 'Edward IV (1442–1483)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 4.
- 133 John Warkworth, *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth*, (London, 1839), p. 12.
- 134 Myers, 'Black Book', p. 13.
- 135 Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*, p. 226.
- 136 Of the forty-three accounts: four are frankalmoin grants, five mortmain grants, and the remaining thirty four range from licences for perpetual chantries, land grants, grants during pleasure, king alms for a fee, expansions of buildings, licence to hold a market faire, and grant of wine.
- 137 Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*, p. 229.
- 138 Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*, p. 228.
- 139 Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*, p. 228.
- 140 George, Duke of Clarence (b. 21 October 1449 – d. 18 February 1478)
- 141 Ross, *Richard III*, p. 31.
- 142 Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 381.
- 143 John Rous (c.1411/20 - d. 1492)
- 144 Hanham, Richard III and His Early Historians, p. 121.
- 145 A. Compton Reeves, 'Cathedral Deans of the Yorkist Age', *The Ricardian*, Vol. 18, (2008), p. 5.
- 146 Ross, *Richard III*, p. 131.
- 147 Ross, *Richard III*, p. 131, Fn. 70.
- 148 Ross, *Richard III*, p. 131, Fn. 70.
- 149 Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*, p. 227, fn. 7.
- 150 Ross, *Richard III*, p. 131.
- 151 Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 380.
- 152 Twemlow, *Papal Letters*, p. 103.
- 153 Twemlow, *Papal Letters*, p. 751.
- 154 CPR, *Edward IV & Edward V, Richard III, 1476-1485*, p. 67.
- 155 St. Mary's, (n.d.), 'A brief history of Saint Mary's Parish Church', [online], stmarysbarnardcastle.org.uk/fabric.htm, [accessed 3 September 2016].
- 156 CPR, *Edward IV & Edward V, Richard III, 1476-1485*, p. 67.

- ¹⁵⁷ Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*, p. 243; Twemlow, *Papal Letters*, p. 863.
- ¹⁵⁸ Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*, p. 229.
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The 1471-74 Dispute Between Richard and George

© By Susan L. Troxell, 31 May 2016

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With the definitive Yorkist victory at Tewkesbury, Edward IV could at last be secure on his throne and Richard could expect a secure position in the realm. But a new set of challenges emerged. Richard needed to find a suitable wife. The one he desired—Anne Neville—met with complications and fierce resistance from his own brother, George Duke of Clarence. In order to understand the dynamic that fueled this confrontation and fed their ensuing dispute over Anne’s inheritance, it is helpful to trace the nature of the brothers’ relationship and the history between them.

Junior Cadets of the House of York

George and Richard were three years apart in age, and grew up in the same household as their mother and sisters. Being the youngest sons, they could only watch as their father the Duke of York, and older brothers the Earls of March and Rutland, strode the political stage and prosecuted the Yorkist claim to the English throne. Richard “had the least prospect among four brothers of securing the resources essential to cut a figure in the world”.¹

Twice, the boys were sent together to live in other households: first, following the Yorkist defeat at Ludford Bridge, when they were sent to live with their aunt the Duchess of Buckingham, and second, following the deaths of their father and brother Edmund at the Battle of Wakefield, when they were sent abroad to live at the court of the Duke of Burgundy. It was while they were living abroad that they heard the news of their brother Edward’s victory at the Battle of Towton. This event profoundly shaped their relationship.

Edward was not only elevated to the position of king, but George, only 11 years old, essentially became a *de facto* Prince of Wales and was next in line of succession without having had any preparation for the role.²

They returned from Burgundy to live with the royal court at Greenwich Palace. George, who reputedly was a favorite of his mother and sister Margaret, was separated out for special treatment commensurate with his status as Edward IV's heir. He was given the title Duke of Clarence, made Lieutenant of Ireland, inducted as a Knight of the Bath and Garter, and was Steward for the coronations of Edward IV and, later, Queen Elizabeth. While living at Greenwich, George had his own henchmen, heralds, and footmen, along with a council made up of a chancellor, secretary, chamberlain and steward. He was accorded the status of pre-eminent peer of the realm at the 1463 re-burials of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his brother Thomas at Bisham Abbey, taking precedence over the more senior Duke of Suffolk. By the time he reached the age 16, his entourage was described as "a multitude" and comprised of 188 persons.³ Being charming and charismatic in this own right, George sometimes responded to such adulation with arrogance. Richard, being given the title Duke of Gloucester, the office of Constable of England, and made a Knight of the Bath and Garter, was still too young to be given such a great entourage and ceremonial responsibilities. He was instead sent to live as a ward in the household of Richard Neville, the "Kingmaker" Earl of Warwick. He henceforth lived apart from his siblings.

The subject of whom the Duke of Clarence should marry held foreign policy significance, especially after Edward IV took himself out of the international marriage market by marrying the widow Elizabeth Woodville. In order to thwart French interests and promote Burgundian ties, the king proposed a marriage between George and Mary, the daughter of the Count of Charolais. An embassy was appointed to pursue this policy, but it instead resulted in a marriage contract between the king's sister Margaret and the Count (who later became Duke of Burgundy). Showing an early independent streak, George favored the Earl of Warwick's pursuit of a French alliance for Margaret of York, and supported a proposal from Louis XI which promised George possession of Holland, Zeeland and Brabant in the event of an Anglo-Franco alliance to partition Burgundy. Edward IV would not hear of it, and refused to meet with the French embassy. This did not deter George and Warwick from receiving it: a sign of fractures beginning to form between the king and his heir.

At home in England, the domestic market for suitable brides for George and Richard was limited. The queen came from a large family with numerous unwed siblings whose need for marriages took priority. And Edward IV was adamantly against his brothers marrying the two most appropriate candidates: Warwick's daughters Isabel and Anne, co-heiresses to their mother's large Beauchamp-Despenser patrimony. A double wedding between George and Isabel, and Richard and Anne, was apparently first proposed, and rejected, as early as 1464. The king was so enraged by this idea that he hauled George and Richard before him and demanded to know if either had made a marriage contract with the Neville heiresses.⁴ They both denied it. However, the concept lingered, and when George ultimately married Isabel in Calais in 1469, after receiving the appropriate dispensation from Rome addressing their consanguinity, a Milanese chronicler wrote that Warwick's two daughters had married Edward IV's brothers.⁵ As we shall see below, this has implications for Richard's subsequent marriage to Anne Neville in 1472.

Edward IV begrudgingly relented to George's marriage for political reasons. He had alienated the support of Warwick by rejecting the latter's Francophile foreign policy, and by elevating the queen's relatives into the upper gentry. He also ignored rivalries that were formulating in his court. Meanwhile, George sensed that his entire status as the preeminent

peer of the realm depended entirely on grants made by Edward IV. When the queen bore a daughter, his status as the king's heir became even less certain by her fertility. While the Parliament of 1467 excluded Clarence from an act of resumption, it limited his landed income to 5,600 marks (£3,700) and reversions to 1,000 marks (£666). These enormous sums "in no way matched his ambitions, for in 1468 he planned spending even more on his household alone. He was unable to expand his estates with Edward's help."⁶ George, therefore, turned against Edward IV and threw his lot behind Warwick's effort to restore Henry VI to the throne. It is no coincidence that the day after George married Isabel, a manifesto was published decrying the government of Edward IV. In words echoing those used previously against corrupt rulers, the king was accused of having favorites who insinuated themselves into his innermost counsel, supplanting more worthy princes, and who subverted the just aims of the "common weal" in order to enrich themselves.⁷

Richard, living in Warwick's household, did not participate in George's defection and remained loyal to Edward IV. He was eventually called upon to array troops and to defend his brother's reign. Richard followed Edward into exile in Burgundy, and was declared a traitor when Henry VI regained his throne for a few short months in 1470-71. When Edward returned to England, with a small force led by Richard, Hastings and Earl Rivers, *The Arrivall* notes that Richard participated in the efforts to reconcile Edward with his brother George. No doubt this was a smart strategy, as a divided House of York would form a weak foundation to supplant the reconstituted Lancastrian one. George and Richard fought in the Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, with Richard leading the vanguard in both and receiving some accolades for his military prowess in the form of political poetry. With the death of Warwick, Henry VI and his son, Edward was able to resume his reign, and to dole out rewards to those who had stuck with him.

Against this background, one might see the context in which the ensuing dispute emerged. Edward IV no doubt had to reward his brothers, but more importantly, he had to give Richard some special honors to reward him for his loyalty. He also had to create a sufficient foundation of land estates to endow the now-18-year old Richard, and this was enabled by Warwick's death and his common-law attainder as a traitor who took up arms against a king. So, Edward IV granted to Richard many of the land holdings from the Kingmaker's Neville patrimony, namely Middleham, Sheriff Hutton, and Penrith castles. He also rewarded Richard with additional offices such as Admiral of England, Great Chamberlain, Warden of the West Marches, and Forester north of the Trent.

Dealing with George was more difficult, but the king restored much of what Clarence had had before he defected to the cause of Henry VI. Now that Edward had a son, a Prince of Wales in his own right, George would never be able to resume his *status quo ante* position as the preeminent peer of the realm and the king's heir. That would have to be surrendered. Nevertheless, one can understand how it would be difficult for George, who had been so accustomed to the position, to accept. The last thing Edward IV would want to do would be to force his fickle and rather spoilt brother George into another estrangement.

In summary, both George and Richard had to vindicate their interests, but they had reasons to feel threatened when they perceived favor being given to the other brother. For George, it was living in the constant worry of his position being eroded from the Yorkist power structure. For Richard, it was the vigilance of the youngest son trying to ensure his livelihood and to find a secure place in the realm. It was a dynamic that would set a shadow over the next three years, even to the point that chroniclers and correspondents wrote of a most worrisome uncertainty that loomed large over the kingdom.

Richard's Marriage to Anne: Complications

The first challenge for Richard was to find Anne following the Battle of Tewkesbury. She was recently widowed and without political support, having been on the losing Lancastrian side and the daughter of a traitor. However, she was still the co-heiress to her mother's Beauchamp-Despenser inheritance. During the spring/summer of 1471, Clarence assumed the position of Anne's guardian, and transferred her to the household of his wife Isabel. The Crowland Chronicler writes that Clarence had Anne disguised as a kitchen maid; ostensibly, this was for the purpose of keeping her from remarrying and having a husband to vindicate her interests. If Anne remained a childless widow, then George—through his wife Isabel—would be able to obtain the entirety of the Beauchamp-Despenser patrimony without it being divided. This was not technically legal but Anne probably did not have much say in the matter given her weak position and lack of political allies. Despite George's attempt to keep Anne away from potential suitors, he did not succeed. Richard, who the Crowland Chronicler describes as “so much the more astute”, located her in London and had her moved into sanctuary at St. Martin le Grand.

The second challenge for Richard was to obtain the king's permission to marry Anne, and the Pope's as he was related to her by several degrees of consanguinity. For centuries, it was believed that Richard had married Anne without pursuing the appropriate dispensation from Rome, casting doubt on the validity of their marriage, and giving credibility to Clarence's strenuous objections to it. However, Peter D. Clarke located their petition in the Papal Penitentiary archives and published an article about it in the 2005 edition of the *English Historical Review*. It was granted April 22, 1472 [ten calendar days before May 1st], and read:

*Rome [apud sanctum Petrum], x kal. Maii. Ricardus, dux Glouirestere [sic], laicus Lincolniensis diocesis, et Anna Nevile, mulier Eboracensis diocesis, cupiunt inter se matrimonium contrahere, sed quia tertio et quarto affinitatis gradibus invicem se attinent, quare petunt cum ipsi dispensari. Item cum declaratoria super tertio et quarto.*⁸

This roughly translates as:

Rome [at St. Peter's], 10 calends of May. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, layman of the diocese of Lincoln, and Anne Neville, woman of the diocese of York, wish to contract matrimony between them, but because they are joined together in the third and fourth degrees of affinity therefore they asked to be dispensed with this. Also with declaratory [letter] upon third and fourth.⁹

Some scholars, Michael Hicks for one, insist that any dispensation granted from this petition would continue to be defective since it did not cover their second degree of affinity and because Richard was Anne's “brother” by virtue of her sister's marriage to Clarence. Marie Barnfield addressed both “defects” in a 2007 article published in the *The Ricardian*. As Barnfield shows, there was no canon law prohibition against brothers marrying women from the same family, and indeed, this had been done by John of Gaunt and Edmund of Langley, who married sisters from the Kingdom of Castile. Barnfield writes that a dispensation addressing all degrees of affinity had likely already been achieved in the 1460s when a double wedding had been proposed between George/Isabel and Richard/Anne.

Although no one has produced the actual document from the Vatican archives showing George's dispensation to marry Isabel, it was referred to during Henry VI's readeption. Dugdale (a historian from the 17th century) reportedly saw and transcribed it. No historian has ever questioned the validity of George's marriage to his cousin Isabel, who were related by the same degrees as Richard and Anne, leaving one to wonder why some labor to find

defects in Richard's marriage. Certainly, a nobleman of such stature and legal acumen as Richard would have been exceedingly aware of the necessity of obtaining the appropriate papal dispensation, knowing full well that if he didn't do so, a significant cloud would remain over whatever he desired to take from the Beauchamp-Despenser patrimony. Given the well-demonstrated acuity of Richard's knowledge of the law, his failure to obtain such an obvious item would be decidedly anomalous with his character.

Dispute over the Beauchamp-Despenser Inheritance

As soon as Edward IV consented to Richard's intended marriage to Anne, a dispute arose between George and Richard as to its legitimacy and how her inheritance would be allocated. They made their respective arguments before the royal council, the Crowland Chronicler observing:

As a result [of Anne's placement in sanctuary] so much disputation arose between the brothers and so many keen arguments were put forward on either side with the greatest acuteness in the presence of the king, sitting in judgement in the council-chamber, that all who stood around, even those learned in the law, marvelled at the profusion of the arguments which the princes produced for their own cases.

In February, 1472, Sir John Paston wrote that Edward IV was still lobbying George to agree to Richard's marriage. Consent was given but George refused to part with any of Anne's inheritance. Some believed that Edward IV had promised George the entirety of the Earl of Warwick's estates, even those he held in right of his wife, in order to entice him away from the Kingmaker before the Battle of Barnet, a promise that the king should have known would be almost impossible to fulfill. Alternatively, George might have exaggerated Edward's promises or misunderstood them; it would not have been the first time that a former rebel disputed the terms of his pardon from the king.¹⁰

Clarence's position softened somewhat, because a month later, in March, the Chancery Rolls state that George "surrendered a part of the grant of all castles, honours, lordships, manors and other possessions, late of Richard Earl of Warwick in his right or of Anne his wife, at the king's request, to his brother Richard".¹¹ The inheritance was to be divided, leaving George with lands in the West Country and West Midlands. Richard was given the "tale mail" estates in Yorkshire and Cumberland, "which indicates that Gloucester's case was not accepted without reservation".¹² George had also convinced the king to take the office of Great Chamberlain away from Richard and to give it to him, instead. The king further bestowed on George the earldoms of Warwick and Salisbury, and granted him four manors, two parks and a messuage in London.

With Rome approving their petition for dispensation in April, Richard and Anne were married at the chapel of St. Stephen in Westminster Palace in May or June, 1472, around the time of Anne's 16th birthday. It appeared for a while that the dispute had been resolved.

Still in sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey, the dowager Countess of Warwick (the Kingmaker's widow) sent out numerous letters seeking the restoration of her estates. She had a legitimate point. She had never been attainted and therefore the Crown technically did not have any right to seize or distribute her estates before her death. The barrage of letters became so harassing that the king ordered she be kept under strict guard at Beaulieu. This did not prevent her from petitioning the Commons when Parliament assembled in late 1472, a petition that was probably presented in early 1473 but evidently rejected as it was never enrolled. Instead, Edward IV authorized the transfer of her physical custody to Richard where she joined his household at Middleham Castle. In a letter dated June 1473, Sir John Paston noted rumors were circulating that George did not agree to this, and in November,

he wrote that “the world seems queasy” because Clarence was assembling an armed force to deal with Richard.

Michael Hicks, in his biography *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence*, explains why George took such an aggressive stance. Hicks believes that Richard took the countess into his custody while the king and his councilors were conducting a conference of the Marcher lords in Shrewsbury in early June 1473. The Prince of Wales' council was being set up and his affinity strengthened in Wales. Clarence did not attend the conference, possibly out of spite, alienation or disinterest. The queen attended the conference and stayed in Shrewsbury through August, when she delivered her second son. Hicks notes an animosity between the queen's family and Clarence, lingering from Warwick's extra-judicial executions of her father and brother in 1469, and exacerbated by the queen throwing her support behind Richard and his pursuit of the Beauchamp-Despensers inheritance. Hicks suggests that the queen, in order to strike at George, may have persuaded Edward IV to authorize the transfer of the dowager countess to Richard. Moreover, Hicks points to the act of resumption at Parliament in 1473, which did not exempt the Duke of Clarence. This must have been deliberately done by the king. It in essence deprived George of all the lands given to him previously by Edward IV. Clarence, Hicks writes, was again faced by a choice to rebel or submit.

Although tempers had again reached a boiling point, Edward IV was able to mediate a final settlement between his brothers. This was formalized in the May, 1474 act of Parliament authorizing both dukes to acquire the lands of the dowager countess of Warwick, equally divided, as though she were dead. This gave force of law to the 1472 settlement, which had first given Richard a share in her estates. It protected both dukes from future acts of resumption and restored George's title in those estates to be allocated to him. The act further stipulated that if George outlived his wife Isabel, he was to enjoy her share of the estates as well as his own to the end of his days, and Richard was granted the same privilege in regard to his wife's share. Most curiously, the act stated that this latter disposition of the estates was to hold good if Richard and his wife should be ‘divorced and after the same be lawfully married,’ or if they should be divorced and not afterwards lawfully married, provided the duke had done his utmost to procure a lawful marriage and did not wed any other woman.

Some historians view the proviso for Anne and Richard's divorce as indicative that they had yet to receive a papal dispensation, but as shown above this has been debunked by Peter Clarke's discovery of it. If any cloud were remaining over the marriage, it might have been based on an argument revived by George in November 1473: that Richard had abducted Anne and forced her into a marriage without her consent.¹³ The rules of sanctuary, however, would have enabled Anne to remain free from outside persuasion and there is no evidence that she objected to Richard's proposal. After all, she had more to gain than lose by marrying the king's brother, especially one who was held in high favor. She would gain not only the protection of one of the most powerful royal princes in England, but also an advocate to pursue her interests. In any case, the assertion of coercion and abduction would have been for Anne or her kin to make; something she and they never did.¹⁴ Anne was, in fact, pregnant and was to bear a son Edward in December 1473, so it would have been even more desirable for her to keep the marriage intact.

Richard and Anne went on to share what, from all appearances, seemed a contented wedded life without any further formal attacks on the propriety of their union. George's future was not as happy; he fell again into an estrangement from Edward IV's favor, and was executed and attainted for treason in 1478 at the age of 28.

Conclusions

When we look back on Richard's dispute with George, it is tempting to see him as being overly ambitious or provocative in seeking the Neville marriage and the inheritance. But was he? As Michael Hicks has written, the Yorkist policy after the failed readeption of Henry VI did not favor forfeitures of the estates of the Lancastrians. "Such hard-headed favourites as the Herberts and Lord Hastings had come to prefer the restoration of former traitors in return for a share of the proceeds, generally through marriage to their children. Richard was thus fully in tune with current thinking, when he set his heart on acquiring the Warwick Inheritance by marriage and made it . . . the basis of his power and long-term planning."¹⁵

It is also tempting to see the treatment of the dowager Countess of Warwick as something less than chivalrous, especially the legal manipulation of declaring her technically deceased in the 1474 parliamentary act. She was only 48 years old, and would live another 18 years, dying at the age of 66 in 1492. But she was no shy wallflower. Her campaign of letters and petitioning of Parliament were alarming enough to Edward IV that he saw her as a potential agent for fomenting rebellion, so much so that he put her under strict guard. There is, moreover, some irony in her being dispossessed of her estates. She had not been the principal heiress to the earldom of Warwick or the Beauchamp patrimony; it took the death of her brother Henry and his daughter, Anne, for those to pass to her in 1449. Even then, this was challenged by her three half-sisters who believed they were entitled to equal shares of their brother's inheritance. The Kingmaker himself was the beneficiary of his grandfather's infamous disinheritance of the senior Neville line, resulting in a dispute that would continue into the reign of Richard III. The Kingmaker's mother had acquired Montagu assets by fraud in 1461, and he in turn deprived the rightful Neville heir of half of the Despenser patrimony by securing the custody of its minor co-heir as ward, and refusing to give it up on his majority. In the final analysis, the inheritance which Richard and George fought over so aggressively was itself partly the product of "influence, brute force and fraud".¹⁶

As a post-script to the story of the Beauchamp-Despenser inheritance, and the 1471-1474 dispute between the Yorkist brothers to it, we move forward to 1489, under the reign of the first Tudor king, Henry VII, and observe the dowager Countess of Warwick "voluntarily" releasing it all to the Crown, to the loss of her surviving grandchildren. Whether that was by exhaustion, old age, or political pressure, it shows that great inheritances did not guarantee financial security to dowagers and heirs; indeed, they often "fomented discord rather than ensuring certainty"¹⁷ and could turn brother against brother.

Endnotes

¹ M.A. Hicks, *Warwick Inheritance*, p. 174.

² Ashdown-Hill, pp. 66, 70-71.

³ Hicks, *Clarence*, p. 24-25.

⁴ Barnfield, *Diriment Impediments*, note 20, citing Jehan de Wavrin, *Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istaires de la Grant Bretagne*, ed W. Hardy et al. 5 vols, London 1864-91, vol. 5, pp. 158-59.

⁵ Barnfield, *Diriment Impediments*, note 22, citing A.B. Hinds, ed., *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan*, London 1912, p. 131.

⁶ Hicks, *Clarence*, p. 43.

⁷ Hicks, *Clarence*, p. 46.

⁸ Clark, p. 1023, note 42.

⁹ Barnfield, *Diriment Impediments*.

¹⁰ A similar misunderstanding occurred earlier between Edward IV and Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset in 1462 as to the terms of the king's conciliation with his former enemy. Beaufort claimed the king promised him full restoration of title and lands; the king insisted he had only offered the duke his life in exchange for full pardon. M.K. Jones, "Edward IV and the Beaufort Family: Conciliation in Early Yorkist Politics", *The Ricardian*, Vol. VI, No. 83 (December 1983), pp. 259-60.

¹¹ Scofield, vol. 2, pp. 26-27.

¹² Hicks, *Clarence*, pp. 114.

¹³ Barnfield, *Diriment Impediments*, note 33.

¹⁴ Charles Ross says that Anne probably consented to her "abduction" to sanctuary: "From the bride's standpoint also there was much to be said for the match. Only Gloucester possessed the political muscle to wrest her from the grasp of Clarence, and force him to disgorge her share of the Warwick inheritance." Ross, p. 28.

¹⁵ Hicks, *The Warwick Inheritance*, p. 174.

¹⁶ Hicks, *The Warwick Inheritance*, p. 176.

¹⁷ Hicks, *The Warwick Inheritance*, p. 176.

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Ricardian Reading

Myrna Smith

We are not amused—Queen Victoria

We (editorial we) are indeed amused by some of the books considered here—and amazed, astounded, and ambushed by others.

DICKON’S DIARIES: A Year in the Lyff of King Richard the Third—Joanne Larner and Susan Lamb, illustrated by Rikko Nikko, CreateSpace Publishing Platform, 2017

Muddleham Castle, ye home of oure deare King, his wyff Queene Anne, his son Eddie, and his goodly friend, Lord Lovell (who appeareth to have no lyffe of his owne), existreth in a sort of tyme-warppe. Suche thynges as Thou-tube and YeBay are found alongside of hennins and poulaines (Richard’s are blue). Oure King doth collect My Little Destrier figures, such as Ye Murderous Mustang, attempting to buy up all those trimmed wyth the Codwalloper banner. Thou gettest the idea, no?

Verily much of the indignity is visited upone the personne of Lord Lovell. Who else wouldst getteth impayled on a Yuletide tree? Yet Our King hath his moments, certes, as when he is trapped in his owne garderobe. Or when his most innocent answeres to his sonne’s most innocent questions, for his work of home, cometh oute nott as intended.

Thys volume be based on a website of the authors’, yclept *Dickon for his Dames*, ye dames beinge admirers of Oure Dread Lord and frequent visitors to the castle. Some of them are Dame Joanne, Dame Christine, and Dame Kokomo, who seemeth to love Whyte Syrie as much as his mastyre. Othere visitors includeth such townfolk as Miss Emm Enthal, the cheesemaker. (Lovell hast a thyng for cheese), and Tylda Tytsupp. Note: Onne needst not be a Dame to enjoye this. Onne doth neede, however, to have a tayste for pun-ish-ment.

No blame on that account can be laid at my door—George III, on the loss of the American colonies.

THE PLANTAGENET MYSTERY: The Wynderbury Mysteries, Book I—Victoria Prescott, Amazon Digital Services, 2014

THE HAWTHORN VILLA SECRET: Wynderbury Mysteries, Book II –Victoria Prescott, Amazon Digital Services, 2016

These novels follow the format of **Daughter of Time**, in that they are premised on modern-day detectives solving historical mysteries. Only here they are amateur detectives. The central character is Rob Tyler, who is a part-time archivist at the Wynderbury County Records, part-time adult education instructor, part-time doctoral candidate. Incidentally, those who are acquainted with British geography may object that there is no such place as the County of Wynderbury. There is. This is the author’s name for her native Kent.

After a flashback beginning in the mid-16th century, the book returns to modern times, and to Rob’s life, which, let’s face it, is pretty dull, and he knows it. That will change. One of his night school Family History students, Emily, is enthused about some books and papers she has come across. Rob doesn’t pay too much attention to this, until she doesn’t show up for class. Because he is a nice guy, he worries about her, and goes to visit her, to find that she has been the victim of a mugging. Rob, his neighbor, builder Chris Bailey, and Emily’s niece, Claire, decide to try to find out who beat her up, and more important, why. This leads them into a lot of trouble, encounters with a slimy villain and his goons, some more flashbacks, and a mystery involving Richard III’s illegitimate son. Yes, the plot is based on the story of Richard of Eastwell. But there is one more plot twist in store.

HAWTHORN VILLA also opens with a flashback, but to a more recent time period, or periods: 1897 and 1905. Our hero and his sidekicks, by a series of accidents—or are

they?—get involved with modern-day politics and 19th century politics. The two are intertwined. The mystery to be solved involves a typhoid epidemic, which really did occur in the year of Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee, and its aftermath in 1905. Now it looks like having a long-delayed second aftermath in the 21st century. The incident that it is based on really did happen, but the story and characters are inventions, unlike the earlier book.

The chief charm is in the three detectives. The author can delineate the anti-intellectual Chris, the prickly feminist Claire, and the nerdish Rob (‘Look out, he’s going into his professor mode again.’) without condescending or taking sides. The stories may be sort of leisurely in starting, but they soon pick up and there is plenty of action, much, but not all, supplied by Chris. Rob, we are told “didn’t do anger, but he did do seriously pissed off,” and when he does, he can give as good an account of himself as his friend. Claire is philosophically opposed to violence, but she can make exceptions on occasion. It looks like this is going to be a series, and one that could be worth following, even if not specifically Ricardian.

The Cat, the Rat and Lovel our Dog

Doe rule all England under a Hog—William Colyngbourne

Anything that can go wrong, will go wrong.—Murphy’s Law

STRANGE TIMES: Richard III in the 21st Century Book 3.—Joan Szechtman. Amazon Digital Services LLC. May 2017. (Also available in paperback print format.)

Some background history is vital to understanding this account: A famous quote from William Colyngbourne refers to a rat, a cat and a dog who served under a hog. The rat and the cat, Richard Ratcliffe and William Catesby respectively, are dead. The dog refers to the only survivor, Francis Lovell, who survived. This all occurred in the 1480s, and obviously, the hog, Richard III, who supposedly died when defeated by Henry Tudor, has borne a terrible reputation through the centuries. He is labeled a tyrant and a murderer of the Princes of the previous King. However, in the 21st Century, his reputation has undergone a complete revision and now the real Richard III is living in America. In the previous two books in this series, he participated in clearing his name, although there are still descendants who want him captured and killed! Richard now longs to tie up one loose end. Lovell, the dog who was truly a loyal servant to Richard, fought against Henry VII at the famous Battle of Stoke Field. When we meet him, he’s hiding in a basement vault, fearful of capture and death. Richard’s obsession in finding Lovell is understandable and serves as the beginning of this intriguing story.

Richard is running for a political office in Oregon but unforeseen circumstances block any further progress in that venture. He and his wife, Sarah, are involved with a company that has built a time machine. This is the story of two figures who accidentally get exchanged in the 15th and 21st Century. Adrian Strange is a colleague who appears to monitor the progress on the time machine; he seems overbearing and suspicious about everything. Because of this machine, he will be transformed in more ways than one although Richard and Sarah will have no idea what Strange is experiencing after he accidentally steps into the active time machine. In trying to get him back, Richard and Sarah wind up bringing Francis Lovell into this future time. What a disaster!

Obviously, Richard realizes things must return to the way they were but that plan is not so easily accomplished. The important issue throughout this entire novel concerns what happens when individuals are transported to the past? How much of history can be changed, and should it be changed? Would Francis Lovell have survived? Were the Princes truly killed or did they survive and their descendants as well? How will the past change Adrian Strange if he returns to the present?

Joan Szechtman has crafted a story with several mysteries running through the overall plot which keep the reader riveted to the story. Most knowledgeable readers are rooting for Richard in whatever he plans and does, but even the best laid plans go awry. This author clearly knows her topic, with all its twists and turns, and carries the reader through all of them with thrilling skill! Highly recommended historical fiction!—Viviane Crystal

The English have but two rulers, M. de Warwick, and another whose name I have forgotten.—Louis XI of France

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF EDWARD IV—John Ashdown-Hill, Amberley, 2016

The ninth book published in seven years by John Ashdown-Hill begins with a splendid little piece of verse ostensibly written by England's 15th century poet laureate—John Lydgate. It is entitled “Edwardus Quartus” and is cited in the author's endnotes to be a part of Lydgate's *Verses on the Kings of England*:

Comforth al thristy, and drynke with gladnes,
Rejoyse with myrth, though ye have nat to spende.
The tyme is come to avoyden your distress.
Edward the Fourth the old wronges to amend
Is wele disposed in wille, and to defend
His lond and peple in dede with kynne and myght,
Goode lyf and longe I pray, to God hym send,
And that Seynt George be with hym in his ryght!

The only problem is that John Lydgate could not have written it. He died in 1449/50, when Henry VI was still secure on his throne and the future Edward IV was 8 years old and living in Ludlow with his younger brother. The verse attributed to Lydgate appears in Gairdner's 1876 publication *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* which, in turn, is based on Harleian MS 2251, f. 2 b. Who wrote it and how it ended up being appended to *Verses on the Kings of England* is itself a mystery worthy of exploration, but it does show that there was a vigorous cottage industry in polishing the image of Edward IV. It is to this cottage industry that Ashdown-Hill turns his attention in *The Private Life of Edward IV*, which aims to debunk myths and propaganda that have existed about this king since the ‘Tudors’ usurped the crown from the ‘Plantagenets’.

But first, one should be aware of what this book *is not* about. Although in its title it claims to be about Edward IV's private life, it does not cover his political or military education, relationships with immediate family members, circle of platonic friends, personal literary tastes, favorite residences, or his supposed love of ease, pleasure and wealth. Rather, it is about his sex life and, in particular, the three great loves of his life: Eleanor Talbot, Henry Beaufort, and Elizabeth ‘Widville’. And, it also sets out to disprove the widely-held image of Edward IV as a ladies' man who, in words quoted from Josephine Tey's *The Daughter of Time*, ‘was—bar Charles II—our most wench-ridden royal product... a six-foot hunk of male beauty’. In Ashdown-Hill's analysis, Edward IV comes off as a bit of a cad, deeply anxious about his ability to father a male child, and unable to prevent his wily and vindictively insecure queen from murdering a slew of perceived enemies. Ashdown-Hill repeatedly provides a disclaimer that many of the theories offered in his book are necessarily speculative given the lack of contemporary primary sources dating from Edward IV's reign. Readers should take heed of this disclaimer in order to understand the book's inherent limitations and the difficulty of the task undertaken by the author.

To his credit, Ashdown-Hill committed a huge research effort into creating a detailed itinerary for Edward IV's personal whereabouts from birth until death. This appears to be the first time any scholar has attempted to do this, and it should prove as useful as Rhoda

Edwards' *Itinerary of Richard III*. Indeed, it is from this itinerary that the author is able to deduce precise dates for critical events. He determines that Edward IV met Eleanor Talbot in November 1460 or January/February of 1461, as he was traveling to/from the battlefield at Mortimer's Cross. As the widow of John Boteler, Eleanor had been given estates in Fenny Compton and Burton Dassett, Warwickshire, and Edward's route would have taken him within 25 miles of those manors. 'There seems to be absolutely no doubt that Edward found Eleanor attractive. It also appears certain that she responded to his advances. Initially her response was to decline Edward the sexual contact... But later... her answer changed.' Two months after the Battle of Towton, Edward IV married Eleanor at one of the aforesaid Warwickshire manors—with Robert Stillington acting as presiding priest. We are even given a specific date for the marriage: Monday, 8 June 1461. Of course, this is all presuming that Eleanor was in residence at her Warwickshire manors when Edward IV happened to be passing by. And it presumes that despite the recent deaths of his father and brother Edmund, and England still being in the throes of a convulsing state of politics after a bloody and most violent battle, the newly-proclaimed king entered into a secret marriage a matter of weeks before his coronation. Some might call that extreme recklessness or hubris, but the lure of the aristocratic and 'beautiful Eleanor' was apparently so strong that Edward could not resist. (For those who have read Ashdown-Hill's *Eleanor the Secret Queen*, you would not be mistaken to recall that he earlier stated the marriage occurred somewhere in the vicinity of Norwich; a new edition of that book, with his corrected hypothesis and evidence about the marriage occurring in Warwickshire, came out in 2016.)

Unfortunately for the 'beautiful Eleanor', Edward IV did not give her much in the way of an opportunity to conceive a child. He might have secretly brought her to Windsor Castle or paid her conjugal visits under some subterfuge during his royal progress, but it seems the king soon developed a new favorite as his preferred sexual liaison: Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. Beaufort, it will be recalled, fled from Towton along with other Lancastrians and was sent by Margaret of Anjou to France to negotiate for military support. He was attainted by Parliament in November 1461, but returned to England in 1462 where he briefly held Bamburgh Castle against Edward IV's troops. Beaufort surrendered the castle on Christmas Eve and submitted himself to the Yorkists, being later pardoned on 10 May 1463. The romantic relationship with Edward IV started shortly after his surrender, and unlike the marriage with Eleanor, it was out in the open. *Gregory's Chronicle* observed 'the king made much of him; insomuch that he lodged with the king in his own bed many nights, and sometimes rode hunting behind the king, the king having about him no more than six horsemen at the most, and three were men of the Duke of Somerset. The King loved him well, but the duke thought treason under fair cheer and words.' Beaufort, who might have had a previous romantic relationship with Charles the Bold of Burgundy when he was earlier living in exile, ultimately betrayed his regal English lover by taking up arms against him in Northumbria, and was executed following the Battle of Hexham. Calling Beaufort the king's 'boyfriend', as is done in a chapter heading, is likely to become the most contentious and controversial aspect of Ashdown-Hill's book.

The study of homosexuality or bisexuality in the medieval period is a worthwhile and very credible pursuit, one that has been taken up by scholars within and outside academia in the past couple of decades. The theory of Edward IV or any nobleman having bisexual and/or homoerotic experiences cannot be rejected entirely out of hand. Ruth Mazo Karras' *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) provides a good overview of the subject, and she details how the all-male communities in monasteries and universities were strictly forbidden from engaging with women at brothels and taverns, etc., but were not specifically forbidden from

developing intimate relationships with fellow monks or students: ‘The emphasis on aggressive heterosexuality [demanded by chivalric ideology] does not mean that the homoeroticism one might expect to find in such an all-male context was absent. Even without widespread homosexual behavior, the formation of erotic bonds that may have never been acknowledged or consummated nevertheless could have had a great impact on how the students related to one another.’ (Mazo Karras, pp. 81-82) Ashdown-Hill posits a credible theory that the contemporary observation of Edward IV sharing a bed with Beaufort indicates a very close relationship, one that Cora Scofield called a ‘boon companionship’ in her magisterial two-volume biography of Edward IV. This theory is not entirely new, either. Jonathan Hughes, in his book *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV* (Sutton, 2002), similarly gave it an airing by observing that ‘Edward’s narcissistic confidence in his own charm and ability to win people over may have manifested itself in bisexuality’ and could explain his extraordinary and politically disastrous indulgence of Henry Beaufort. (Hughes, p. 193) That men shared beds was a feature of medieval society; C. M. Woolgar noted that beds in the great noble households were often constructed to be of a size (9 feet long by 7 feet wide) intended for multiple occupants. But this observation is taken from a courtesy book from 1400-1450 discussing the appropriate size of pallets for *grooms* serving the nobility. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (Yale Univ. Press, 1999).

Putting aside the contentious issue of whether Edward IV’s relationship with Beaufort took on a homoerotic nature, the real problem for Ashdown-Hill’s theory is more factual than theoretical. Henry Beaufort fathered an illegitimate son in 1460, and was rumored to be the lover of the Scottish queen-regent Mary of Guelders. Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (Univ. of Calif. Press, 1974), p. 85. And, during his life, Edward IV was described as a ‘good Catholic’ which would seem inconsistent with a king who had had an open relationship with a man. It is, moreover, a deviation from the universal contempt previously held for Edward II’s relationship with Piers Gaveston. Ashdown-Hill tries to explain away these inconsistencies by discussing social perceptions of active versus passive sexual activity and class divisions, and by pointing out that laws against homosexual behavior were far less draconian than they were in the Tudor era. But it cannot explain away that medieval contemporaries described homosexuality as a ‘horrible foulness’ that in the case of a certain master at Merton College, Oxford in 1491, accused of having sex with his students resulted in severe censure. It is also one of the reasons, according to Ashdown-Hill, that caused Eleanor Talbot to ‘abandon’ her marriage to Edward IV and retreat to a life of quiet religious contemplation. If Edward IV had had an openly homosexual relationship with Beaufort, as suggested, then one would think it would have been described in terms less benign than that ‘he loved him dearly’.

More importantly, Ashdown-Hill makes an uncharacteristic factual error by repeatedly saying that Henry Beaufort was still alive as of 1468—when he was, in fact, executed at Hexham in 1464. The author has Henry living in exile in the Low Countries in the summer of 1468, and he has servants of Elizabeth Talbot, the Duchess of Norfolk, making treasonable contact with him there. This is based on a misreading of *Hearne’s Fragment* which actually refers to Henry’s younger brother, Edmund, who in 1468 was living ‘barefoot and barelegged’ in the Burgundian court. Unfortunately, this is a major stumble because Ashdown-Hill later uses the 1468 executions of Norfolk retainers John Poyntz, Richard Steers, and William Alsford as evidence that there was a conspiracy afoot to suppress rumors about the secret marriage between Edward IV and Eleanor Talbot. That conspiracy theory falls apart if one of its central participants is a deceased person.

This brings us to the person who, in this book, masterminded that and many other conspiracies: Elizabeth Widville. Edward IV's queen-consort is given the traditional treatment as scheming, cold, stingy of temperament, grasping, ambitious for her family's interests, quick to take offense, and reluctant to forgive. (These adjectives are taken from Charles Ross's *Edward IV*.) Such qualities are maximized in Ashdown-Hill's analysis. While Eleanor Talbot's beauty and piety are emphasized, Elizabeth Widville's central characteristics are to be 'clever and calculating', 'grandiose', 'greedy', and even 'ruthless'. She possibly faked a pregnancy in order to get Edward IV to publicly acknowledge their marriage. She was behind the oppressive fine imposed on Thomas Cook, and she was the instigator of the Earl of Desmond's execution in retaliation for a disparaging comment. The oft-repeated theory that she was behind George of Clarence's execution in 1478 is also rehashed. The motive for these cruelties was Widville's vulnerability about the validity of her marriage to the king, insecurities that were fanned as early as the mid-1460s when rumors began to circulate that she was not the legitimate wife and queen of Edward IV. These claims are all rather well-known to the reader of Ricardian history, and they each have a kernel of truth to them, as most historians agree that the queen and her family did not shy away from playing politics or grasping for power and wealth when the opportunity presented itself.

But Ashdown-Hill goes further, and bootstraps to them some really novel allegations. First, Elizabeth Widville might have caused the death of Eleanor Talbot in a desperate attempt to eliminate her rival once and for all. The evidence of homicide is that Talbot died in 1468 at the 'unnaturally' early age of 32 compared to her parents and siblings, whilst she was left alone without any servants at East Hall in Kenninghall, Norfolk. Her relatives had gone off to Burgundy for the marriage of Margaret of York to Charles the Bold. Ashdown-Hill believes that a skeleton found in the Carmelite Priory Church in Norwich belongs to Talbot, but fails to mention that examination of its skull reported in the *British Dental Journal* shows a maxillary (jawbone) abscess with extensive bone destruction that could also explain her demise. (Ref: M. E. J. Curzon, A. R. Ogden, M. Williams-Ward & P. E. Cleaton-Jones, "Case report: A medieval case of molar-incisor-hypomineralisation," *British Dental Journal*, 219, pp. 583-587 (2015) (published on-line 18 December 2015, accessed 4 March 2017).) Then there is the theory that Widville was behind the sudden death of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, in 1476. The thinking is that Mowbray, being Eleanor Talbot's brother-in-law, would 'almost certainly' have known about the secret 1461 marriage. The queen saw this knowledge as a threat, and therefore had him eliminated too. Who did the deed, by what method, and for what gain, is completely unexplained. If it benefitted the queen, then it must be she who was behind it! Hence, we are also led to suspect Widville's involvement in the alleged poisoning deaths of Isabel Neville, Duchess of Clarence, and her baby Richard. If all of this was to 'airbrush' Eleanor Talbot out of history, as Ashdown-Hill claims, then it is exceedingly perplexing that the one person who witnessed the 1461 marriage, Robert Stillington, was simply bought off with an annual pension and a bishopric. Ashdown-Hill seems to be engaging in a bit of historical fiction here, but one must again remember that he declared up front that this book contains speculation. One hopes these theories will be developed in the future with additional research to back them up.

More credible are the chapters on Edward IV's mistresses and illegitimate children, and there were far fewer than we've been given to believe. The only mistresses identified by contemporaries were Elizabeth Wayte (who may have been misidentified as 'Elizabeth Lucy' or 'Catherine de Clarington') and Elizabeth Lambert (aka 'Jane Shore'). Elizabeth Wayte bore Edward IV two children—Arthur and Elizabeth—the former becoming Lord

Lisle and the latter becoming Lady Lumley under Henry VII. A bastard daughter Grace accompanied Queen Elizabeth's humble funeral entourage in 1492, but nothing is known about her mother. Two other potential illegitimate offspring are also identified: an Isabel Mylberry (known mainly for her armorial that includes the Yorkist murrey and blue livery colors) and a Mary. These, too, were born to unknown women. There might have also been a brief fling in Bruges, where Edward IV was exiled in 1470-71, and where the future Perkin Warbeck was conceived and born. It is in these chapters that the author demonstrates his impeccable research skills, using family genealogies and local history to trace the lives of the shadowy women about whom so little is known. Finally, there is an intriguing Appendix written by Glen Moran that traces the potential for at least two all-female lines of descent from Jacqueline of Luxembourg, which raises the tantalizing prospect that there might be surviving descendants who have the same mtDNA as Elizabeth Widville and could provide important information for testing the infamous skeletal remains in the Westminster Abbey urns.

The ultimate bafflement about this book is how lightly the personality and private life of Edward IV are treated. He barely makes any impression except when it comes to an anxiety about his own fertility and early inability to father the next male in the line of succession. Eleanor Talbot came from a storied aristocratic family, and might have been a queen-consort who found acceptance with the English public. But, because she failed to conceive and bear a child in a covert and strained setting, Edward simply dropped her and married another widow who had a proven track record of producing male children. She initially failed too, and Ashdown-Hill tries to knit together a cogent explanation for the events that were to follow. Common sense might tell us that the simplest avenue would have been for Edward IV and Eleanor Talbot to seek an annulment, and from the way Ashdown-Hill characterizes Talbot, she probably would not have opposed the petition. They don't, and therefore we are left with the specter of paranoia and suspicious deaths.

Edward IV's relationship with Henry Beaufort and later marriage to Elizabeth Widville have been roundly criticized by historians as significant political blunders. One would like to know if other aspects of his personal life might inform us of the reasons for such erratic behavior. For instance, if Edward had been so anxious about his fertility, why would he hazard a secret marriage to an older woman who had been barren for a previous 10-year marriage, and then abandon her for a Lancastrian male who had no biological ability to provide offspring? Why, given the Yorkist program of reform he promised, would Edward IV stand by and allow his queen to run roughshod over her rivals, and expose him to charges of abuses of justice? *The Private Life of Edward IV* raises many provocative theories and speculations, and it successfully debunks several 'Tudor' myths, but we are ultimately left lacking clear answers. Perhaps this is unavoidable whenever we examine a person's sex life compartmentalized away from their other more complicated and nuanced human dimensions. Ashdown-Hill does acknowledge that the idea for this book originated with his publisher, so there must be a strong public interest in such endeavors.—*Susan L. Troxell*

A note from your reading editor: John Ashdown-Hill has done copious and dedicated research, and lays it out in easily accessible form, often in tables and charts. Some of these may be a little too detailed. One may estimate the date of a child's conception from the date of its birth, but not the exact date. However, the table of marriages "for choice" versus those that were arranged proves that royals and nobles sometimes did make self-chosen marriages - about 40% of the time, if Edward's family is typical. Note that "for choice" doesn't necessarily mean "for love," though the categories may overlap. Both Edward's surviving brothers made such marriages, and just look at his Tudor grandchildren!

What cowards I have about me.....—Henry II

Forsooth and forsooth!—Henry VI's favorite—and only—oath

HONOUR—Matthew Lewis, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2016

This is the sequel to **LOYALTY**, by the same author, and continues the story, divided between events of 1485–87 and 1532; the latter part involving Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell, Thomas More, and artist and puzzlemeister Hans Holbein. In the 15th century segments, Margaret Beaufort masterminds the plot to put her son on the throne. The setup involves both Bishop Stillington and Bishop Morton. Morton, however, is also working against King Henry, because he sees him as a totalitarian who would discard Magna Carta. For a totalitarian dictator, Henry seems a decent sort of chap, as evidenced below.

In the meantime, Lord Lovell, the Staffords, and assorted Yorkists are engaged in plotting of their own. Lovell, who didn't know the fate of the princes in the Tower until he opens a letter from Richard after his death, is now tasked with ensuring their survival. (Why would Richard not trust his very best friend with the knowledge that they still lived?) Somehow they induce Henry to make a bargain that allows the boys to live under assumed identities. This seems out of character for both sides. Henry keeps his side of the bargain—he has no choice, as he doesn't know where the boys are—but Lovell, *et al*, continue to rebel. Lovell, together with Margaret of Burgundy, with whom he is carrying on an affair, support Edward of Warwick, crowned in Dublin as Edward VI. (Wouldn't he have been Edward V, as his cousin was not really king?) You see, the boy in the Tower is a phony Earl of Warwick, the illegitimate half-brother of the real one.

Back in 1532, Hans Holbein is commissioned—you live, you get paid—to paint a puzzle picture for Henry VIII, and he does: That picture we know as *The Ambassadors*. He explains its meaning to Henry and Cromwell, who are pleased with its cleverness. But as we learn from Hans' conversation with Sir Thomas More, there is a puzzle within the puzzle that holds the truth about Richard and his nephews.

I have enjoyed reading Matthew Lewis' histories, such as **A GLIMPSE OF RICHARD III**, and **A GLILMPE OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES**, finding them clear and concise, and very fair, attempting to avoid bias toward either side. I enjoy his novels as well, but for entirely different reasons. Essentially, this is a story of action and suspense, and Lewis builds that very well. There are some errors in grammar, 'it's' for 'its', for example. I see 'I' used in the objective so often (give it to George and I) that I am beginning to think it is accepted usage in the UK.

This is the middle book of a trilogy, and presumably some answers will be found in the next one. Will young Edward continue to lie low? Does Edward of Warwick live happily ever after as Lambert Simnel? Or is Lambert Simnel someone else? Is Richard of York, apprentice brickie, Richard of Eastwell, or is he the young man Francis Lovell sees on the quayside with Margaret as he sails away? Or both? Which one is 'Perkin Warbeck', if any? I am looking forward to the next volume so I can find out, because I'm thoroughly confused now!

A GLIMPSE OF KING RICHARD III—Matthew Lewis, Amazon Digital Services, 2015

As the title indicates, this is a brief overview of the life and accomplishments of the last Plantagenet king. Admitting right up front that he is an avowed Ricardian, and not a professional historian, he nevertheless is fair to both sides, allowing supporters of the conventional view to have their say without razzing. Sometimes he seems to bend over backward. "...it is possible that he intended to take the throne even before he left York...There is no evidence of this man before 1483, yet he certainly emerges during that summer."

This is obviously a good choice for the newcomer to the controversy, but it goes over much information that us old hands already know. Yet even here, there are some new sidelights for example, the sacking of Ludlow when Richard was only seven years old. Most children, at that age, do not relate to the outside world. They take things personally, because that is the extent of their focus. Did he feel abandoned by his father and brothers? Did it have an effect on his later life and actions? “Did he learn the importance of nobility of action from his brave mother? Did he learn real fear? Did he learn that even family could not be trusted?” Was it still having an effect on Richard when he took the kingship from his nephew? “If so, he had waited coldly for over 20 years to take [revenge.] Or perhaps it just made accepting the truth a little easier.” And later, on Bosworth Field, “Perhaps his own abandonment at Ludlow had left a deep mark. He would not do the same to his men and his kingdom.” Another seldom-considered sidelight is the matter of the Harrington-Stanley feud, where Richard chose his side early on. Did this have an effect on the outcome of the battle? Yes, there are lots of ‘perhapses’ here. Were Richard and Anne in love? Nobody knows what goes on behind closed doors, especially ‘when those doors were closed 500 years ago.’

I like Lewis' description of the Kingmaker, who threw 'large banquets, always one course longer and more expensive than anyone else.' But however brief, his consideration of Warwick and the other figures of the 15th century is never flip. He also examines a possible reason for Shakespeare's exaggeration of More's exaggeration of the Tudor myth. Could it have had something to do with the rise of Robert Cecil as one of Elizabeth I's advisers? He was described as a 'scheming, dissembling hunchback.' Was that Our Will's intent, or was it just a rousing good story?

As this is a 'popular' history for the newbie, there are no notes, but there is a list of 'Further Reading.' Experienced Ricardians can also find it worth-while.

Judge me, O Lord, and plead my case.—Henry VII, quoting Scripture to his own purpose

...grudge who grudges, this is how it will be.—Motto of Queen Anne Boleyn

HENRY: Book three of the Tudor Trilogy,—Tony Riches, Presili Press, 201 7

“Henry had a secret, a chilling truth that only he would ever know. He’d never wanted to be king....Given the chance he would live out his days in the Brittany countryside. “The first statement may have been true. Certainly if he could have looked into the future, he might have chosen another road. The second is doubtful. That Henry, a type A personality if there ever was one, would have been happy as just a courtier, with not even a make-weight job, like Groom of the Stool (or the Breton/French equivalent), with no lands, no money, and only an empty title, is unlikely.

Early on, the story finds Henry and Elizabeth in bed, and they are not married yet. Just how that happens, we do not know. Elizabeth is, of course, a virgin, and Henry doesn't have much experience (only one other woman). Maybe they were not sure either. In any case, they turn out to be compatible, and the marriage is a mostly happy one, though they have their ups and downs. Elizabeth has spirit and intelligence. Though she takes no part in governing, she does often take the initiative in their private lives, and in other ways, such as when she interrogates the pretender.

At a later stage, Henry is attracted to Kathryn Gordon, but does nothing about it, at first because he wishes to remain faithful to Elizabeth, then after the queen dies, because it would ‘ruin their relationship,’ which was surely an odd-couple sort of friendship. She also serves as a kind of confidential secretary, being not only more efficient but more decorative than his previous clerical clerk.

In his sympathetic portrait of Henry, Riches demolishes some myths, for one, that Henry was a financial genius. He gambles almost compulsively, and overextends himself in the building of Richmond palace and other projects. Incidentally, Riches describes Richmond as having twelve rooms on each of three floors. If so, it was rather small for a royal palace, but everything first-class, of course. The author is within his rights to invent this description, but I wonder if it could be true?

A number of statements are made that are definitely not true. 'Richard III declared Edward of Warwick illegitimate?' No. Edward Woodville could have been king? No. 'Serving women' waiting on the men in a great household? Not usually. At least they are not called 'wenches.'

This is not a hagiography, however. Riches does not ignore Henry's faults and questionable actions, even as he attempts to understand and explain them. Henry's conscience seems to trouble him more about his sins of omission than those of commission. Like workaholics since the invention of work, he realizes he is ignoring his family, resolves to do better, but falls back into his old ways.

All in all, this is a rather depressing book. Not the fault of the author, nor entirely the fault of the subject. Some of Henry's troubles were self-inflicted, but many were not. Mr. Riches could have elided some of the king's last illnesses, which he suffered every spring from 1507-1509, but he chooses to write about events as they happened. With my usual talent for doing things backwards, I have read the final book in the series first, and am now impelled to go back and read the first two, **OWEN** and **JASPER**.

I cannot live without seeing him every day; he is like my little dog, as soon as he is seen anywhere they know I am coming.—Mary I on her husband, Phillip

KISS OF THE ROSE: The Tudor Vampire Chronicles—Kate Pearce, Signet Eclipse, US, 2010

No, no, no, *no*. Henry Tudor is *not* a vampire. Quite the opposite. In this, he very much wants to be king, but realizes he needs a miracle. So, with the help of a trusted servant, John Llewellyn, he makes arrangements to sell his soul to the druids. They don't want his slightly shop-worn soul; they only want to be accepted into his court, so they might fight against their ancient foes, the vampires. This seems to Henry like a reasonable request. What could go wrong?

Fast-forward to 1529. Druids and vampires are still feuding, each feeling they have the moral high ground. The vampires—most of them—only take enough blood to keep them undead, whereas the druids use blood sacrifices. The druids protest that they don't do that anymore. Here we have Rosalind Llewellyn, vampire-slayer and John's granddaughter; Christopher Ellis, follower of the cult of Mithras, sworn to aid the vampires and slay druids; Elias Warren, member of the Vampire Council, who has retractable fangs, and no fear of daylight or crosses; Rhys Williams, Rosalind's devoted servant and unrequited lover; and a very old, very evil, very wily vampiress, who wants to kill King Henry VIII and anyone else who gets in her way. The first four find common cause to, at least temporarily, team up against the last. The eternal triangle very much resembles a pentagram!

Those who like this kind of story will like this. I don't much care for the type, but I have to admit that it is logical on its own terms, and will-written, with about equal amounts of sex and hearts-and-flowers. Anyhow, the idea of a vampire-slayer who is afraid of the dark is intriguing.

Oh, and this is only the first of a series. Anne Boleyn has not showed up on the fictional scene yet.

Who seeketh two strings to one bowe, he may shute strong but never strait.-

Elizabeth I

THE COLOUR OF GOLD—Toni Mount, MadeGlobal Publishing, 2017

This is sort of a semi-sequel to **THE COLOUR OF POISON**, reviewed here previously. It is a semi-sequel because it is a short story rather than a novel. Sebastian and Jude Foxley have come up in the world, being now (1475) freemen of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, Seb is getting married to Emily Appleyard, and by tradition, is to wear the Company's solid gold collar that is kept, most of the time, on a statue of St Peter in the Foxley's parish church.

Everyone is in a heightened state of nerves: Jude: "I don't care if the Virgin Mary mended them for you, my brother is not going to his wedding wearing mended hose." The fact that the Duke of Gloucester is going to attend makes them even more nervous. But it is not the state of their clothing that is the big problem. When they go to pick it up, the gold collar has turned up missing. Then it turns up found—in the Foxley's own quarters. But it is discovered to be a fake. Rather than allowing Seb to wear the tawdry thing, Richard loans Seb his own gold collar, so here it is the groom who wears something new (his hose), something borrowed, and something blue (his doublet). The wedding comes off in good order—well, scratch those last three words. Let's just say it was a reception not soon forgotten. And of course, Seb determines the true culprit in good time.

A picture of life among the common folk, which is neither too glamorized nor too gritty, and something to tide fans of medieval mysteries over until Mount's new novel came out.

THE COLOUR OF COLD BLOOD—Toni Mount, MadeGlobal Press, Almeria, Spain, 2017

And here it is! It's a year later than the wedding celebrated in **THE COLOUR OF GOLD**, and Sebastian and Emily Foxley are still very much in love, but in-law problems are rearing their ugly head—specifically with Seb's brother Jude. Lollardy is rife in London, and Seb literally bumps into it—or anyway bumps (innocently) into a good-time girl who unknowingly is in possession of pages from a Lollard bible. He undertakes to teach her to read and write from a safer textbook—*Aesop's Fables*—but heresy has crept closer to Sebastian's household than he realizes.

Sebastian's household now includes a journeyman, Gabe, and two apprentices, Tom and Jack (to say nothing of the dog), as well as the semi-competent maid, Nessie. We get to observe their daily life, and the goings-on in the neighborhood. Jack has not abandoned all of his street-urchin ways. He still eats like there's no tomorrow. As Jude says, he 'could eat a roasted toad.' There is a new priest come to assist Father Thomas, one Hugh Wessel. Everybody calls him 'Weasel' and it fits.

Dead bodies begin to turn up. Jude is part-time coroner's man, and Sebastian is a limner who is often called on to draw unidentified bodies so they may be identified. Is Seb going to leave it at that? Hardly. Jude calls his brother 'a one-man crusade.' One of the victims turns out to be an acquaintance of Seb's, which makes him more determined than ever to find the culprit. While this could be termed a Medieval 'cozy' detective story, Seb seems to find himself in as many tight scrapes and life-threatening situations as any hard-boiled 'tec. To make the mixture a little richer, there is a Ripper-like murderer, but none of this feels contrived.

Any good novel of suspense has to have conflict, and that is provided, first by a rift in the lute of Sebastian and Emily's happy married life. And secondly, by Sebastian's crisis of conscience. Can Seb find it in his heart to aid a heretic to avoid a grisly death? Surprisingly,

he finds allies in good Catholics like Dr. Dagvyle and Emily's father, the carpenter, who don't hold with Lollardy, but don't hold with the injustice associated with the Inquisition either.

I can't help having a fondness for Sebastian Foxley. Like me, he is a grammar freak. Here, he is trying to correct Jack for saying "I seed it."

"That 'seed' is a noun. The past tense of the verb 'to see' is 'saw'. If you see something on a past occasion, then you saw it."

"Why is it? If I be good this day, then I must'a bore good yesterday, an' I know that ain't right. Boar's a wild pig."

"God give me strength...If I wanted to be a pedagogue, I would have set up school. It's just the way it works, Jack."

Unfortunately, shortly after this conversation, the author uses 'assiduous' (adj) where she should have used 'assiduously' (adv). Oh well, everyone slips up sometimes. Except for what seems to be the modern tendency to use 'I' in the objective, Ms. Mount's story is remarkably free of errors.

There is a cliffhanger at the end,, but have no fear. Sebastian and his family and friends will be back in the next book in the series, **THE COLOUR OF TREACHERY**, and there is a fifth in the works, plus an e-book, **THE FOXLEY LETTERS**, being letters to us from Sebastian, Emily, Jack and Jude (who gives us a run-down on all the best taverns in London). In her afterword, the author tells us how she came to write about the Middle Ages, and how her characters began 'to take on a life of their own.' Perhaps this is why Ms. Mount's characters seem so real. They may inhabit a fictional world, but they are real people. Sebastian even has a website of his own, sebastianfoxley.com.

No, but I shall have mistresses.—George II, on his wife's deathbed wish that he remarry.

Mein Gott, you can do both.—Queen Caroline's reply.

THE KING'S NIECE—Liz Orwin, Kindle Edition, 2013

THE KING'S WIFE—Liz Orwin, Kindle Edition, 2015

These books make up the *Changes of Apparel* series. The first book covers the Twelve Nights of Christmas in 1484, when poor-relation Elizabeth of York is dressed in royal style. The queen seems to be grooming her to be Richard's next queen, while almost everyone else seems to be trying to push her into his bed—everyone except Richard. Elizabeth has mixed feelings. She is attracted to him, yet fears him. She also wants to know what happened to her brothers, and to do that, she must gain his trust, and to do that, she must spend more time with him. Richard tries to convince her that his interest is familial. "You are the daughter I never had." (But he had one, albeit illegitimate.) He must finally face the truth, and the further truth: that they can never marry. The author keeps putting them in provocative situations, though.

Richard does finally tell Elizabeth about her brothers: "Edward died in the Tower...but not at my hands...though he might as well have done for all the care I showed him. He faded...faded and died...If I had stayed in London, if I had made other arrangements. I do not know where your brother is buried." Edward's death took place when the king was on progress, and by the time he got back, it is implied, it was too late to do anything but get the younger boy to a place of safety.

THE KING'S WIFE opens the next day after the close of **THE KING'S NIECE**, and runs till shortly after the death of Queen Anne, though there is an epilogue in January of 1485. Aside from the queen being sicker, not much has changed. "You still fear me,

Elizabeth. For the Lord knows, I fear myself.” The story gives the impression of being stretched out. With about enough story for a book and a half, or maybe one and a third, she tries to make it into two books. In order to do this, Elizabeth has to go through a lot of angst, a deal of depression, and a lot of complaining about the problems of being a woman in her time. Younger sister Cecily has to lecture her like a stern maiden aunt, but Cecily has her own blind spot in regard to her suitor, Ralph Scrope. At one point, Cecily tells Elizabeth to ‘come out of her maudlin.’

Other characters cross over from one book to the other, including the ragged kitchen-boy, Thomas, who rises to the position of page and go-between to Elizabeth; Richard Ratcliffe, who comes from common lineage and has risen to the position of knight and adviser to the king; and Margaret Beaufort, of course. Elizabeth's other aunt, the Duchess of Suffolk, calls her ‘Mother Superior.’

At the end of the second book, Elizabeth is to choose another change of apparel, this time for her wedding, but she has a much more limited choice.

Ms. Orwin, a British-born New Zealander, has written several other books, at least two about our period. They are **THE MAID'S TALE: ANNE** (about Anne Neville) and **THE MAID'S TALE: JOHANNE**. That's for another day.

...although they cannot now see the gentle face of their beloved daughter, they may be sure that she has found a second father who would ever watch over her happiness and never permit her to want anything that he could procure for her.—Henry VII to Ferdinand and Isabella

CATHERINE OF ARAGON: An Intimate Life of Henry VIII's True Queen—Amy Licence, Amberley Publishing, Glos., 2016

Ms. Licence has written a number of women's histories and biographies, and now turns her attention to a Tudor queen. In spite of being an English queen, Catherine remained a Spaniard in her mind her whole life long. The first part of this book, book-length in itself, is a study of the Spanish house of Trastamara. It's peculiar how the history of many nations seems to run in parallel. The 15th century saw dynastic wars in countries as far removed as Japan and Scandinavia, but the histories of the Trastamaras and the Plantagenets seem eerily similar: impotent kings, militant queens, madness, charges of bastardy, even incest. Catherine's great-grandmother, the grandmother of the great Isabella of Castille, married her uncle John of Portugal. Half-uncle, if you want to be technical. I suppose that makes all the difference.

Isabella was a near contemporary of Richard III, just one year older, and was considered as a possible bride for him at one time. Ricardo y Isabella, Los Reyes Catolicos? Imagine!

As the subtitle indicates, the author is an advocate for her subject. She is scrupulously fair, though. She maintains that both Catherine and Arthur may have been telling the truth, as they perceived it, about their wedding night.

Recommended, as with most of Ms. Licence's studies. (I won't say all because I haven't read all of them yet.)

Dat is one big lie!—George II, on learning he had become king

RICHARD III: KING OF CONTROVERSY—Toni Mount, Amazon Digital Services, 2015

This is a brief review of a brief, but generally rewarding, overview of the controversy surrounding Richard, aimed at an age group from 10-18. Ten-year-olds might need to go to a dictionary now and then,—that's a good thing, isn't it?—but adults should be able to enjoy it as written. Ms. Mount does not ‘write down’ to her audience. A few caveats: the

author refers to a planned marriage between Elizabeth of York and the Earl of Desmond. Whatever happened to Manuel de Beja? She also seems, like Lewis, to be fond of substitution capers. Please, only one to a customer.

It's all to do with training; you can do a lot if you are properly trained.—Elizabeth II
BENEDICTION—Virginia Cross, Ft. Collins, Co., 2017

The blurb on the back cover tells us that the author's "friends and family are convinced that she earned a doctorate in psychology in order to understand Richard and his world even better." She succeeded to a remarkable degree. The story covers Richard III's life from childhood to death on Bosworth Field. Sensitive souls might be tempted to skip the last few pages, as they are harrowing.

Ms. Cross treats Richard sympathetically, but he is not an angel. He can be a bit selfish at times. He can also be fearful. He really does not wish to die. In short, he is very human. Although a product of the 15th Century, we can easily relate to him. One way the author achieves this is by writing in good modern English. Most of the time, this rings true. In one amusing scene, Francis Lovell tries to excuse himself from Richard's presence by saying "I have some letters to post." She has Brit-speak correct—"post" instead of 'mail'—but the post (or mail) system did not exist then. However, that's the only error I caught.

There will be no sequel to this novel, as the author is deceased. It would be difficult to find anything to add, in any case, as this is so much Richard's story..

The book is also available in several e-book formats. (Does the Gentle Reader deduce that I have a new play—toy?)

...it makes no matter...it is no impartial court for me.—Queen Catherine of Aragon

THE PRINCES IN THE TOWER: COLD CASE RE-OPENED (True Historical Crime)—Mark Garber, Amazon Digital services, 2014

Mark Garber admits that he doesn't even have an O-level in history, and is not a professional writer, though he writes as well as a lot of 'professional' authors whose work has come across this desk. He is a retired policeman, with 22 years on the Metropolitan Police Force. He tells us: "Think of me as the bumbling but lovable, cigar-smoking Lt. Colombo." In his Colombo mode, Garber deplores, as he should, the contamination of the evidence of the bones. Where did that scrap of velvet come from? However, in the denouement of the book, he will adopt the techniques of Ellery Queen or Hercule Poirot, gathering all the suspects in a room, to eliminate them one by one. Some of our old favorites are here, including Margaret Beaufort. Richard is not cleared of all guilt; the author considers him guilty of usurpation and possibly having an affair with his niece (as a policeman, he has probably seen worse things), but he doesn't think Richard a leading contender for murderer.

Who done it? Henry Tudor, who had the strongest motive. Here, I am going to channel another fictional detective, and call your attention to the case of the ecclesiastical dog that did not bark in the night. Why did nobody offer masses for the souls of the boys? Why, in particular, did the 'very pious' Henry do so, when he had every reason to publicize their demise, and Richard's guilt in it? If he couldn't do this in 1486 because the bodies were too 'fresh,' he certainly could have done so in 1499, to put the matter of 'Perkin Warbeck' to rest, and had even more reason following the trial and execution of James Tyrell?

I don't mind revealing the spoiler here, because the real surprise is the identity of the First Runner-up Murderer, and no, I'm not telling that.

Mr. Garber makes his arguments clearly and concisely, in only 88 pages. He brings up some interesting questions: Who is buried in Edward IV's grave? Was Thomas More playing an elaborate practical joke? Was there a changeling mixed up in this? You may not agree with the author's conclusions, but they are worth your interest.

There is a second book in the series, **THE SECRET OF THE VIRGIN QUEEN**, with perhaps more to come.

I never allow anybody to drink water at my table.—William IV

Little man, little man, 'must' is not a word to be used to princes.—Elizabeth

I

DR. WILLIAM HOBBS: The Promiscuous King's Promiscuous Doctor—Ornsby Hyde, Dorrance Publishing Co. Pittsburgh, PA, 2017

The title is somewhat misleading. One might think this is a history or biography. It is a novel. One might also think it is about Dr. Hobbys' private life. Though he does get himself involved in a messy divorce (his own), the story is more about his professional life, as physician to three generations of the York family. Hobbys, a combination of hero/anti-hero, is also a one-man MASH unit at times, and fills some of the functions of a medical examiner. At least his deceased patients don't give him as much trouble as the living ones. Edward IV is a demanding patient. "GET ME BETTER," he shouts, and he won't cut back on the groceries, no matter what the doctor recommends. Richard of Gloucester is an even worse one. Injured in battle, he won't take bed rest or opiates. He refuses to believe there is anything wrong with his back, until he sees it with his own eyes and a couple of mirrors, then he argues with the doctor about his treatment. Stretching exercises? He 'could have that done for nothing at the Tower.' He finally agrees to wear a brace.

Some examples of Dr. Hobby's herbal prescriptions are given, some of which might even work. (Do not try this at home, however.) There are some things William Hobbys doesn't know—can't know. He thinks Henry VI must have some kind of 'purple melancholy.' We would call it porphyria. But given the limitations of his times, he is a competent doctor, and is highly critical of his contemporaries who are not. It is amusing to watch Hobbys and Dr. John Argentine being icily polite, yet very catty, with each other. (Men being catty? Professional men? Nah, couldn't be!)

The author provides an explanation for the disappearance of the Princes, a very plausible one, and an explanation of the bones in the urn (not the same thing). This theory, I think, is less likely. But in a fictional setting I am willing to accept anything short of alien abduction. Matter of fact, that has been done too, in Margaret Peterson Haddix's **FOUND**.

This book does take a short excursion into time travel. The story is book ended by short scenes of a pair of Ricardian scientists in the late 21st century being invited to Buckingham Palace by the Sovereign—not named, but male. Could it be, maybe, George VII?

And, speaking of bookends, this takes us back to a fitting bookend for a column that began with **DICKON'S DIARIES**.

I've tried him drunk and I've tried him sober, but there's nothing in him.—

Charles II on his relative-by-marriage, George of Denmark.

RICHARD III AND CLARENCE—Kari August, Mountain Track Publishing, Estes Park, CO, 2017

This is a sequel to the author's time-travel novel, **THE RETURN OF RICHARD III**, and will probably make more sense if one reads that book first. Or maybe not. The premise is that Richard has returned to his proper place in heaven, which seems to be at the poker

table with his brother Edward, Peter (the Great, Tsar), Teddy (Roosevelt), Genghis (Khan), Crazy (Horse), and the Head Honcho Himself. Big mistake. Richard finds himself transported to what he thinks must be hell. (Close, it's Miami, FL) It is there he is re-united with living members of his far-flung family, specifically Clarence. Not George, but an umpteen-times removed cousin with that given name, who is a developer with political ambitions. (Hmm m.) Clarence is not the milquetoast that the name suggests. He and Richard go mano a mano (if that's the right term) with an alligator. That is, Clarence wrestles it and Richard gives the *coup de gras*. Richard's other cousin from Colorado turns up, and other friends, and relatives of friends, and friends of relatives, and Richard, do-gooder that he is, tries to help all of them. At the end, he can return to his proper place, with the assurance of a job well done. But he has one more self-appointed task: to re-unite Edward and Clarence (Duke of, given name George). And by the way, where in Heaven *is* George? Apparently, there are different branches of Heaven, and a resident can avoid meeting those he might be on less than friendly terms with. Thus Richard can ignore the thieving Tudors and the barbarian Scots and Germans who succeeded them. (Genghis Khan, OK, in spite of his terrible table manners; Queen Victoria, not OK). George is eventually found, but things do not go swimmingly at first. A lot of snark gets passed back and forth. However, Richard has the solution: a game—definitely not poker!

If you get the idea that I am not taking this book very seriously, you are correct. I don't think the author meant for it to be taken that way.

Finally, an observation on authors, which might also be taken as an observation on reviewers, though I'm not quite sure if those last two words mean 'silenced' or 'locked up.'

People who write books ought to be shut up.—George V

~ToC~

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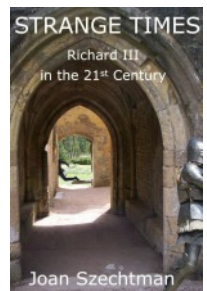
Haunted by the legend Francis, Lord Lovell starved to death while trapped in an underground vault, Richard risks his future to save his dearest friend.

STRANGE TIMES

Richard III in the 21st Century (Book 3)

Joan Szechtman

Available in paper back and digital editions at the usual suspects





ex libris

While our research librarian, Susan Troxell takes a much needed vacation, Gilda Felt, is stepping in with news about the American Branch's Ricardian Fiction Library.

The flood of Richard III novels has lessened to a trickle, but the library has still managed to acquire some great additions since the last website update of February, 2017. *Benediction*, by Virginia Cross is actually a paperback replacement of a book we only had as a somewhat cumbersome xerox copy. So if that's stopped anyone from wanting to borrow it, now's your chance.

Richard and Clarence: Volume 2, by Kari August, was a donation by the author's daughters, who had the book printed posthumously. So thanks you, Beth and Jeni. It's a sequel to *The Arrival of Richard III*.

Another donation is from our own Joan Szechtman. It's a trilogy of books chronicling the story of Richard III in the 21st Century. The third book, *Strange Times*, has only recently been published, and, though the library already had the first two books, *This Time*, and *Loyalty Binds Me*, Joan graciously sent us the second edition of the first two books and the newly published third book, rounding out the set.

After I was given the okay to sell off all the duplicates in the fiction library, I posted the sale to the Yahoo group. It was also posted to the member-wide email. So far, we've garnered \$202.90. But there are still plenty of books left! Synopses of the books can be found on the Society's website by downloading the fiction library file.

Unless noted, hardbacks are \$2.50 and paperbacks are \$1. Price does not include shipping. I can be contacted at gildaevf@comcast.net.

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 - The Crowned Boar (Son of York)
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 —The Sun in Splendour
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Many thanks to all who contributed to this issue of the *Ricardian Register*. The quality of the *Register* depends on these and future contributions. Please note the submission guidelines (below) to help me concentrate on the content instead of the format. Do contact me if you have any questions about formatting your document. I'd be delighted to help

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- Word doc or docx file type or Open Office Writer odt file type, or rtf file type
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- Use standard fonts such as Times New Roman, Calibri, or Verdana. Avoid fonts that you had to purchase. I use Times New Roman throughout the publication.
- Images that are in the public domain should be stated as such, those that are not require permissions and attributions
- Image size should be at least 300 dpi, which means a 1" X 2" image at a minimum should be 300 pxls X 600 pxls
- Paper must have references in the form of endnotes or footnotes (which I'll convert to endnotes) and/or Bibliography. Papers that do not require references are travel notes (e.g. report on a Ricardian tour), review of a lecture, and essays.
- Copy deadlines (submissions may be accepted for each issue after stated deadline, but not guaranteed):
 - March issue is January 1
 - September issue is July 1

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Front cover:

King Richard III by **Jamal Mustafa**

Stained Glass Studio, Birmingham UK , stainedglassic.com, email: theportraitartist@gmail.com

Richard III

Photo of reconstruction from skeleton taken by Joan Szechtman from display at York Museum

Richard III Forever



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