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King Richard III

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Wayne Ingalls, Membership Chair
704 NW Euclid Ave.
Lawton, OK 73507
membership@r3.org

New American Branch Website Launches

Cheryl Greer, Webmaster

A new website for the American Branch was unveiled in January. The new site is a slimmed-down, informative, resource for members and casual browsers alike. It reflects current web design trends, is easier to navigate, and more importantly, is functional on mobile and tablet devices as well as desktop computers. We've placed Branch News front and center on the homepage, created a FAQ page for our members, and provided updated information about our unique programs, such as the preservation of US copies of the "Edward IV Roll."

Last summer, the Board engaged former Membership Chair Cheryl Greer to build a new site built on the WordPress platform. Website Working Group composed of Acting Chairperson Susan Troxell, Membership Chair Wayne Ingalls, American Branch publications editor Joan Szechtman, and new member Colleen Goos supported the planning and design process.

A particular challenge during the planning process was not in choosing what content to add to the new site, but rather in deciding what to omit! As one of the very first Society sites on the internet, the American website had become a repository for reference materials which, at the time, were not available elsewhere. With the explosion of library digitization efforts over the years, our working group undertook a careful process to review material on the former site and, where possible, replace with links to high-quality digitized copies on sites such as Internet Archive (archive.org/) and the HathiTrust Digital Library (hathitrust.org/).

In the final phase of site development, the website team uploaded and indexed our archived *Ricardian Registers* dating back to 1966 into a searchable online library that (we hope) will allow researchers to find information more easily. These massive projects were inestimably aided by the librarians on our Working Group: Colleen Goos and Cheryl Greer both hold degrees in librarianship, and Susan Troxell is the Branch Non-Fiction Librarian.

Our new site would also not be possible without the fine eye for detail of Joan Szechtman and the years of experience of all aspects of the Branch and its history brought by Wayne Ingalls. The Board and Website Working Group would especially like to recognize our former Webmaster, Lisa Holt-Jones, for her many years of service.

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John Gunthorpe: Keeper of Richard III's Privy Seal, Dean of Wells Cathedral

A Compton Reeves

Centuries after his death in 1498, the memory of John Gunthorpe lives on primarily in two circles: that of persons interested in one of England's most enigmatic and controversial kings, Richard III, with whom Gunthorpe was closely associated, and that of persons interested in the architectural monuments financed by Gunthorpe surviving in the county of Somerset. The affiliation of Gunthorpe with King Richard III and the royal house of York is a convenient point at which to begin the unfolding of Gunthorpe's life story.

When Duke Richard of Gloucester, brother of the late King Edward IV, took the English throne as King Richard III, circumstances confronted him with a multitude of tasks. One of those tasks was to ensure that the three major departments of the royal central administration, the Exchequer, the Chancery, and the Office of the Privy Seal, were headed by reliable men.[1] To lead the Exchequer as Treasurer of England, Richard III selected the Sussex and Surrey knight and former speaker of the Commons, Sir John Wood. [2] Edward IV's treasurer since 1471, Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex, had died on 4 April 1483, just five days before the king he served. During the last years of Bourchier's life, Wood had served as under-treasurer, and thus his appointment in May 1483 during the nominal reign of Edward V and during the protectorate of Richard of Gloucester was one of continuity and of experience in office that was confirmed by Richard III on 27 June, the day after his accession to the throne. Thus there was continuity in the leadership of the Exchequer, although Wood himself lived only until August 1484. When Edward IV died his chancellor was Thomas Rotherham, who had served Edward IV from 1472 until 1480 while he was bishop of Lincoln and continuing from 1480 after he had become archbishop of York.[3] On 10 May 1483 the current bishop of Lincoln, John Russell, assumed the chancellorship, replacing Rotherham, and Russell was reappointed by Richard III on 27 June. The transition in leadership for the Chancery was less easy than at the Exchequer, for Richard acting as protector had removed Rotherham from office soon after the death of Edward IV.[4] Rotherham's actions after the death of Edward are part of the body of evidence suggesting that the family and supporters of Edward's widow, Queen Elizabeth Woodville, constituted a faction seeking to gamer political power in the name of Edward's and Elizabeth's elder son, who in April 1483 it was presumed would reign as King Edward V, and to compromise

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[1] The officers and dates mentioned below are drawn from E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, eds., *Handbook of British Chronology,* 3rd ed. (London 1986) 88, 96, 107.

[2] See J. S. Roskell, *The Commons and Their Speakers in English Parliaments, 1376-1523* (Manchester 1965) 291-293; idem, "Sir John Wood of Molesey," *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 56 (1959) 15-28; J. C. Smith, "John Wood, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1482-4," *The Genealogist,* New Series 36 (1919-1920) 57-61; J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509* (London 1936) 965-966; and F. L. Wood, "Sir John Wood, Treasurer," *Notes and Queries,* Series 12, 8 (1921) 206-207; 11 (1922) 408-410.

[3] John Alcock, bishop of Rochester, was chancellor for a few months in 1475 while Rotherham accompanied Edward IV on the king's military expedition to France.

[4] A. 8. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. J500,* 3 vols. (Oxford 1957-1959) 3.1594.

the power of Duke Richard of Gloucester, who had been accepted as protector of the young Edward. Chancellor Rotherham had neglected to inform Duke Richard of the death of his royal brother, and had pledged his fealty to Queen Elizabeth. He was arrested along with William, Lord Hastings on 13 June, but did not suffer the punishment of beheading as did Hastings.[5] Rotherham lost the chancellorship, but secured his life and freedom.

The Office of the Privy Seal was without a keeper in May 1483 as a result of the transfer of Bishop Russell from the keepership of the privy seal to the chancellorship.[6] John Gunthorpe was appointed keeper on 10 May under the authority of Richard of Gloucester, who had formally been named protector two days before, and Richard as king reappointed Gunthorpe on 27 June. The appointment was reiterated on 6 July[7] (noting Gunthorpe's per diem salary of 20s.), the day of Richard Ill's magnificent coronation ceremony in Westminster Abbey. John Gunthorpe was the only keeper of the privy seal to serve Richard III and, while he was no stranger to Richard and the Yorkist family, he was not an entirely obvious choice for the keepership. For instance, if Richard of Gloucester was indeed fearful of a Woodville faction in 1483, why then should he select as keeper of the privy seal a former secretary to Queen Elizabeth? It is in part the perennial enigma of King Richard III that ineluctably draws attention to John Gunthorpe. There can be no reasonable doubt that Gunthorpe was Richard's choice to hold one of the great offices of the kingdom, and Gunthorpe's continuity in office suggests that Richard found no fault with Gunthorpe's advisory and administrative performance at the center of government. If there is any validity to the old wisdom that a man can be judged by the company he keeps, then those caught in the struggle to understand King Richard III might well gain a shred of understanding by coming to know John Gunthorpe, who by invitation kept company with King Richard. An inquiry into what Richard of Gloucester might have found sufficiently compelling about Gunthorpe to cause him to trust Gunthorpe with the highest secular office of Gunthorpe's life demands at the outset the construction of a 1483 resume for the keeper of Richard Ill's privy seal.

THE FOUNDATION OF GUNTHORPE'S CAREER

Essentially no evidence seems to have survived about the earliest years of the man whom Richard III selected to be keeper of his privy seal. Gunthorpe is a toponymic, but there was a Gunthorpe in the counties of Norfolk and Rutland, as well as in Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and Nottinghamshire. Two of these possibilities merit consideration. A piece of evidence suggests that his name comes from the Nottinghamshire village, for in a papal letter Gunthorpe is described as being from the archdiocese of York, and a Nottinghamshire origin would be a geographical fit.[8] Furthermore, rents from the Nottinghamshire village of Gunthorpe formed part of the dower of Henry VI's queen, Katherine of Valois, and of Henry Vi's queen, Margaret of Anjou.[9] Gunthorpe was a student at Cambridge University while Margaret of Anjou was queen, and her interest in the university was expressed in the foundation of Queen's College in the late 1440s, which complemented her husband's foundation of King's College. It could be imagined that the

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[6] Ibid. 96.

[7] Thomas Rymer, ed., *Foedera, conventions, letterae et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios* ..., 17 vols. (London 1704-1717) 12.194

[8] *Calendar of Papal Lelters (1458-71)* 388. Hereafter cited as *CPL.*

[9] Anne Cuny, ed., "Henry VI: Parliament of 1422, Text and Translation," *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England,* ed. C. Given-Wilson, et al., item 40, CD-ROM (Leicester 2005). Hereafter cited as *PROME;* idem, ed., "Henry VI: Parliament of 1445," *PROME,* Petition number 1.

chance of geography brought some queenly patronage to a bright young man from the queen's dower lands. Such a supposition has plausibility, and it could be buttressed or demolished by the discovery of further evidence about the intriguing mystery of who might have given Gunthorpe a push early in his career. A queenly fact to be kept in mind is that Gunthorpe was later to be for a time secretary to Edward IV's queen, Elizabeth Woodville, whose refoundation of Queen's College in 1475 converted its name to Queens' College. At the same time, there is no record of Gunthorpe having had affiliation with either royal collegiate foundation or, moreover, that he was among the students privileged to live in any of Cambridge's colleges.[10] In the book chapter he devoted to Gunthorpe, Christopher Woodforde inclined towards Nottinghamshire as being his subject's shire of origin, citing heraldic evidence and the contemporary Thomas Gunthorpe, who was prior of the house of Augustinian canons at Newstead in Nottinghamshire but who Woodforde was unable to connect by kinship with John.[11] The other shire, and one that Woodforde himself suggested,[12] that might claim Gunthorpe as a native son is Lincolnshire. In his brief will, Gunthorpe bequeathed for her life to his sister, Helen, and her husband John Welles, the sum of 100 marks and all lands held by Gunthorpe in Lincolnshire.[13] On 10 November 1481 a group of nine men, among whom Gunthorpe was named first, obtained a royal license to found and endow a guild in the parish church of St. Mary in North Somercotes, Lincolnshire.[14] The leading layman in the foundation was Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam (d. 1497), a lawyer whose chief estates were at Mablethorpe and Louth in Lincolnshire and who frequently sat as a member of the Commons, of which he would be Speaker in 1489-1490.[15] In his capacity of Recorder of London in 1483, Fitzwilliam seconded the request made by the duke of Buckingham in the Guildhall that Richard of Gloucester take the crown. The residence of his sister, his lands, the parish guild at North Somercotes, and the heraldic associations mentioned by Woodforde,[16] all favor Lincolnshire as the ancestral origin for Gunthorpe. The matter of the papal letter mentioning Gunthorpe as being from the diocese of York could be resolved by the discovery of a letter dimissory allowing him to be ordained by any bishop, which might have been an archbishop of York, although no record of Gunthorpe's ordination has come to light during research for this study.

At least by not being a southerner, Gunthorpe's geographical origins might have recommended him to Richard of Gloucester in 1483, but there were other more important credentials. Gunthorpe was a learned man. He completed the arts course of study at Cambridge University and was admitted as a master of arts by 1452.[17] In usual practice at this time, a new master would be required to remain at the university for a year teaching as a regent master, although so long as a master lectured, engaged in disputations, and participated in other aspects of academic life he could remain a regent master. [18] This is seemingly what Gunthorpe did, and he may have been contemplating a career as a regent

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[10] A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to l 500* (Cambridge 1963) 275-277, 677.

[11] Christopher Woodforde, *Stained Glass in Somerset, 1250-1830* (London 1946) 139-141, 144-148.

[12] lbid. 137-139, 141.

[13] F. W. Weaver, ed., *Somerset Medieval Wills (1383-1500)* (London 1901) 361-362.

[14] *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1476-85)* 250. Hereafter cited as *CPR.* The purpose of the guild was to fund a chaplain who would pray for the wellbeing and the souls of the king and queen, the founders of the guild, and the brothers and sisters of the guild, and also to engage in other works of piety.

[15] Roskell, (n. 2 above) 300-302; Wedgwood (n. 2 above) 336-337.

[16] Woodforde (n. 11 above) 137-139, 141.

[17] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 275. As an aide-memoire to the generational difference between the two men, it may be noted that Gunthorpe became a master of arts in the year Richard III was born.

[18] S. M. Leathes, ed., *Grace Book A,* Luard Memorial Series I (Cambridge 1897) xxvi.

master *(regere scholas*), for in 1454 he was elected to a year's term as junior proctor of the university. At Cambridge there were two proctors elected each year to work with the chancellor as the primary executive officers of the university.[19] The proctors were elected by the direct vote of the regent masters, and the one garnering the most votes became the senior proctor while the runner-up became the junior proctor. The senior proctor for the year 1454-1455 and for the next year was Henry Boleyn (d. 1482), who went on to earn a doctorate in theology.[20] Being a proctor provided hands-on administrative experience because the proctors had many responsibilities in the quotidian life of the university. To them and the chancellor fell the direction of the many aspects of university life. The proctors scheduled lectures, disputations, inceptions and other public ceremonies, including the funerals of masters. The proctors helped to maintain discipline by reporting offenders among the university community to the chancellor and by keeping a list of evildoers. They might patrol the streets in times of tension or serve on building committees. For the economic protection of the scholars, the proctors kept watch for commercial malpractices in Cambridge, such as victuals of poor quality, inaccurate weights and measures, and price gouging. The proctors kept two of the three keys to the university chest, the other being in the possession of the chancellor or vice-chancellor. Because the university had no professional financial officers, it was the proctors who rendered annual accounts of income and expenditure for the university, and the brief account for Gunthorpe's year as junior proctor survives, although it is damaged. [21] The account suggests that in financial matters Gunthorpe's attention was taken up with the receipt of ordinary sources of income and expenses targeted at building maintenance. A master could be reelected after his term, but Gunthorpe's duties in the office of junior proctor ended in 1455.

In the same year that Gunthorpe was elected junior proctor by the regent masters of Cambridge, a new bishop was appointed to lead the diocese in which Cambridge University lay. William Grey had become a master of arts at Oxford University some twenty years before becoming bishop of Ely.[22] He was an ecclesiastic with an active interest in the humanistic fashion of learning current in Italy who, after being at Oxford, had studied at the University of Cologne, and then at Padua where he earned his doctorate in divinity in 1445. Grey had then moved on to become a pupil of Guarino da Verona at Ferrara. Guarino was a famous scholar who Marquis Niccolo III d'Este had invited to Ferrara in 1436 to teach rhetoric in the recently established studio in Ferrara.[23] Niccolo and his son Leonello were fervent supporters of humanistic studies in the city where they dominated political life. The educational background of Bishop Grey of Ely makes him an attractive possibility for having been the inspiration and perhaps even the patron behind Gunthorpe's going off to study in Italy.

Gunthorpe went to Italy and was in Ferrara in August 1460, although it seems most likely that he arrived in the city some time before that date.[24] He noted on the colophon of

[19] A. B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to* c. *J500* (Berkeley 1988) 76-82; Leathes, ed., *Grace Book A* ix, xxxiv-xxxv.
[20] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 70.
[21] Leathes, ed., *Grace Book A* (n. 18 above) 1-3.
[22] Emden, *RegisterofOxford (n.* 4 above) 2.809-814.
[23] R. J. Mitchell, *John Free* (London 1955) 51.
[24] Ibid. 47, 82; Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford 1941) 123.

the copy he had been making of Seneca's *Tragedies*[25] that he was attending the lectures of Guarino on rhetoric at Ferrara and that he had completed his transcription in August 1460. The transcription on paper of Seneca shows also that Gunthorpe was laboring to develop his calligraphic skills along the lines of the Italian revival of antique-inspired scripts, as his hand in the manuscript steadily metamorphosed from gothic secretary to humanistic cursive.[26] The transcription may indeed survive in England today as much because of Gunthorpe's delight in his student exercise in handwriting as because of his interest in Seneca. While in Italy, Gunthorpe was not only able to cultivate his Latin style, but also to learn Greek, and there are notes in Greek written in Gunthorpe's hand on the copy he made of Seneca's *Tragedies.* Guarino died at the end of 1460, and perhaps it was the death of his teacher that caused Gunthorpe in time to move on. It is worth noting that in the funeral oration given by Lodovico Carbone following Guarino's death, Gunthorpe was mentioned as one of the late master's most distinguished students.[27] Gunthorpe's itinerary after leaving Ferrara is unknown, and it is possible but not certain that he visited Padua before reaching Rome, where he established himself in papal service.

In January 1462 Gunthorpe was formally taken into papal service. Philip, cardinal priest of St. Laurence's in Lucina and penitentiary of Pope Pius II (who as Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini had visited Britain), examined Gunthorpe for fitness, and the pope appointed Gunthorpe as papal chaplain and a minor penitentiary in St. Peter's Basilica and in the Papal Curia.[28] Gunthorpe's major responsibility was to consider the confessions and ensuing requests presented formally in writing by speakers of English who came as supplicants to Rome.[29] The petitions presented were not in the words of the penitent, but in correct legal Latin. Another Englishman who was in Rome was John Free (or Phreas), an Oxford master of arts who went to Italy and, earlier than Gunthorpe, became a pupil of Guarino da Verona in Ferrara.Jo Free went to Italy as a protege of Bishop Grey of Ely, and in 1461, after Guarino's death, Free completed a doctorate in medicine at the University of Padua. Then Free, like Gunthorpe, made his way to Rome. That Free and Gunthorpe were friends has long been conjectured.[31] John Free died in Rome in 1465, and part of his library came into the possession of Gunthorpe, including a notebook in which Gunthorpe later wrote drafts of speeches he prepared while on diplomatic service for King Edward IV of England between 1466 and 1468, together with the text of a work thought to have been written by Cicero.[32] If it was the death of his master Guarino that caused Gunthorpe to leave Ferrara, it was perhaps the death of Free in Rome in 1465 that brought Gunthorpe to take the decision to return to England. He was in London before the end of 1465, for he made a note of the

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[25] Now British Library, Harleian Manuscript 2485. The manuscript is beautifully written on paper with generous margins, in which some comments have been written. It was on fol. 197 that Gunthorpe wrote that he had copied out the *Tragedies* and that he was a student of Guarino. The amount of work required in making the copy demonstrates that it was before the date "Tercio Nonas Augusti anno domini 1460" that Gunthorpe began his copying. See also R. J. Mitchell, "English Student Life in Early Renaissance Italy," *Italian Studies* 7 (1952) 76.

[26] Tilly de la Mare and Richard Hunt, *Duke Humphrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century: Catalogue of an Exhibition Held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford 1970) 55.

[27] R. J. Mitchell,John *Tiptoft (1427-1470)* (London 1938) 54.

[28] *CPL (1455-64)* 684.

[29] Margaret Harvey, *England. Rome and the Papacy. 1417-1464* (Manchester 1993) 32-33, 101.

[30] Emden, *Register of Oxford* (n. 4 above) 2.724-725. For a full account, see Mitchell, *John Free* (n. 23 above).

[31] For example, see C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth,* 2 vols. (London 1923) 2.445; Weiss (n. 24 above) 111, 122-123.

[32] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Manuscript Bodleian 587; De la Mare and Hunt (n. 26 above) 56.

date and price of his purchase of a manuscript containing the *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio by Macrobius and the commentary of Calcidius on Plato's Timaeus.*[33]

It is suitable to view Gunthorpe's life from 1460 (or somewhat earlier) until 1465 as a period of post-graduate study in Italy where he perfected his Latin rhetorical style, learned Greek (and presumably Italian), and gained experience in the international arena of the papal court. Gunthorpe's behavior in this regard was uncommon, in being a Cambridge student who went to Italy and brought back Italian humanist ideas; most of the few Cambridge students of the time who went to Italy studied canon and civil law or theology.[34] The Gunthorpe who returned to England cannot but have been intellectually and experientially different from the one who left. England was different as well, in the particular regard that King Henry VI had been overthrown in 1461 and replaced by Edward IV. Gunthorpe returned to England having neglected to resign formally from his position as a minor penitentiary in the basilica of St. Peter's. He was described both as a papal chaplain and as rector of the parish church of Cley-next-the-Sea in Norfolk (Norwich diocese) when on 26 February 1466 he was granted a papal dispensation to hold another benefice with or without cure of souls or, if he resigned Cley, to hold any two other incompatible benefices.[35] Some years later, on 25 March 1469, a replacement for Gunthorpe as a minor penitentiary of St. Peter's was appointed, and in the papal letter of appointment it was mentioned that Gunthorpe had been absent from the Curia for about four years.[36] Before Gunthorpe obtained the papal dispensation to hold two incompatible benefices, he was admitted to the rectory of Ditcheat, Somerset (Bath and Wells diocese).[37] His appointment of 7 January 1466 to Ditcheat was later disputed, likely because of its being an incompatible appointment, but he was readmitted and held the rectory for the rest of his life. Ditcheat was in the patronage of Glastonbury Abbey, but Gunthorpe's appointment was likely a response to royal influence, and the rectory was seemingly a plum, being evaluated nearly seven decades later at over £46 yearly (from which the absentee rector would have to pay the wages of a resident vicar).[38]

GUNTHORPE IN THE SERVICE OF EDWARD IV

The suspicion that the hand of Edward IV is to be seen in Gunthorpe's gaining the rectory of Ditcheat is made stronger by the fact that by the summer of 1466 Gunthorpe was being described as a chaplain to the king.[39] Unlike many men who entered the service of Edward IV, Gunthorpe had no need to overcome a residual loyalty to, or record of association with, the displaced Lancastrian royal dynasty. In an ordinance for Edward IV's household drawn

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[33] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 276; Mitchell, *John Free* (n. 23 above) 135. The manuscript is now Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 824.

[34] T. H. Aston, G. D. Duncan and T. A. R. Evans, "The Medieval Alumni of the University of Cambridge," *Past and Present* 86 (1980) 38.

[35] *CPL (1458-71)* 501. When Gunthorpe obtained the rectory of Cley is not certain, but he vacated it by May 1467: Emden. *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 276. In 1535 the rectory was assigned an annual rental value of £9 6s. 8d.: *Valor Ecclesiasticus tempus Henrici VIII. auctoritate Regia lnstitutus,* ed. J. Caley and J. Hunter, 6 vols. (London 1810-1834) 3.316.

[36] *CPL (1458-71)* 388.

[37] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 276.

[38] Peter Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London 1969) 34-35. The evaluation of 1535 under the name "Dychiat" of £46 4s. I 0d. includes income of £31 per annum from wool and sheep, which could fluctuate greatly: *Valor Ecclesiasticus* 1.152. *The Registers of Oliver King. Bishop of Bath and Wells. 1496-1503, and Hadrian de Castello. Bishop of Bath and Wells. 1503-1518,* ed. H. Maxwell-Lyte, Somerset Record Society 54 (1939) 17.

[39] See n. 42 below.

up in 1478, it was mentioned that the king had at least four chaplains in his household, two of whom would join the king in his chamber for meals, while the others sat in the hall with other persons of the household.[40] The availability of a man of Gunthorpe's background in international travel, education, and papal service would have been inviting to the king, who was interested in making the new Yorkist dynasty an accepted presence on the international scene. For instance, Edward had been trying since 1463 to establish formal peace and profitable commercial links between England and Castile, and in 1466 a treaty of perpetual alliance was made, and was then ratified in 1467.[41] On 6 August 1466, two men were empowered by King Edward, one of them being Gunthorpe, described as a king's chaplain, to deliver the king's formal agreement to the treaty made that day with Enrique IV of Castile (reigned 1454-1474), and in turn to receive Enrique's formal patent of alliance.[42] Sentiment in Castile was more inclined to a Franco-Castilian friendship than to an Anglo-Castilian one, and in 1469 Enrique repudiated the treaty with England in favor of an alliance with France. The fate of Anglo-Castilian relations is of less immediate interest in the present context than the swiftness of Gunthorpe's insertion into international diplomacy after his return to England. Two and probably three of the nine surviving Latin orations drafted by Gunthorpe are addressed to Enrique IV of Castile and belong to this period.[43] Gunthorpe's involvement in Anglo-Castilian diplomacy concluded in 1470 when he was one of the ambassadors commissioned on 14 March by Edward IV to embark upon an ultimately fruitless effort to persuade Enrique IV against the repudiation of the treaty between their kingdoms.[44] King Edward did not like the repudiation of the treaty, but at the same time Anglo-Castilian commercial relations continued in spite of Enrique's turning towards France.

Between his two episodes of Anglo-Castilian diplomacy, Gunthorpe participated in Anglo-Burgundian diplomacy. Edward IV was even more urgently interested in linking his kingdom with the duchy of Burgundy than with Castile. An England-France-Burgundy triangle of diplomacy and war was of fundamental importance for northwestern Europe in this era, and the death of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1467 had intensified King Edward's already keen desire to stabilize an Anglo-Burgundian friendship. King Louis XI of France had designs on Burgundian lands bordering on France that can only have been concentrated because the new duke, Charles the Bold, was a widower with one heir, a daughter surviving from his second marriage. The upshot of years of Anglo-Burgundian diplomacy was a treaty cemented by a marriage between Duke Charles and King Edward's sister, Margaret. No official document survives to indicate that Gunthorpe was an official delegate in Margaret's great entourage crossing the Channel to attend "the marriage of the century"[45] at Damme on 3 July 1468 and the ten days of festivities that followed at Bruges. Of the stupendous celebrations one English observer wrote; "If I had note seene it and

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[40] A. R. Myers, ed., *The Household of Edward IV* (Manchester 1959) 111.

[41] W.R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the later Middle Ages* (Manchester 1978) 53-55.

[42] Rymer, ed., *Foedera* (n. 7 above) 11.569, 572. The treaty was ratified on 6 July 1467: ibid. 11.583.

[43] The orations are contained in Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodleian 587. This is the manuscript that had been the notebook of John Free. The orations are briefly categorized in Weiss (n. 24 above) 125 n. 3. The first oration in the manuscript is addressed to Enrique and is dated 23 October 1466.

[44] Rymer, ed., *Foedera* (n. 7 above) 11.653; Scofield (n. 31 above) 1.508.

[45] Christine Weightman, *Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, 1446-1503* (Stroud 1989) 30. Additional accounts of Margaret include M. J. Hughes, "The Library of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy," *The Private Library* 7 (1984) 53-78; idem, "Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy: Diplomat, Patroness, Bibliophile, and Benefactress," *The Private Library* 7 (1984) 3-17; W. C. Robinson, "Margaret of York," *American Catholic Quarlerly Review* 38 (1917) 572-594; and Harry Schnitker, "Margaret of York on Pilgrimage: The Exercise of Devotion and the Religious Traditions of the House of York," *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe,* ed. D. L. Biggs, S. D. Michalove, and A. C. Reeves (Leiden 2004) 81-122.

knowne yt I wolde never write it ..."[46] The most famous account of the nuptials is that of Olivier de La Marche, the maitre d'hotel of Duke Charles and the master of ceremonies for the wedding, who did not mention Gunthorpe's presence.[47] However, drafts survive by Gunthorpe of six orations addressed either to Duke Charles or jointly to Duke Charles and Margaret of York.[48] One of the orations is cited as having been delivered at Bruges on 8 July, another is addressed to Duke Charles on his marriage to Margaret of York, and another is addressed to Duke Charles and his bride Margaret of York. The language of the speeches is aureate and the style is modeled on Cicero.[49] They show the influence of studying rhetoric with Guarino and a flowing eloquence employing abundant figures of speech and examples gathered from the Roman past. Unless these orations are to be dismissed as private exercises through which Gunthorpe refreshed himself in the rhetorical style as being practiced by Italian masters, then he was part of the grand entourage that joined Margaret of York as she went off to become the duchess of Burgundy. It is hardly surprising that Gunthorpe's orations did not catch the attention of reporters, considering the frantic and colorful course of events surrounding the wedding.

It has been noticed that Gunthorpe was in the royal household as a king's chaplain by the summer of 1466. There are other threads of association with the royal household that began after Gunthorpe's return to England from Italy that must be followed. One financial account survives for the household of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, and it is for the fiscal year running from Michaelmas 1466 to Michaelmas 1467.[50] Gunthorpe is not mentioned in the queen's extant household account, but in a letter patent issued on 30 September 1467, the day after the conclusion of the one surviving financial ac count, he is described as secretary to the queen as well as king's clerk.[51] When exactly he became Queen Elizabeth's secretary would not be a matter of public record because it was a private appointment associated with the queen's household, but it could easily have been before 30 September. He was mentioned again as being the queen's secretary on 28 January 1473. [52] The inference to be drawn from these two oblique references is that Gunthorpe's secretarial skills, which would have been enhanced by his studies in Italy, were valued by Queen Elizabeth.

Following upon his return from Italy, Gunthorpe affiliated himself again with Cambridge University, and in 1468 he was granted a baccalaureate in theology.[53] He was admitted B.Th. by grace, that is, by favor of the University, which exempted Gunthorpe from some academic requirements.[54] In the previous year, on 30 September, Edward IV had appointed Gunthorpe to be master, or warden, of King's Hall, Cambridge, for life.[55] King's Hall was like a colony of the royal chapel planted beside the river Cam, and it was unique among English collegiate institutions. King Edward II had begun its development with a provision

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[46] R. F. Green, "An Account of the Marriage of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold, 1468," *Notes and Queries,* New Series 35 (1988) 28. Another Englishman's awestruck report can be read in Thomas Phillipps, "Account of the Ceremonial of the Marriage of the Princess Margaret, sister of King Edward the Fourth, to Charles, Duke of Burgundy, in 1468," *Archaeologia* 31 (1846)326-338.

[47] Olivier de La Marche, *Memoires,* ed. H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont, 4 vols. (Paris 1883-1888) 3.101-201.

[48] See on. 32, 43 above.

[49] Weiss (n. 24 above) 125.

[so] A. R. Myers, *Crown, Household and Parliament in Fifteenth-Century England,* ed. C. H. Clough (London 1985) 260-320.

[51] *CPR (1467-77)* 32.

[52] Ibid. *(1467-77)* 367.

[53] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 275.

[54] Leathes, ed., *Grace Book A* (n. 18 above) ix, 67.

[55] *CPR (1467-77)* 32, 114. One benefit of the wardenship was a grant of 8 marks yearly from the revenues of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire for two robes, one lined with fur.

for the education at Cambridge of a dozen children of the chapel royal, and Edward III confirmed his father's effort in 1337 by endowing the College of the King's Hall.[56] The chapel royal served the religious and ceremonial needs of the king and his household, and King's Hall was an extension of the chapel from its beginnings until its dissolution in 1546. Every scholar and every warden was appointed by the king, and King's Hall was supported by revenues provided from the Exchequer. In the fifteenth century it was common for wardens of King's Hall to be non-residents who were giving their primary service to the king elsewhere.[57] Even if the warden was absent, as was certainly normally the case with Gunthorpe, he needed to remain aware of events in King's Hall.

The chapel royal constantly offered the religious liturgy and music required by the royal household, and the scholars resident at King's Hall were therefore familiar with such matters. By extension, it may be supposed that the warden of King's Hall needed to be learned in such subjects. In fact, the man Gunthorpe followed as warden, Thomas St. Just, was the first graduate known to have earned a Cambridge doctorate in music.[58] Although there is no record of Gunthorpe being a musician or composer,[59] it may be readily supposed that he was learned in music and liturgy beyond the level he would have achieved as a master of arts and priest, if only to avoid being disparaged by the king's scholars at Cambridge. Gunthorpe did not remain master of King's Hall for life as his grant allowed, but resigned on 28 January 1473.[60] At some time, he must have developed a relationship with Michaelhouse College, Cambridge, because he gave the college two substantial silver gilt salts.[61]

Yet another thread of close association between Edward IV and Gunthorpe was established on 9 December 1468 when Gunthorpe became the king's almoner.[62] The almoner was the person who had charge of the king's charities, from gifts of money to the distribution of surplus food from the king's table, and the office can be traced back at least to the early twelfth century.[63] To the almoner were assigned for distribution, in addition to the king's gifts, any money gained from the sale of the goods and chattels of felons and from deodands (that is, objects which had been the cause of any person's death). The almoner was a member of the king's household, and sometimes he was assisted by sub-almoners.[64] "King's High Almoner" is the title of the official who to day assists the sovereign in the ceremonial distribution of the royal maundy on Maundy Thursday, although the title "Lord High Almoner" is commonly used. Gunthorpe is the first almoner on record to have been called "King's High Almoner," and that was in a royal grant of patronage dated 6 May 1476 when he, the keeper of the king's privy seal, Bishop John Russell, and a knight of the body, Sir Thomas Montgomery, were allowed the collation to the next vacant canonry and prebend

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[56] A. B. Cobban, *The King's Hall within the University of Cambridge in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1969) 1, 9-10, 19-21, 24, 148-151.

[57] Ibid. 281-282.

[58] Ibid. 286; Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 503.

[59] Gunthorpe is not included as a musician or composer in Harrison's "Register and Index of Musicians": F. LI. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain,* 2nd ed. (London 1963) 454-465. See also R. J. Stove, "Fifteenth-Century English Composers," *The Ricardian 5,* no. 64 (March 1979) 20-23.

[60] *CPR (1467-77)* 367.

[61] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 277.

[62] *CPR (/467-77)* 120,537; Rymer, ed., *Foedera* (n. 7 above) 11.637; Myers, ed., *Household of Edward IV* (n. 40 above) 106,150,205, 214-215, 224,292.

[63] L. E. Tanner, "Lord High Almoners and Sub-Almoners," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 21-22 (1957-1958) 72-83.

[64] William Towne in 1470 and John Blakewyn in 1471 are mentioned as almoners, that is, as sub-almoners, while Gunthorpe was king's almoner. Rymer, ed., *Foedera* (n. 7 above) 11.668; Tanner (n. 63 above) 81.

in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.[65] A similar royal grant was made to Gunthorpe, Bishop Russell, and the keeper of the rolls of chancery on 17 September 1476.[66] In both of these grants, and the second is likely a repetition of the first with a substitution of an individual, Gunthorpe is called a king's councilor. Being formally a member of the king's council had put Gunthorpe in yet another position of close association with Edward IV, and the first surviving notice of Gunthorpe as a councilor came on 13 March 1470 when Gunthorpe was active in Anglo-Castilian diplomacy.[67] Thus in the later 1460s following his return to England, Gunthorpe became intimately integrated into the religious, diplomatic, financial, and political life of the court and government of Edward IV.

Gunthorpe did not apparently remain king's high almoner beyond 1476, and while he was almoner there were significant additions to his ecclesiastical benefices. On 30 December 1468, just days after becoming almoner, Gunthorpe became a canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and the position was supported by income from the prebend of Hoxton.[68] In February 1472 the prebend of Hoxton was exchanged for that of Wenlokesbarn, but by October he had ceased to be a canon of St. Paul's, having resigned Wenlokesbarn prior to becoming archdeacon of Essex in the diocese of London.[69] Meanwhile, on 8 August 1471, Gunthorpe was named rector of St. Mary's Matfellon, Whitechapel, London, and he vacated this position by December 1472.[70] Also in 1471 Gunthorpe received letters of fraternity from Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury.[71] Through the direct patronage of the king, Gunthorpe became a canon and prebendary of St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Palace on 15 February 1472.[72] He exchanged prebends on 29 April 1479,[73] but he remained a canon of St. Stephen's for the rest of his life. On *5* April 1472 Gunthorpe was collated to the office of canon of Salisbury Cathedral, which was supported by the prebend of North Alton, and he apparently remained a canon of Salisbury until 1486, for his successor was in occupancy by April of that year.[74] However, some years later, on 4 October 1492, Gunthorpe was again collated to a canonry of Salisbury Cathedral and the prebend of Bitton, which he held for the remainder of his life.[75] Between 1472 and 1478 Gunthorpe was archdeacon of Essex in London diocese, but on 16 May 1478 he and John Crall, a canon of York who held the prebend of Laughton, exchanged benefices.[76] Gunthorpe was a nonresidentiary canon of York Minster as he had been a nonresidentiary archdeacon of

[65] *CPR (1467-77)* 586.
[66] Ibid. *(1476-77)* 597.
[67] J. R. Lander, *Crown and Nobility, 1450-1509* (Montreal 1976) 313; Rymer, ed., *Foedera* (n. 7 above) 11.653.
[68] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 276; John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541, V, St. Paul's, London,* compiled by J.M. Horn (London 1963) 42.
[69] Ibid. 10, 69.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 276.
[72] *CPR (1467-77)* 306; Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 276.
[73] *CPR (1476-85)* 154; ibid. *(1494-1509)* 167.
[74] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 276.
[75] John Le Neve, *Fasli Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541, III, Salisbury Diocese,* compiled by J. M. Horn (London 1962) 36. For North Alton or Alton Borealis, see ibid. 23.
[76] Ibid.; John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Ang/icanae, 1300-1541, VI, Northern Province,* compiled by B. Jones (London 1963) 10, 65. Gunthorpe was a partner in land dealings in Yorkshire involving the abbot of the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary's, York, in 1479 and 1481: *Calendar of Close Rolls (1476-85)* 231 (hereafter cited as CCR); *CPR (1476-85)* 241; Rosemary Horrox, ed., "Edward IV: Parliament of 1483, Text and Translation," in *PROME,* item 19. In 1481 Gunthorpe and other feoffees of the royal lordship of Bradford, Yorkshire, were granted the right to hold a weekly market and two fairs each year in the town of Bradford: *Calendar of Charter Rolls (1427-1516)* 253. In 1486 Gunthorpe became one of the feoffees of some Yorkshire lands of John Suthill of Everingham: *CCR (1485-1500)* 167-168; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents: Henry VII, Vol. 1* (London 1898) 498—499. Apparently, then, Gunthorpe's interest in Yorkshire went beyond matters ecclesiastical.

Essex, but both positions augmented his income. An interesting aspect of Gunthorpe's association with the cathedral church of York was that the prebend of Laughton was on 20 July 1484 united with the office of chancellor of York, and from 13 January 1496 until he died Gunthorpe was, like every other fifteenth-century holder of the chancellorship of York,[77] the absentee chancellor of the cathedral church of St. Peter of York.

Another of Gunthorpe's late-life benefice acquisitions may be fittingly mentioned here. Richard Redman, who became bishop of Exeter in 1495, bestowed for life upon Gunthorpe a canonry at Crediton in Devonshire and the prebend of Henstill.[78] The collegiate chapter serving the Church of the Holy Cross at Crediton was the next most important association of priests in the diocese of Exeter after the chapter of canons who served Exeter Cathedral, and in 1535 the prebend of Henstill was said to have an annual income of £12 18s. 5d.[79]

The archdeaconry of Essex, mentioned above, was not the final benefice acquisition of 1472 for Gunthorpe. Briefly in 1472 Gunthorpe was a canon and prebendary of Wells Cathedral, which was preliminary to his being elected on 18 December to the office of dean.[80] Bishop Stillington gave his assent to the election on 19 January. As dean of the cathedral church of St. Andrew, Wells, Gunthorpe was the chief officer of the cathedral clergy in the secular cathedral of the diocese of Bath and Wells. Gunthorpe was something of a rarity as a Cambridge graduate who became dean of a secular cathedral, for only one in every ten decanal appointments in the long period between 1307 and 1499 went to a Cambridge man.[81] The cathedral priory of Bath was served by a community of Benedictine monks. When Gunthorpe became dean of Wells, the bishop of Bath and Wells was Robert Stillington, who held an Oxford doctorate in civil law and who was currently chancellor of England.[82] Gunthorpe remained in the deanship of Wells and continued to hold the rectory of Ditcheat in the diocese of Bath and Wells until his death. It is possible that Edward IV considered the appointments of Gunthorpe at Ditcheat and Wells Cathedral to be in part a counterbalance to residual Lancastrian loyalties in the southwest.[83] However, Gunthorpe did not in 1472 transfer his residence to the diocese of Bath and Wells, although he quickly involved himself with the business of the chapter of Wells with the leasing of the manor of Oakhampton in 1473.[84] His place of residence was with the king. It was as king's almoner that on 17 June 1475 Gunthorpe was granted papal absolution while in royal service from residing at Wells or in other of his benefices.[85] At the same time, the deanery was a major dignity in Wells Cathedral which required an oath of residence, and to compensate for his absence Gunthorpe was ordered by Pope Sixtus IV to pay an annual penalty of 200 marks to the canons of Wells for non-residence. Gunthorpe reacted quickly to the papal order, and on 19 December 1475 gained papal absolution from his annual financial penalty, and from

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[77] R. B. Dobson, "The Residentiary Canons of York in the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 30 (1979) 159 n. 43.

[78] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. JO above) 276.

[79] John Stephan, *The Ancient Religious Houses of Devon* (Exeter I 935) 87; A. H. Thompson, "Notes on Colleges of Secular Canons in England," *Archaeological Journal* 74 (1917) 188.

[80] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 276; John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541, VIII, Bath and Wells Diocese,* compiled by B. Jones (London 1964) 5; E. H. Plumptre, *Wells Cathedral and its Deans* (London 1888) 17-18.

[81] Aston, Duncan, and Evans (n. 34 above) 69.

[82] Emden, *Register of Oxford* (n. 4 above) 3.1777-1779.

[83] See M. Mercer, "Lancastrian Loyalism in the South-West: The Case of the Beauforts," *Southern History* 19 (1997) 42-60.

[84] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells,* ed. W. H.B. Bird and W. P. Baildon, 2 vols. (London 1907-1914) 1.464.

[85] *CPL (1471-84)* 445.

his oath to reside at Wells, together with any other oaths of residence by which he might be bound.[86] A curious aside to the deanship of Wells (and an indication of royal trust) is that from May 1479 on through the remainder of the reign of Edward IV and through the reign of Richard III, Gunthorpe was included in every commission of the peace appointed for the county of Somerset,[87] although it is unlikely that he was ever actually present to act in the capacity of a justice of the peace.

Another thread arising from Gunthorpe's service to Edward IV that must be followed is associated with parliamentary assemblies. King Edward went through a difficult period during his tenth and eleventh regnal years. In the autumn of 1470 Edward was surprised by the rebellion raised against him in the name of the overthrown King Henry VI, whom Edward was holding securely in the Tower of London. King Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou; Edward's brother George, duke of Clarence; and Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, backed by King Louis XI of France, drove Edward and his brother Richard from the kingdom into refuge with Duke Charles of Burgundy and his duchess, Margaret of York. The mentally fragile Henry VI was placed back on the throne, but Warwick was the one who exercised power over the next several months, while King Edward was making preparations for a return to England. Edward landed on the Yorkshire coast on 14 March 1471, met Warwick in the battle of Barnet on 14 April, where Warwick was killed, and met Margaret of Anjou's forces in battle at Tewkesbury on 4 May, where Margaret was captured, and Edward, the son of Margaret and Henry VI, was killed.[88] Henry VI conveniently died the day Edward arrived in London from Tewkesbury. Was Gunthorpe among the several dozen men who fled England with Edward IV at the beginning of October 1470, or did he depart for the Low Countries somewhat later with Duke Richard of Gloucester?[89] Did Gunthorpe remain in England and retreat to one of his ecclesiastical livings? His name is not among the incomplete list of those who escaped from England with King Edward or Duke Richard,[90] but a reasonable supposition would be that he retired to King's Hall, Cambridge, of which he was warden. It seems most likely that he would not have been under such political threat that going into exile would have been necessary for his safety. Exactly where Gunthorpe was physically during the readeption of Henry VI must remain uncertain, but it is comfortable to conclude that his loyalty remained with King Edward in light of the flurry of patronage that was directed towards the king's almoner in the aftermath of Edward's recovery of the throne.

GUNTHORPE DURING KING EDWARD'S “SECOND” REIGN

One showing of favor to Gunthorpe after Edward's return was the grant for life to Gunthorpe on 21 June 1471 of the office of clerk of parliament.[91] The clerk of parliament had an annual salary of £40, and Gunthorpe's duties were allowed to be carried out by a deputy,[92] which would have kept Gunthorpe free to be in attendance upon the king. There were also robes provided with the office, but an annual cash payment of £7 5s. 4d. was

[86] Ibid. *(1471-84)* 486.
[87] *CPR (1476-85)* 571.
[88] See P. W. Hammond, *The Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury* (Gloucester 1990).
[89] Livia Visser-Fuchs, “Richard in Holland, 1470-l, *The Ricardian* 6 no. 82 (September 1983) 220-228; idem, "Richard was Late," *The Ricardian* 11 no. 146 (December 1999) 616-619.
[90] Livia Visser-Fuchs, “’II n'a plus Lion ne Lieppart, qui voeulle tenir de sa part’: Edward IV in Exile, October 1470 to March 1471,” *Publication du Centre Europeen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIe s.)* 35 (1995) 95-96.
[91] *CPR (1467-77)* 260. Gunthorpe's appointment dated officially from Easter 1471: A. F. Pollard, "Fifteenth-Century Clerks of Parliament," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 15 (1937-1938) 152- 155.
[92] It had been in the reign of Richard II that the annual stipend of £40 had been set for the clerk ofparliament: A. F. Pollard, "The Clerical Organization of Parliament," *English Historical Review* 57 (1942) 34-35.

made to Gunthorpe in lieu of robes from 1474 onwards,[93] which further indicates that Gunthorpe was not in fact acting personally as clerk of parliament. Any time a parliament met there were individuals and institutions petitioning for remedies to problems or for justice to be done in some matter, and the clerk of parliament or his deputy served as the receiver of petitions from the king's English subjects.[94] Gunthorpe acted as a receiver of petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland in the first parliament of Edward's "second" reign, as well as in the parliaments of 1478 and 1483.[95] Other receivers handled petitions from other crown lands, and the receivers passed the petitions on to the appropriate triers (barons, justices, ecclesiastics, or other knowledgeable men), who evaluated the petitions and sent them on for action by the proper department of government. Even when parliament was not in session, the clerk had to be available to attend to parliamentary records, which he was responsible for constructing. Gunthorpe remained clerk of parliament and a receiver of petitions for a dozen years, serving at least in name during the three parliaments summoned by Edward IV in his "second" reign, the first of which met intermittently for brief sessions from October 1472 to January 1475, while the other two met briefly during the months of January and February of both 1478 and 1483. Gunthorpe ceased to be clerk of parliament when Richard III became king, having the greater responsibility of being keeper of the privy seal, and in Richard's only parliament Thomas Hutton served as clerk.[96] In the first and last of the parliaments of Edward's "second" reign, there were acts of resumption passed in an effort to recover for the crown certain revenues and lands that had over time been granted away, and Gunthorpe was shown the favor of being exempted from both acts.[97] Gunthorpe continued in these years to be a member of Edward's council, and in late 1481 was one of the councilors who heard a dispute between Richard Whele and John Fortescue, who had accused Richard of being a Scot while Richard asserted that he was an Englishman. The council decided for Richard and imposed silence upon John.[98]

A singularly dramatic episode of Edward's "second" reign evolved out of the England-France-Burgundy triangle of diplomacy and war that had produced the marriage of Margaret of York and Duke Charles of Burgundy during Edward's "first" reign. The dramatic episode was a military expedition led by Edward into France in the summer of 1475 in accord with an alliance made with Duke Charles of Burgundy, and Gunthorpe was part of it. The invasion of France was preceded by lengthy diplomatic efforts.[99] King Edward wished to be on friendly terms with Duke Francis of Brittany and negotiations with Brittany resulted in the Treaty of Chateaugiron of 1472, which promised assistance from Brittany during an English invasion of France that was projected with inappropriate optimism for 1473. Duke Francis was not the most resolute of allies. Negotiations with Burgundy respecting an English invasion of France began about the same time as those with Brittany. Duke Charles of Burgundy, while no friend of King Louis XI of France, was powerfully drawn by his ambitions to become Holy Roman Emperor and to lift his duchy to the status of a kingdom. King Edward needed Burgundian co-operation and the outstanding Burgundian army if an attack on France were to succeed. An Anglo-Burgundian alliance against France was

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[93] *CPR (1467-77)* 413.

[94] Ronald Butt, *A History of Parliament: The Middle Ages* (London 1989) 268; A. F. Pollard, "Receivers of Petitions and Clerks of Parliament," *English Historical Review* 57 (1942) 211.

[95] Rosemary Horrox, ed., "Edward IV: Parliament of 1478: Text and Translation," ***PROME,*** item 2; idem, ed., Edward IV: Parliament of 1483," item 2.

[96] Pollard, "Fifteenth-Century Clerks" (n. 91 above) 155-156.

[97] Rosemary Horrox, ed., "Edward IV: Parliament of 1472: Text and Translation," ***PROME,*** Second Roll, item 12; idem, ed., "Edward IV: Parliament of 1483," item l l.

[98] J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1913) 433-434.

[99] What follows is based upon Ross, *Edward IV* (Berkeley 1974) chap. 9.

established with the Treaty of London in 1474. Charles agreed to recognize Edward as king of France, and Charles was to hold in full sovereignty a substantial portion of dismembered France. The Hanseatic League as a naval power had to be reckoned with, and an Anglo-Hansard treaty was put in place in 1474. Negotiations between King Edward and King James III of Scotland also had positive results for the relations between England and her northern neighbor. A renewal of the 1467 alliance between England and the Iberian kingdoms of Ferdinand and Isabella was also accomplished in the spring of 1475, as was a treaty of friendship with King Christian I of Denmark. At home, Edward had for some extended time been putting the finances in place for an attack on France. Anticipating going abroad to war, Edward also prepared a will with revenues from the duchy of Lancaster being set aside for the performance of the terms of the will, and Gunthorpe was one of the feoffees designated to execute the king's wishes. [100] Regardless of how the attack on France played out, there is no reason to doubt that Edward was deadly serious in his military ambitions.[101]

John Gunthorpe was one of the men indentured to serve the king on the expedition to France in 1475.[102] His pay was to be 2s. per day, and his retinue was to consist of one man-at-arms and a dozen archers. The man-at-arms was Thomas Ustewaite, to whom the king gave a murrey and blue jacket in 1480,[103] and to whose son, Robert, Gunthorpe bequeathed lands and tenements in East Greenwich and other parts of Kent.[104] Even the dean of Wells needed an armed escort when venturing into enemy territory, though Gunthorpe's retinue was but a tiny fraction of an impressive English force. As the English army was gathering near Canterbury in the early summer anticipating transhipment to Calais, Charles of Burgundy was campaigning in the Rhineland where he had laid siege to the city of Neuss in the summer of 1474. Edward IV arrived in Calais to join his army on 4 July 1475, and his sister, Duchess Margaret of Burgundy, arrived two days later.[105] Her husband, Duke Charles the Bold, arrived some days later, having just lifted the siege of Neuss. Charles was short of money, and his battered army was not with him when he arrived in Calais. Charles had defaulted on his military obligations as set out in the Treaty of London. Edward was realistically in no position to wage war against France without his Burgundian ally, nor would it have been politically wise for him to return straightaway to England without striking a blow against enemy France and having spent vast sums of his subjects' money on an army.

Edward shifted his plans.[106] Confidential lines of communication were open between the English and French kings, and they would prove fruitful. King Louis had anticipated an English landing in Normandy, and his army was not poised to attack the English in Calais. King Edward and Duke Charles led the English army out of Calais on 18 July for a military demonstration through French territory. The army marched to Guines, St. Omer,

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[100] Robert Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster,* 2 vols. (London 1953-1970) 1.239-241; *CCR (1476-85)* 215; Rosemary Horrox, ed., "Henry VII: Parliament of 1485, Text and Translation," *PROME,* item 6. Gunthorpe was made a feoffee of the duchy of Lancaster on 23 February 1475. In the run-up to the French expedition, Gunthorpe also became a feoffee of William, Lord Hastings [*CPR (1476-77)* 517], Sir Thomas Burgh [*CPR (1476-66)* 523], and Sir John Doreward of Essex [*CPR (1467-77)* 509]. It may be noted that Gunthorpe was also becoming involved with the holding of property in London in 1475: *CCR (1468-76)* 402-403; *CPR (1467-77)* 512, 540.

[101] Lander (n. 67 above) 235.

[102] F. P. Barnard, ed., *Edward IV's French Expedition of 1475* (Oxford 1925) 127.

[103] N. H. Nicolas, ed., *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Expenses of Edward the Fourth* (London I 830) 164.

[104] Weaver, ed., *Somerset Medieval Wills* (n. 13 above) 361.

[105] Richard Vaughan, *Charles the* Bold (London 1973) 348.

[106] What follows is based upon Ross, *Edward IV* (n. 99 above) 226-238.

Fauquembergues, and then paused two days at the place where sixty years earlier the battle of Agincourt had been fought. Continuing southward, the army reached Doullens on 28 July, and then turned to the southeast to Peronne and then St. Quentin. Before this King Louis had advanced with his army from Normandy and at the end of July was in Beauvais. Duke Charles was not appearing with an army and was not allowing towns in his allegiance to be opened to the English, and the duke of Brittany was making no move. It is only possible to imagine, but not to document, the frustration level of Edward and his councilors like Gunthorpe in these days. King Louis was inclined to trust the persuasiveness of cash over the uncertainty of battle, and before the middle of August the French and English were negotiating. The negotiations concluded with the Treaty of Picquigny of 29 August 1475. The two kings agreed to a seven-year truce and to the facilitating of commerce between their two kingdoms. Edward agreed to leave France on payment of £15,000 with hostages to be provided for compliance, and Louis further agreed to pay Edward an annual pension of £10,000. Provisions were made for the resolution of disputes between the two kingdoms and for a marriage linking the two royal houses. King Edward was back in London on 28 September. Hindsight would suggest that Edward might have had a far more unsatisfactory outcome from his attack on France.

It is impossible to avoid wondering if the French campaign was the occasion when Gunthorpe chose his Latin Motto *virtuti omnia parent.* The phrase ends the line: *Quae homines arrant, navigant, aediflcant, virtuti omnia parent,* written in the first century B.C.E. by Caius Sallustius Crispus in his *Bellum Catilinae.*[107] Sallust was discussing the wars of the ancients and lamenting that rulers did not use their intelligence as effectively for peaceful leadership as they did for military ambition. Such sentiments may well have resonated with Gunthorpe in the summer of 1475. Mottoes were very fashionable in Gunthorpe's time.[108] This was the era when English kings began to use *dieu et mon droit,* and Richard of Gloucester used several mottoes, including *loyaulte me lie* (loyalty binds me). Gunthorpe also used the French motto *mais pour le mieux* (ever for the best)[109] Gunthorpe's mottoes suggest that he was a man of optimistic ambition with an appreciation for intellectual excellence.

It will be recalled that King's Hall, Cambridge, was a plantation of the royal household chapel, and that Gunthorpe was warden of King's Hall from 1467 until 1472. That office, together with being chaplain and secretary to the queen, and chaplain, councilor, and high almoner to the king, meant that Gunthorpe cannot have escaped being familiar with the ways and doings of the itinerant royal household. The household chapel association is of special pertinence because by 1476 Gunthorpe had become dean of the king's household chapel.[110] He is still so described in a royal license issued on 10 November 1481 authorizing nine men to found and endow a guild in the parish church of St. Mary in North Somercotes, Lincolnshire.[111] The dean of the chapel was by necessity a talented administrator-ecclesiastic and was in a position to demonstrate his worthiness for further promotion.[112] Three successive fifteenth-century deans, for example, advanced to the episcopal bench. Edmund Lacy was dean from 1413 until 1417, and then became in succession bishop of Hereford (1417-1420) and Exeter (1420-1455). Robert Gilbert, dean from 1417 until 1432, died as

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[107] Barnard (n. 102 above) 128; Woodforde (n. 11 above) 144.

[108] A. F. Sutton, "The Court and Its Culture in the Reign of Richard III," *Richard III: A Medieval Kingship,* ed. John Gillingham (New York 1993) 84.

[109] Mitchell, *John Free* (n. 23 above) 138-139.

[110] Myers, ed., *Household of Edward IV* (n. 40 above) 133-135.

[111] *CPR (1476-85)* 250.

[112] Andrew Wathey, *Music in the Royal and Noble Households in Late Medieval England* (New York 1989) 71.

bishop of London (1436-1448); and Richard Praty, who was dean from 1432 until 1438, went on to be bishop of Chichester (1438-1445).

The notion of a senior chaplain within the royal household was already old by the fifteenth century, and the king's household chapel had acquired corporate characteristics in the reign of Edward I. The senior chaplain in the royal household in the time of Edward IV was known as the dean, and Gunthorpe was appointed dean of the chapel of the king's household. The dean's responsibilities were set down in 1449 by William Say (d. 1468), dean of the chapel, in his *Liber Regie Capelie* and, closer to Gunthorpe's time of service, in the *Black Book* of the household of Edward IV.[113] The dean had supervisory authority over every aspect of the chapel's function. He decided upon the form of ceremonies. He determined the admission and ranking of members of the chapel, resolved their disputes with one another, and disciplined them unless their transgressions were serious enough to fall within the jurisdiction of a higher household officer such as the steward or chamberlain, or of the king himself. The dean could act as confessor to the several hundred members of the household, had the powers of an archdeacon in the matter of criminal cases, and could prove wills. He was accountable for the equipment, such as ornaments and cloths, used in the chapel. The dean would generally have been available in the household for the giving of spiritual advice, as well as counsel on doctrinal issues, for at least from the days of Dean Edmund Lacy under Henry V it was required that the dean have academic qualifications in theology.[114] Gunthorpe, it will be recalled, held a bachelor's degree in theology.

One of the most memorable events to take place while Gunthorpe was dean of the chapel was a royal wedding. The groom was Edward IV's younger son Richard, duke of York, who had been born probably in August 1473. The bride was Lady Anne Mowbray, who had been born on 10 December 1472. Anne had been left as the only surviving child and a highly desirable heiress when in January 1476 her father, John Mowbray, died as duke of Norfolk and earl of Nottingham, Surrey, and Warenne. Bargaining went on for two years before the marriage was celebrated on 15 January 1478.[115] The day before the wedding Anne was brought to the king's great chamber in Westminster Palace, and a banquet suited for the occasion was held.[116] The following morning, Anne emerged from the queen's chamber of the palace and was escorted by Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, on her left, and John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, on her right. The procession of lords and ladies moved through the king's great chamber and the White Hall to St. Stephen's Chapel, which had been hung with azure carpets covered with gold fleurs-de-lis. In the chapel, waiting under a canopy of cloth of gold, were the king, queen, and their children, Edward, Elizabeth, Mary, and Cecily, and the king's mother. Bishop James Goldwell of Norwich received Lady Anne at the chapel door. Then the king's councilor and civil lawyer, Dr. John Cooke,[117] voiced the objection that Anne and Richard were too closely related to be married without papal dispensation. John Gunthorpe then produced the papal bull of authority allowing the marriage to be performed, and Bishop Goldwell presided over the sacrament of matrimony. Edward IV gave the bride away, and mass was said at the high altar of the chapel. Further celebrations followed, with Richard, duke of Gloucester, casting gold and silver coins to the spectators, and wines and spices being passed among the crowd. Then Richard of

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[113] Myers, ed., *Household of Edward IV* (n. 40 above) 133-135.
[114] Ibid. 66-73.
[115] M.A. Hicks, *Edward* V(Stroud 2003) 128-130; Scofield (n. 31 above) 2.203-207.
[116] The following narrative is drawn from the document printed in W. H. Black, ed., *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry* (London 1840) 28-32; P. W. Hammond and A. F. Sutton, *Richard III: The Road to Bosworth Field* (London 1985) 68-70.
[117] For Cooke, see Emden, *Register of Oxford* (n. 4 above) 1.480-481.

Gloucester on Anne's right hand and Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, on her left hand, led the procession from St. Stephen's to the king's great chamber where a splendid banquet was spread with abundant food and minstrelsy. On Sunday, 18 January, in further celebration of the marriage, King Edward created two dozen new knights of the Bath, and on 22 January jousts were held at Westminster.

Unfortunately Anne Mowbray did not live long to enjoy the life of luxury and dynastic eminence that her birth and marriage projected. She died in 1481, but her vast inheritance was held by the crown until Richard III restored it to Anne's co-heirs.[118] However, King Edward spent lavishly on Anne's funeral, and it happened that her casket and mortal remains were discovered in 1964 during building works at the site of the Minories, as the London abbey of the Franciscan nuns (the Poor Clares) were known. Anne's child-widower did not remarry.

Gunthorpe was still dean when Edward IV altered the constitution of his household chapel on 28 February 1483.[119] The endowments of the king's free chapel of St. Peter within the Tower of London were transferred to the household chapel or the "Royal Free Chapel of the Household." The reorganization of the chapel royal established the dean as its head, and Gunthorpe was the first dean under the new disposition. Assisting the dean were to be three canons, who served as sub-dean, treasurer, and precentor. Information surviving from this episode in the history of the chapel royal indicates that there were attached to it twenty-four chaplains and clerks, who were trained in vocal music, and other singers, including eight children directed by a master chosen by the dean from the membership of the chapel. At the time of Edward's reorganization, there were fifty-eight musicians in the chapel royal whose names are recorded on a memorial board to be seen today in the chapel royal at St. James Palace.[120] Gunthorpe was dean of the chapel royal for a short time only, because he very soon had to resign due to his new responsibilities as keeper of the privy seal.[121]

Just days before King Edward set in motion the reorganization of the chapel royal, the last parliament of the reign concluded its business. One curious piece of parliamentary business was the passing of the third piece of sumptuary legislation of Edward's reign in a futile attempt to define visually the social hierarchy by regulating the value and nature of the apparel worn by different ranks of society.[122] King Edward died before the date at which the statute was to go into effect, and no attempt was ever made to enforce it. It remains of interest, however, in part because at the end of the statute of 1483 eleven men are exempted by name from its restrictive provisions, and one of them was John Gunthorpe. Gunthorpe and his fellow designees have been whimsically dubbed "the foppish eleven of 1483" because they were to be allowed to dress above their social station.[123] The argument has been advanced that the men were all members of the king's household, and that the king wanted them to dress in a sufficiently resplendent way that it would reflect well upon him and his household. The sumptuary statute of 1483, allowing Gunthorpe noble attire, abundantly illustrates his valued position in the royal household as he attended upon the king. This seemingly peripheral bit of legislative evidence in fact, therefore, boldly tells us that Edward considered Gunthorpe to be one of the distinguished men of his court.

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[118] M. A. Hicks, *Richard III* (Stroud 2000) 139; Scofield (n. 31 above) 2.323. Anne Mowbray's co-heirs were William, Lord Berkeley, and John, Lord Howard.

[119] *CPR (1476-85)* 341.

[120] D. J. P. Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal Ancient and Modern* (London 1990) 4041.

[121] *CPR (1476-85)* 348.

[122] Horrox, ed., "Edward IV: Parliament of 1483," item 25; *Statutes of the Realm,* 11 vols. (London 1810-1828) 2.468-470.

[123] A. C. Reeves, "The Foppish Eleven of 1483," *Medieval Prosopography* 16/2 (1995) 111-134.

GUNTHORPE IN THE SERVICE OF RICHARD III

We return now to the issue of what Richard of Gloucester might have found compelling about John Gunthorpe to entrust him with the privy seal of the kingdom. Gunthorpe was a man of learning, a rhetorician and linguist, a priest and theologian, and an experienced diplomat and secretary. At the same time, there is no sign that Gunthorpe developed the pride and arrogance that too often becomes part of the personality of scholars who have talent and exceptional opportunities for study along with proximity to power. Gunthorpe was trusted by Edward IV and well known to Richard of Gloucester. Gunthorpe was mature; for if he took his M.A. in his mid-twenties, he was in his mid-fifties in 1483. His career had been unblemished by any impropriety, and he had distinguished himself in royal service. He had abundant administrative experience as junior proctor at Cambridge, warden of King's Hall, clerk of parliament, and member of King Edward's council. Gunthorpe had a wide knowledge of the royal household and was thus familiar with the players on the political scene. He had traveled on several occasions beyond England's shores and had even been on a military campaign. He had been chaplain to the late king and his queen, dean of the king's household chapel, and king's high almoner. It would, in fact, be difficult to find any fault whatsoever with Richard's selection of Gunthorpe to be keeper of the privy seal. When Gunthorpe's qualifications are set forth,[124] he seems an obvious choice. If Gunthorpe is a guide to the sort of company Richard chose to keep, Richard would appear to come off nicely.

We must presume that among his qualifications in 1483 was that Gunthorpe was yet a vigorous man, for fifteen years of life remained to him. More than a decade later, in fact, he was still energetic enough to be involved in the land markets in Essex (1494) and the East Riding of Yorkshire (1495).[125] To take full measure of the keeper of Richard Ill's privy seal, Gunthorpe's final decade and a half must of necessity be examined. Gunthorpe can only have been dismayed when his patron and benefactor, King Edward IV, died at Westminster Palace on 9 April. It may be supposed that Gunthorpe, like others, presumed that Edward, the older of the late king's two sons, would become the next king as Edward V, and that there would be a minority government for the immediate future. Gunthorpe was sufficiently comfortable with the anticipated course of events that he lent the government £50 to help cover expenses while awaiting the collection of a clerical tax.[126] The high politics of England were fraught with tension and drama between the death of Edward IV and the beginning on 26 June of the reign of his brother Duke Richard of Gloucester as King Richard III.[127] A coronation was scheduled and delayed, a parliament was called and its meeting date changed, Edward V was deposed before he was crowned,[128] and the events of these days have been for centuries the topic of debate and often widely differing interpretation. There is no record of Gunthorpe's reactions to the events following Edward IV's death, but it is apparent enough that he moved through them unscathed and emerged as the keeper of Richard III's privy

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[124] Gunthorpe remained so effectively in the background while serving Edward IV that his name does not appear in the index of Ross, *Edward IV* (n. 99 above).

[125] *CCR (1485-1500)* 136, 228-229, 241.

[126] Rosemary Horrox, ed., "Financial Memoranda of the Reign of Edward V. Longleat Miscellaneous Manuscript Book II," *Camden Mescellany, Vol. XXIX,* Camden Fourth Series 34 (London 1987) 202, 219.

[127] A useful chronology of events from the death of Edward IV through the coronation of Richard III is provided in A. F. Sutton and P. W. Hammond, eds., *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents* (Gloucester 1983) 13-46.

[128] C. T. Wood, "The Deposition of Edward V," *Traditio* 31 (1975) 247-286; idem, "Richard III, William, Lord Hastings and Friday the Thirteenth," *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages,* ed. R. A. Griffiths and J. Sherborne (Gloucester 1986) 155-168.

seal. As dean of the chapel royal, Gunthorpe's duties following King Edward's death would have lain with the rituals of royal death and burial.[129]

Edward's body was displayed naked except for a loin cloth for some hours in Westminster Palace where it was viewed by various dignitaries. It was then embalmed, wrapped in cerecloth, clothed, and on the next day moved to St. Stephen's Chapel, where for eight days it lay in state and religious services were regularly celebrated. On 17 April the body was moved in procession to Westminster Abbey, where it remained for the night. Then on 18 April a cortege set out to Charing Cross and Sion Abbey, where the night was passed. On 19 April the great and solemn company passed through Eton to Windsor, where Edward had caused to be constructed the fine chapel of St. George, which became the place of his interment on 20 April. Richard, duke of Gloucester, was at Middleham Castle in Yorkshire when his royal brother died, and he began his journey towards London while King Edward's body lay in state in St. Stephen's Chapel. Edward, prince of Wales, aged twelve, was at Ludlow, the administrative center of the principality of Wales, when his father died; and he soon set out for London. The entourages of Duke Richard and Prince Edward met at Stony Stratford in Northamptonshire on 30 April, and Duke Richard took charge of his nephew. The royal party entered London on Sunday, 4 May, and was appropriately welcomed by assembled dignitaries. It was the following Saturday, 10 May, when Richard of Gloucester, having been named protector of England, appointed John Gunthorpe to be keeper of the privy seal. There is documentary evidence that Gunthorpe took up the keepership during the nominal reign of Edward V.[130] The astonishing course of events over the next few weeks led to Richard of Gloucester becoming king on 26 June, and his reappointment, as King Richard III, of Gunthorpe as keeper on 27 June. Gunthorpe was with the new king by this time, for he was present on 27 June when the great seal was delivered by Richard into the custody of the new chancellor, Bishop Russell of Lincoln.[131]

It seems reasonable to think that about the time Richard of Gloucester reached London, and the burial of Edward IV had been well completed, that Gunthorpe commended himself to Richard's service or, perhaps, was recruited into Richard's service. The connection was firm by 10 May.[132] The great pageant of a royal coronation was set for Sunday, 6 July, and Gunthorpe would have his part to play. In anticipation of the coronation, Gunthorpe was issued twelve yards of scarlet cloth with which to have suitable attire tailored.[133] The participants in the coronation gathered in Westminster Hall early Sunday morning. The ecclesiastical procession entered the hall led by the abbot and community of Westminster Abbey, and behind them came the members of the chapel royal led by Gunthorpe who, although keeper of the privy seal, was functioning as dean of the chapel royal.[134] A prayer was said over the king by Bishop William Dudley of Durham, and the procession was formed up to make its way from Westminster Hall to the west door of Westminster Abbey. During the procession the singers of the chapel royal lifted up the anthem *Ecce mitto angeleum meum,* and Gunthorpe was inevitably involved in this and in other liturgical elements of the coronation. The coronation of Richard III and of his queen, Anne Neville, was an extremely lavish ritual, and upon its completion the coronation party processed back

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[129] The events from Edward's death to his interment are narrated in Scofield (n. 31 above) 2.365-368; and Ross, *Edward IV* (n. 99 above) 415-418.

[130] Rosemary Horrox and P. W. Hammond, eds., *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433,* 4 vols. (Gloucester 1979-1983) 3.16.

[131] *CCR (1476-85)* 346.

[132] Horrox and Hammond, eds., *Harleian 433* (n. 130 above) I.71.

[133] Sutton and Hammond, eds., *Coronation of Richard III* (n. 127 above) 165.

[134] Ibid. 36-37, 351-352.

to Westminster Hall, where the king and queen were able to take their ease. The investiture of Richard's and Anne's son, Edward of Middleham, as prince of Wales would be a separate ceremony performed at York on 8 September.[135] After a pause for rest on the day of the coronation, the king and queen presided in the afternoon at the high table in Westminster Hall over an elegant banquet. Gunthorpe sat with bishops, peers, judges, men of law, and others at one of the four long tables provided for guests.[136] Celebratory events associated with the coronation continued to the following Sunday, 13 July, when Richard set out to Greenwich as the first stage of a progress around his kingdom. While at Greenwich, on 16 July, Richard again confirmed Gunthorpe's daily salary of £1 as keeper of the privy seal, ordering that the monies be drawn from the customs and subsidies taken in at the ports of Sandwich, Poole, Bristol, Southampton, and Bridgewater.[137] This income, taken with other sources of income enjoyed by Gunthorpe that have been mentioned, come into perspective when it is remembered that the chief justice of King's Bench, Sir John Fortescue, writing about 1470, could say that £5 a year was sufficient income to mark a man as a yeoman.[138] Gunthorpe enjoyed an immensely greater income than a financially comfortable yeoman. In the reign of Richard III, for instance, Gunthorpe obtained lands of unknown value in Kent[139] and in London.[140] It is impossible to know Gunthorpe's income, not only because of the lack of financial accounts, but also because he would have been the recipient of unrecorded hospitality, gifts, and douceurs such as fell to a man who had access to the ear of the king.

There is no evidence that Gunthorpe accompanied King Richard on his post-coronation journey. As keeper of the privy seal and a principal royal councilor, it would seem fitting that Gunthorpe would have traveled with the king, but with no indication of his having done so, it may be thought to have seemed more useful to Richard that Gunthorpe remain at the center of governmental administration while the king was away. The work of the Privy Seal Office was almost entirely secretarial business of an everyday sort carried out at Westminster by a staff of clerks headed by the chief of their number, the secondary. No thorough privy seal archive was developed (and most if its files were destroyed by fire in 1619) and, unlike the chancellor, who over the generations as head of the Chancery had taken on significant judicial and administrative responsibilities in government, the keeper of the privy seal had no such tasks to perform. The privy seal was used as the authenticating seal for business of the king's council and to authenticate letters sent to the Chancery, the Exchequer, and certain other recipients. However, the king had his signet seal with him at all times in the pos session of the king's secretary, and the privy seal could remain at Westminster. Signet letters were often sent to the Privy Seal Office to set governmental processes in motion, and the signet seal had developed greater administrative vigor than the privy seal under Edward IV. The keeper of the privy seal, nevertheless, remained one of the greatest and most influential officers in the kingdom.[141] Most of what Gunthorpe did in his strict capacity as keeper in

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[135] A. C. Reeves, "King Richard III at York in Late Summer 1483," *The Ricardian* 12 (2000-2002) 549-*550.*

[136] Sutton and Hammond, eds., *Coronation of Richard Ill* (n. 127 above) 44, 280 n. 130.

[137] *CCR (1476-85)* 312; *CPR (1476-85)* 460; Rymer, ed., *Foedera* (n. 7 above) 12.194, 197.

[138] Sir John Fortescue, *The Governance of England,* ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford 1885) 151.

[139] *CCR (1476-85)* 359 (31 December 1483). There was also a legal process in Norfolk late in 1484 that may have involved Gunthorpe and, if so, to his financial gain: ibid. *(1476-85)* 406-407.

[140] Ibid. *(1476-85)* 423 (3 June 1485).

[141] A. L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London 1989) 44-51; J.M. Currin, "'Pro Expensis Ambassatorum': Diplomacy and Financial Administration in the Reign of Henry VII," *English Historical Review* 108 (1993) 596-597; Rhoda Edwards, *The Itinerary of Richard III, 1483- 1485* (London 1983) xv; Hicks, *Richard III* (n. 118 above) 43; and B. Wilkinson, *Constitutional History of England in the Fifteenth Century (1399-1485)* (London 1964) 267.

the reign of Richard III would have been oral and consultative and has left no record trace. There is little more than curiosity about Richard's ordering Gunthorpe on 22 November 1483 to remove Richard Bele as a clerk in the Privy Seal Office because of the underhanded means by which Bele obtained his post, and that Bele was still on the job on 16 January 1485.[142] Richard's order to Gunthorpe was issued from Winchester where Richard had been in the after math of suppressing the rebellion raised against him and led by Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and Richard was soon back at Westminster where Gunthorpe witnessed on 26 November the returning of the great seal by Richard to his chancellor, Bishop Russell.[143]

While keeper of the privy seal, Gunthorpe served his king in Anglo-Scottish diplomacy. In the years just before becoming king, Richard displayed a bellicose attitude towards Scotland. Louis XI of France and James III of Scotland were of like mind in being wary of Edward IV of England. In 1481 Edward spent vast amounts of money and effort on a proposed Scottish military campaign that never materialized. The next year Richard of Gloucester commanded a large army that advanced far enough into Scotland to occupy Edinburgh briefly and to capture Berwick-upon-Tweed, held by Scotland since 1461.[144] The Anglo-Scottish war effectively ended with the deaths of

Edward IV and Louis XI in 1483. As king, Richard was keen on the security of his kingdom, whereas while duke of Gloucester he had been ambitious to gain by war if necessary increased territorial influence in the north. Thus it was that in the very summer he became king, Richard III began seeking peace with Scotland.[145] Diplomatic exchanges between Richard III and James III led to the dispatching of Scottish ambassadors to England, where they were met at Nottingham by Richard in September 1484. One of the ranking ambassadors commissioned on the English side to make peace was John Gunthorpe.[146] An indenture of truce for three years was sealed by both sides on 21 September. There was also an alliance made for a marriage between the son and heir of James III, the future James IV, and the niece of Richard III, Anne de la Pole. The marriage never happened, but the truce held through Richard's reign.

Five months after Gunthorpe participated in the truce-making with Scotland, he was involved in the other episode of his diplomatic service on behalf of Richard III. Bishop Russell of Lincoln, Gunthorpe, and four others were empowered on 20 February 1485 to negotiate for an extension of the existing truce with Francis II, duke of Brittany.[147] Brittany had become a place where opponents of Richard III gathered, and Richard engaged in continuing diplomatic efforts, which were ultimately unsuccessful, to eliminate Brittany as a haven for his enemies.[148] In the end it became clear that the most dangerous of those enemies was Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond. Henry Tudor, who became King Henry VII, was the son of Margaret Beaufort, great granddaughter of John of Gaunt, and her husband

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[142] Horrox and Hammond, eds., *Harleian 433* (n. 130 above) 2.36, 190.

[143] Edwards, *Itinerary of Richard Ill* (n. 141 above) 10-11; *CCR (1476-85)* 346-347. For the Buckingham episode, see Louise Gill, *Richard III and Buckingham 's Rebellion* (Stroud 1999).

[144] Hicks, *Richard III* (n. 118 above) 59-60; Ross, *Edward IV* (n. 99 above) 278-290.

[145] P. J. Bradley, "Anglo-Scottish Relations during the Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University 1983) 300-305; C. J. Neville, *Violence, Custom and Law: The Anglo-Scottish Border Lands in the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh 1998)162-166.

[146] James Gairdner, ed., *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard Ill and Henry VII,* 2 vols. (London 1861-1863) 1.63-67.

[147] Rymer, ed., *Foedera* (n. 7 above) 12.260. The other four members of this impressive embassy were two knights of the body, Thomas Burgh, KG, and Thomas Montgomery, KG, together with William Catesby, an esquire of the king's body, and Dr. Thomas Hutton, a canon of Lincoln Cathedral.

[148] Hicks, *Richard III* (n. 118 above) 154; Ross, *Richard III (n. 5* above) 194-201.

Edmund Tudor, half-brother of King Henry VI. Henry Tudor and his uncle Jasper, earl of Pembroke, had fled from England among the defeated after the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. Duke Francis gave the Tudors asylum in Brittany, and they seemed no great threat to Edward IV. They became a threat after Richard III became king, and there was an invasion attempt by Henry Tudor from Brittany in October 1483. The truce with Brittany that was the commission of Gunthorpe was extended to 1492,[149] but still it was with Breton and French assistance that Henry Tudor sailed from Harfleur for southwest Wales in 1485. Where Gunthorpe was when the invaders landed at Milford Haven on 7 August is not known.

On 22 August Henry Tudor went on to military victory at Bosworth in Leicester shire, where Richard III was killed. Gunthorpe had served Richard faithfully in a highly visible public office in King Richard's reign, but as an able ecclesiastic in royal service he could slip through the transition from the dynasty of York to that of Tudor without being branded a partisan. It has been suggested that Richard III lacked enthusiasm for the service given him by John Gunthorpe.[150] If true, it might help explain the tranquility of Gunthorpe's transition to Tudor authority. However, the suggestion is based upon the relative lack of patronage given by Richard to Gunthorpe, and that is difficult to credit. Richard need not have appointed and retained Gunthorpe as keeper of the privy seal. The keepership was, after all, rather an aberration considering Gunthorpe's obvious preference for priestly and consultative royal service out of public view; Richard may have had to exercise persuasion to get Gunthorpe to accept the keepership. Gunthorpe posed no threat to Richard, for he had no power base other than his service to the house of York, and Richard had no need to keep him close and under observation. Had Richard not valued Gunthorpe, he could have allowed Gunthorpe to pass comfortably out of government service into residence as dean of Wells. Gunthorpe had abundant income and may have encouraged Richard to use royal patronage to secure the adherence of those less loyal and reliable than he. A gesture of affection can readily be seen in Richard's gift to Gunthorpe in May 1485 of the swans in the waters of Somersetshire.[151] The swan had long association with royalty and chivalry and had been used as a badge by Henry IV and Henry V and by the Bohun family.[152]

RETIREMENT TO WELLS AND HENRY VII

The new king, Henry VII, did not call Gunthorpe to a lofty office in government, but neither did he exclude Gunthorpe from royal service. On 12 February 1486 Gunthorpe was issued a general pardon for any malfeasance while holding his many appointments under the Yorkist kings.[153] The pardon most likely says more about King Henry's need for money from selling pardons than anything about Gunthorpe's possible transgressions, and in the pardon Richard III is described as "nuper de facto et non de jure Regis Angliae." In the second parliament of Henry VII's reign (November-December 1487), the third parliament (January-February 1489), and the sixth parliament (January-March 1497), all of which met at Westminster, Gunthorpe acted as a receiver of petitions from the Channel Islands, Gascony,

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[149] Rymer, ed., *Foedera* (n. 7 above) 12.261.

[150] Horrox and Hammond, eds., *Harleian 433* (n. 130 above) I.xviii.

[151] Ibid. 2.223.

[152] Joan Evans, *English Art, 1307-1461* (Oxford 1949) 63-64. Those who had previously enjoyed the Somerset swans were Thomas Grey (d. 1501), marques of Dorset and son of queen dowager Elizabeth Woodville, and Giles Daubeney (d. I 508), a member of a gentry family of Somerset, but these two men had forfeited their rights by joining the Buckingham rebellion of 1483.

[153] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.292-293.

and other lands beyond Britain.[154] These parliamentary activities under the first Tudor king are evidence that Gunthorpe was not in disgrace and that his past experience was appreciated. Gunthorpe was also brought into Henry VII's service as a diplomat. On 12 December 1486 a safe conduct was issued for the entry into England of ambassadors representing Maximilian of Austria, king of the Romans.[155] Maximilian was a man who must have set the mind of Henry VII in motion. Maximilian had in August 1477 married Mary of Burgundy, only child and heiress of Duke Charles of Burgundy and step-daughter of Margaret of York, dowager duchess of Burgundy and sister of the late English kings Edward IV and Richard III, as well as aunt of Edward IV's daughter, Elizabeth of York, whom Henry had married in January 1486. Duchess Margaret was no friend of the man who had been responsible for the ending of the Yorkist dynasty as kings of England, and King Henry did not want the Burgundian Low Countries, now ruled by Maximilian, to become a haven for Yorkist enemies of the Tudor regime.[156] Maximilian knew he had a reasonable hereditary claim to the English throne as a descendant of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, but he also wanted friendly and commercially viable relations with England. While fostering good relations with Henry VII, he was also willing to support efforts to overthrow the English king. On 15 December 1486 a commission was issued to thirteen men to engage in discussions with the ambassadors of Maximilian who had come to England.[157] The primary ecclesiastic on the commission was Gunthorpe. The leading layman on the commission was Giles Daubeney, now Lord Daubeney and captain of Calais, who had fled to Henry Tudor in Brittany in 1483 and had returned with Henry, whom he supported in the fight at Bosworth.158 The negotiations with Maximilian's representatives achieved very modest success in that on 2 January 1487 the treaty that had been put in place between England and Burgundy in 1478 was renewed for a month, with Maximilian bestowing his ratification on 26 January.[159] Soon afterward, although without Gunthorpe's involvement, the alliance of 1478 was further extended, but the Low Countries were not eliminated as a gathering place for opponents to Henry VII's kingship.

Henry VII was in the process of strengthening his hold on the kingdom, even to requiring many of his subjects to obtain pardons for perhaps questionable land transactions; for Gunthorpe it involved lands in the counties of Sussex and Nottingham.[160] As Henry was paying attention to matters in England, he was continuing with European diplomacy, and on 10 March 1488 Gunthorpe was called, as he had been in 1466, to act in Anglo-Iberian

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[154] Rosemary Horrox, ed., "Henry VII: Parliament of 1487, Text and Translation," ***PROME,*** under "The Opening of Parliament"; idem, ed., "Henry VII: Parliament of 1489, Text and Translation," ***PROME,*** under "The Opening of Parliament"; idem, ed., "Henry VII: Parliament of 1497, Text and Translation," ***PROME,*** under "The Opening of Parliament."

[155] Rymer, ed., *Foedera* (n. 7 above) 12.318.

[156] M. J. Bennett, *Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke* (Gloucester 1987) 53; Weightman (n. 45 above) 148-153.

[157] William Campbell, ed., *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII,* 2 vols. (London 1873-1877) 2.77; Rymer, ed., *Foedera* (n. 7 above) 12.319.

[158] For Daubeney, see S. J. Gunn, "The Courtiers of Henry VII," *English Historical Review* 108 (1993) 28-31; D. A. Luckett, "Crown Patronage and Political Morality in Early Tudor England: The Case of Giles, Lord Daubeney," *English Historical Review* I 10 (1995) 578-595; and S. D. Michalove, "Giles Daubeney: Hastings to Henry VII?" *Traditions and Transformations in late Medieval England,* ed. D. L. Biggs, S. D. Michalove, and A. C. Reeves (Leiden 2002) 217-235.

[159] Rymer, ed., *Foedera* (n. 7 above) 12.320-321.

[160] *CPR (1485-94)* 210; Campbell, ed., *Materials for the Reign of Henry VII* (n. 157 above) 2.214. The pardon is dated 15 December 1487.

diplomacy.[161] The rising power of the kingdoms ruled by Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, married since 1469, attracted King Henry, who was sensitive to the antipathy of the English towards France as well as desirous of preserving Calais. The embassy to which Gunthorpe was called in 1488 was a beginning step towards the Treaty of Medina del Campo of 1489 which, among other important terms, provided for the marriage of Catherine, daughter of Fernando and Isabel, to Arthur, son of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. There were five men commissioned as ambassadors to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1488, and one had experiences in common with Gunthorpe. This was Christopher Urswick (d. 1522), who was king's almoner and who in the course of his affiliation with Cambridge, which culminated in a doctorate in canon law, had been a fellow and later warden of King's Hall.[162] Urswick had been with Henry Tudor in Brittany and accompanied Henry on the Bos worth campaign. Dr. Thomas Savage, also a member of the embassy, would conduct the marriage of Catherine and Arthur in St. Paul's Cathedral in 1501 and die as archbishop of York in 1507.[163] Savage, like Gunthorpe, had had a period of university study in Italy, as did another member of the embassy, Dr. Henry Aynesworth (d. 1518), who was chaplain to the king.[164] The other member of this distinguished group was the prior of the Order of St. John in England, John Weston.

Gunthorpe's diplomatic service for Henry VII came in the first years of the reign when Gunthorpe was likely around sixty years of age and perhaps ready to put the London and Westminster scene behind him. Gunthorpe had been dean of Wells for fifteen years when he completed his Anglo-Iberian diplomatic task, and at some time after the death of Richard III Gunthorpe became the resident dean of Wells. Being the presiding officer of a community of cathedral clergy would not have been dissimilar to being dean of the chapel royal, but almost certainly the stress level would have been lower in Wells than in the king's household. In a surviving part of the act book of the chapter of canons at Wells, it is noted under the date 30 September 1486 that Gunthorpe had been called away on royal service.[165] This suggests that it was within the year after Bosworth that Gunthorpe took up residence in Wells.

There were many things about becoming resident dean that might have attracted Gunthorpe. Wells is in a scenic location with the Mendip Hills to the north and the broad wetlands of Somerset to the south. The diocese of Bath and Wells was contiguous with the county of Somerset and so was not a vast area for a cathedral church to serve. Moreover, it was a diocese with two cathedral churches, that of Wells with its dean and chapter of canons as the governing clergy and that of Bath staffed by a community of Benedictine monks headed by its prior. The bishops of Bath and Wells during Gunthorpe's day were seldom a presence, although there was an imposing bishop's palace adjacent to the Wells Cathedral precincts, to which Bishop Thomas Bekynton had added a north wing earlier in the fifteenth century. Bishop Robert Stillington, who entered office in 1466, was very active in the political life of the kingdom and seldom in his diocese; he died in prison in 1491.[166] The next bishop, Richard Fox, was translated from Exeter in 1492, and then moved to

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[161] Campbell, ed., *Materials for the Reign of Henry VII* (n. 157 above) 2.273; Rymer, ed., *Foedera* (n. 7 above) 12.336.

[162] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 605-606.

[163] Emden, *Register of Oxford* (n. 4 above) 3.1646-1647.

[164] Ibid. 1.84-85.

[165] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.10 I. In private correspondence, Anne Crawford, archivist of Wells Cathedral, suggested that the more formal keeping of cathedral chapter records from 1486 might indicate the arrival on the scene of a career royal administrator. I also wish to acknowledge with thanks that Anne Crawford was kind enough to read this essay and make helpful comments.

[166] K. L. French, *The People of the Parish* (Philadelphia 2001) 6-8.

Durham in 1494, and was followed by Oliver King, who was still bishop when Gunthorpe died. The normal absence of the bishop left the dean of Wells Cathedral as the ranking ecclesiastic in the locality.

Christianity had come to Wells in the seventh century, but the cathedral church Gunthorpe knew had been started in the twelfth century to replace an earlier structure, with additions being made over the centuries.[167] On the west front of the cathedral, the southern tower had been constructed a century before Gunthorpe's time; the northern tower was constructed early in the fifteenth century, and so would have seemed new to Gunthorpe, as would the fifteenth-century library built as a long gallery above the cloister extending off the east side of the cathedral nave.[168] Most recently Bishop Bekynton (1443-1465), in addition to augmenting the bishop's palace, also had built a well house or conduit house across the moat from the bishop's palace to be part of the water supply system for the palace and town. The city takes its name from the abundant and constant water supply coming from wells; the water was in part channeled through the well house and then through conduits to the fountain in the market place and along the streets to keep them clean. Bekynton had a bishop's throne constructed in the cathedral and patronized still further work outside the cathedral.[169] The library had been built above the east wing of the cloisters, which extended off the south side of the nave, and Bekynton provided money to build a choir school and audit room above the west side. Bekynton financed the building of a gateway, known as the Bishop's Eye, between the town market place and the precincts of the bishop's palace; another gateway, known as Penniless Porch, between the market place and the cathedral green (where beggars clustered), which stretched away from the west front of the cathedral; and still another gateway at the north-west corner of the cathedral green, known as Brown's Gate or the Dean's Eye. Each of these three gateways was an impressive structure, but Bekynton was responsible for another still more magnificent construction effort.

In the early fourteenth century the octagonal chapter house was constructed adjacent to the cathedral on the north, just beyond which ran the main road between Bath and Wells.[170] Across the road from the cathedral had been constructed in the fourteenth century the Vicars' Hall beside the road, and the Vicars' Close, which consisted of forty-two small houses in two rows with a chapel at the end of the houses away from the cathedral. The purpose of this construction project was to provide for the needs of the vicars, or deputies, of the canons. The vicars choral needed a place to reside close to the cathedral, their own chapel, and a hall where they could take meals together or hold meetings. Bishop Bekynton provided money for repairing the houses in the Vicars' Close and, more impressively, provided for the building of a combination bridge and gateway, known jointly as the Chain Bridge and the Chain Gate, which crossed above the Bath road and linked the chapter house with the Vicars' Hall, which in turn opened into the Vicars' Close.

The glowing and fresh reputation of Bishop Bekynton as a builder in the Wells ecclesiastical community would have been impressed upon Gunthorpe when he became cathedral dean, and it could easily have been the example of Bekynton which inspired Gunthorpe's building works. No building accounts survive for the works financed by Gunthorpe, which is unfortunate because the date, cost, and process of building would be of great interest. One of his major works, his chest tomb in St. Katherine's Chapel in the

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[167] Antonia Gransden, "The History of Wells Cathedral c.1090-1547," *Wells Cathedral: A History,* ed. L. S. Colchester (West Compton House 1982) 25, 32, 35-45.
[168] R. H. Malden, *The Story of Wells Cathedral* (London 1947) 30-34.
[169] Arnold Judd, *The Life of Thomas Bekynton* (Chichester 1961) chap. 7.
[1170] Gransden (n. 167 above) 36-38; Malden (n. 168 above) 33-34.

southeast portion of the cathedral, holds the mortal remains of the dean.[171] Gunthorpe in 1487 presented to the cathedral a silver gilt image of the Virgin Mary weighing 163 ounces,[172] which, unlike Gunthorpe's tomb, does not survive, but may be a clue to the dean's religious life. Another of his building works centered on the village of Ditcheat, a few miles south of Wells, and Gunthorpe had become rector of the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene there before becoming dean of Wells. The oldest part of the church at Ditcheat dates from the twelfth century, and contains a curious thirteenth-century wall painting of St. Christopher, discovered and poorly restored in the 1930s. The nave, isles, and transepts were rebuilt in the fifteenth century; and on the outside of the church, carved in the parapet on the south wall at the very east end, can be seen the coat of arms of Gunthorpe, described as a chevron between three guns or, more correctly, breech-chambers.[173]

The most imposing of Gunthorpe's building works is what is known today as the Deanery, which dominates the north side of the Wells Cathedral Green. There was a residence for the dean long before Gunthorpe came into office, but he carried out extensive rebuilding by adding the north range to the building. The building work likely was set in motion before 1483 because the badge of Edward IV, the *rose en soleil* is carved on the oriel windows of the north front of the building.[174] These building works in Somerset suggest that Gunthorpe was happy to live in Wells and had no desire to undertake at his age the itinerant life of a bishop, even though his career path had before 1485 pointed towards a bishopric through the holding of such posts as the deanship of the chapel royal and the keepership of the privy seal. On the north side of the Deanery the rebus or personal sign of Gunthorpe can be seen carved in several forms; he apparently enjoyed the artistic play on his name. We see carved a cannon wrapped in a scroll upon which his motto was doubtless lettered, stone cannon mouths protruding with cannon-balls emerging, and the breech-chamber appears more than a hundred times inside and outside the wing of the Deanery built by Gunthorpe. The use of the rebus may itself have been inspired by Bishop Bekynton, whose rebus, a flaming beacon in the form of a cask or tun raised on a post (beacon-tun), can be seen on the east side of Penniless Porch and other places.[175]

Gunthorpe's building works in Wells would have been welcome from an economic as well as an aesthetic perspective, for the city was experiencing economic depression and unemployment in Gunthorpe's day.[176] Wells was a small city, some seven-tenths of a square mile, and probably had a population of twelve or thirteen hundred.[177] The legal face of Wells was the corporate body of privileged burgesses who belonged to the city's one

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[171] H. W. Pereia, "Brief Notes on the Heraldry of the Glass and Other Memorials in Wells Cathedral," *Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings* 34 (1888) 40-53, item XXVI.

[172] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.106.

[173] An account of an excursion to Ditcheat Church is printed in *Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings* 36 (1890) 27. What are described as guns, an obvious play on Gunthorpe's name, are actually breech-chambers, but still playing on Gunthorpe's name. Cannons in Gunthorpe's time frequently had several removable and interchangeable chambers to hold gunpowder, which could be fitted into an opening near the cannon breech. After firing, the empty chamber would be removed and a charged one wedged into place. Kelly DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology* (Lewiston, NY 1992) 155. A breech chamber was basically a cylinder with a handle, and rather straightforward to carve or draw as a decorative or heraldic element. Breech-chambers can be seen at Portsmouth among the artifacts recovered from Henry VIII's warship *Mary Rose,* which sank in 1545.

[174] Marion Meek, *The Wells Liberty* (Wells 1982) 10; J. H. Parker, "The Ecclesiastical Buildings of Wells," *Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings* 12 (1863-1864) 26, 29; Plumptre, *Wells and Its Deans* (n. 80 above) 17-18.

[175] A drawing of Bekynton's rebus is in Judd (n. 169 above) 190.

[176] D. G. Shaw, *The Creation of a Community: The City of Wells in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1993) 80, 164,240.

[177] Ibid. 36, 44-45, 58.

socio-economic-religious guild, the Borough Community of Wells; there were no craft guilds in Wells.[178] The leading civic official, chosen annually by the Borough Community, was the Master of Wells.[179] In another singularity, the population of Wells was served by a single parish church, St. Cuthbert.[180] In the Wells environment, Gunthorpe cut a very substantial figure. As the highest ranking ecclesiastic living in Wells and assuredly as one of the most wealthy residents, Gunthorpe would have enjoyed deferential respect and courteous recognition as he went about his daily activities. These factors, together with the prestige of his governmental career, would have made Gunthorpe a local dignitary of supreme eminence.

The cathedral chapter at Wells was made up of twenty-two canons when it was established in the twelfth century and was more than double that number by Gunthorpe's day,[181] but the full complement was never in residence. It was more normal that ten to twelve canons would be residentiaries in Gunthorpe's time.[182] If the dean happened to be absent from Wells, there was a sub-dean who could substitute in choir and in many other duties; and for most of Gunthorpe's tenure as dean the sub-dean was John Wansford, who resigned in 1491, and was followed by Dr. William Boket, an Oxford-educated canon lawyer.[183] However, next in dignity to the dean at Wells was not the sub-dean but rather the precentor, whose main responsibility lay with music in the cathedral. Thomas Overay or Overey (d. 1493), who held an Oxford degree in civil law, obtained the precentorship about the time Gunthorpe became dean, and he was followed by Dr. William Warham (d. 1532), who was precentor when Gunthorpe died, and who as an Oxford-educated doctor of civil law had a very distinguished career, which included being chancellor of England and concluded with being archbishop of Canterbury.[184] Overay appears frequently in the surviving records of the dean and chapter; and another dignitary who appears frequently is Hugh Sugar (d. 1489), who as treasurer had responsibility for the plate, vestments, and other treasures of the cathedral.[185] Sugar apparently had a difficult personality, which led to conflict with other members of the chapter. In 1487, for instance, a quarrel between Gunthorpe and the chapter on one side and Dr. Sugar (a civil lawyer) on the other side had to be submit ted to arbitration for settlement.[186] The dispute was over Sugar's cutting of trees in the churchyard, assigning burial sites, and issues about lights in the cathedral. After Sugar's death, a careful inventory of the jewels, ornaments, and other items in the treasury was carried out, and the chamber Sugar occupied at the end of the cathedral nave was converted into a muniment room. In 1495 Gunthorpe promulgated statutes concerning the responsibilities and rights of the cathedral treasurer.[187]

Gunthorpe's educational background must have given him an interest in the work of the cathedral school at Wells, but the chancellor, in whose sphere of responsibility the school lay, was Robert Wilson (d. 1496). Wilson resided in the diocese of York, but in 1488 he nominated James Grenehalgh as master of the schools.[188] One canon residentiary with whom

[178] Ibid. 141, 164, 183-184.
[179] Ibid. 158-159, 189-193.
[180] Ibid. 36, 110.
[181] S. E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals* (Princeton 1988) *5.*
[182] Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages,* 2nd ed. (Manchester 1967) 73.
[183] Le Neve, *Fasti, VIII, Bath and Wells* (n. 80 above) 12; Emden, *Register of Oxford* (n. 4 above) 1.211 (Boket).
[184] Emden, *Register of Oxford* (n. 4 above) 2.1411, 3.1988-1992; Le Neve, *Fasti, VIII, Bath and Wells* (n. 80 above) 7.
[185] Emden, *Register of Oxford* (n. 4 above) 3.1814; Le Neve, *Fasti, VIII, Bath and Wells* (n. 80 above) 11.
[186] *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.108-109, 115.
[187] Gransden, "History of Wells Cathedral" (n. 167 above) 44.
[188] *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.113; Emden, *Register of Oxford* (n. 4 above) 2.821 (Grenehalgh), 3.2052 (Wilson); Le Neve, *Fasti, VI/L Bath and Wells* (n. 80 above) 9.

Gunthorpe must have formed a friendship was John Lascy (d. 1493), who bequeathed to Gunthorpe a standing silver cup with a cover.[189] Another canon who Gunthorpe must have found interesting was Richard Nykke, who took up residence in 1492.[190] Nykke had studied at Cambridge and then went to Italy to study in Ferrara and then Bologna, where he became a doctor of canon and civil law. In 1494 Gunthorpe and Nykke were appointed to go to London together to do business with Bishop King. Nykke spent the last three decades and more (1501-1535) of his life as bishop of Norwich. Another member of the cathedral community who Gunthorpe likely appreciated was Henry Abyndon (d. 1497).[191] Abyndon was succentor for the cathedral, assistant to the precentor, and thus normally the actual director of the music at the high altar and in choir. Abyndon was granted the first known bachelor of music degree from Cambridge, had experience in the chapel royal, and was a noted organist, singer, and music director. Yet another ecclesiastic with whom Gunthorpe could have enjoyed associating was Thomas Cornish (d. 1513), an Oxford master of arts, canon and resident of Wells, and titular bishop of Tenos and suffragan bishop in the diocese of Bath and Wells.[192] It happened that Cornish, together with another canon residentiary, Thomas Gilbert, acted as steward of the deanery after Gunthorpe's death.[193]

As dean of Wells, Gunthorpe's interests extended into the judicial sphere through the court Christian within his authority. One case in which Gunthorpe pronounced sentence early in 1490 concerned the actions of John Pope, one of the four priests serving the chantry of Bishop Nicholas Bubwith (d. 1424) and an *annuellarius,* that is, he celebrated mass on the anniversaries of the deaths of various people.[194] Pope had confessed to adultery with Margery Andrews, who often stayed the night with Pope in his room in Monterey College where the chantry chaplains lived. Gunthorpe sentenced Pope to carry a half-pound wax candle while clad in his surplice and with bare head and bare feet ahead of the procession into the cathedral, and then to stand in his stall saying the seven penitential psalms during mass, and then to offer the wax to St. Andrew, the patron saint of the cathedral. The prospect of such humiliation was too much for Pope, who refused to accept the punishment, and was dismissed from employment (as was no doubt Gunthorpe's desire). In the autumn of 1495 Gunthorpe presided in the chapter house over another scandalous case.[195] Three altarists of the cathedral—Edmund Lascy, Baldwin House, and John Trenche—were accused of being out in the town with swords and staves almost every night, and sometimes all night, despite the impropriety of such behavior, and Trenche was further accused of beating a man with a stick in the churchyard and also of having sex with a woman in the churchyard. How the charges against the altarists were resolved escaped recording.

Prurient matters, such as the Pope and Trenche cases, seem to have been rare. Most of Gunthorpe's recorded acts as dean were administrative and routine. On a virtually annual basis he was given leave to perform the business of the church in London or to attend upon the king.[196] His travels to meet his various responsibilities likely accounts for Gunthorpe

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[189] Weaver, ed., *Somerset Medieval Wills* (n. 13 above) 301.

[190] *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.125-126, 130, 138; Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 430-431; Le Neve, *Fasli, VIII, Bath and Wells* (n. 80 above) 14, *55.*

[191] Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals* (n. 182 above) 170; Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 1-2; Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (n. 59 above) 454.

[192] Emden, *Register of Oxford* (n. 4 above) 1.491-492; Le Neve, *Fasti, VIII, Bath and Wells* (n. 80 above) 7, 9, 41-42; J. A. F. Thomson, "Richard Toilet and Thomas Comish: Two West Country Early Tudor Churchmen," *Southern History* 19 (1997) 67-70.

[193] *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.151.

[194] Ibid. 2.118.

[195] Ibid. 2.142.

[196] Ibid. 2.101, 109, 114, 117, 121-122, 125, 127, 135-136, 138, 143, 145.

becoming in 1493 a feoffee of the Essex knight Sir Robert Billesdon.[197] As dean Gunthorpe received fees for confirming tenants on ecclesiastical estates, nominated vicars and chantry chaplains, presented parish priests, or terminated the employment of an altarist.[198] As dean, Gunthorpe even got drawn into a case of priestly contumacy in the neighboring diocese of Exeter.[199] In 1493 Gunthorpe and the Wells chapter secured from Bishop Fox clear authority to install and induct all dignitaries, parsons, and officers in the cathedral, as well as confirmation that the three archdeacons of the diocese (of Wells, Bath, and Taunton) would render an annual autumn account of the income from vacant benefices in their respective archdeaconries to the chapter and pay over two-thirds of the income to the dean and chapter.[200] Also in 1493, as dean of Wells, Gunthorpe confirmed the election of John Cantlow (d. 1499) as prior of the cathedral priory of Bath.[201] Several financial boons fell to the Wells chapter while Gunthorpe was dean.[202] For instance, in 1486 four Gloucestershire men entered into a bond with Dean Gunthorpe and the chapter to make seven payments of £5 over the next several years with the last payment coming at Michaelmas 1491, and in 1495 the Gloucestershire gentleman William Llywelyn made a grant of £5 yearly for five years to the dean and chapter of Wells.

Some graceful records survive of Gunthorpe as dean of Wells. In 1482 he was named as one of the beneficiaries of prayers to be offered by a guild for which a group of men obtained a royal license to found in the parish church of St. Mary at Croscombe in Somersetshire.[203] In 1492 the English Premonstratensian canons granted him letters of fraternity.[204] In 1496 Joan Maiewe, a widow of the parish of Croscombe, showed sufficient trust in Gunthorpe to name him the overseer of her will.[205] Such notices are a gentle balance to a matter like Bishop King issuing an inhibition against Gunthorpe in 1498, as an attempted infringement of the bishop's authority, because Gunthorpe proposed to hold an official visitation of the canons of Wells to evaluate their occupational performance.[206]

As a man of learning, Gunthorpe would have had a great interest in the cathedral library built earlier in the fifteenth century over the eastern walk of the cloister through a bequest of Bishop Nicholas Bubwith, who died in 1424. Gunthorpe was a collector of books, but his collection has not remained intact. Unlike his contemporaries Bishop John Russell of Lincoln, whose books went to New College, Oxford, or Bishop James Goldwell of Norwich, whose books went to All Souls College, Oxford, it is likely impossible that a picture of Gunthorpe's personal library will ever be pieced together.[207] Those two bishops are the first Englishmen known to have purchased printed books (1465-1467),[208] but Gunthorpe

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[197] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Henry VII* (n. 76 above) 1.541-542.

[198] *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.97, 106-107, 112, 133; *Registers of King and De Costello,* ed. Maxwell-Lyte (n. 38 above) 2, 4.

[199] *Calendar of the Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, Vol. XV: 1484-1492,* ed. M. J. Haren (Dublin 1978) 253-254. 10 February 1490.

[200] *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 1.481-482.

[201] *The Register of Richard Fox while Bishop of Bath and Wells, A.D. MCCCCXCII-MCCCCXCIV,* ed. E. C. Batten (London 1889) 64. For Cantlow, see Joan Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury, c.1066 to 1540* (Oxford 1997) 17-18.

[202] *Calendar of Manuscripts of Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.197-198.

[203] *CPR (1476-85)* 159-160; Campbell, ed., *Materials for the Reign of Henry VII (n.* 157 above) 2.524.

[204] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 276.

[205] Weaver, ed., *Somerset Medieval Wills* (n. 13 above) 347-348.

[206] *Registers of King and Costello,* ed. Maxwell-Lyte (n. 38 above) 15.

[207] Elizabeth Armstrong, "English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent, 1465-1526," *English Historical Review* 94 (1979) 283. See also C.H. Clough, "John Gunthorpe," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* 60 vols. (Oxford 2004) 24.262-263.

[208] Ibid. 268-269.

accepted the new technology of printing just as he did the current technology of gunpowder weapons. It is fitting to recall that coincidental with Gunthorpe's mature years were the entrepreneurial ventures of England's first printers: William Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and Richard Pynson.

Gunthorpe was almost certainly in England when he wrote the date 7 February 1475 in the copy he purchased that day of the commentary by the Italian humanist Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro on Valerius Maximus.[209] The book had been printed in Strasbourg a few years earlier. A beautiful example of early printing owned by Gunthrope and now in the library of the dean and chapter at Wells Cathedral is Pliny's *Historia Naturalis,* printed by Nicolas Jenson in Venice in 1472.[210] The book went missing from Wells after Gunthorpe's time, but it was found at Oxford and purchased by the then dean of Wells, Ralph Bathurst, who returned it to the cathedral library in 1672.[211] On 16 July 1496 Gunthorpe bought a copy of Francesco Petrarch's *De Rebus Memorabilibus,* printed around 1485 at the press of Rodolphus Leoffe at Louvain; it is now at Brasenose College, Oxford.[212] Gunthorpe owned another book printed in Louvain in 1483 containing Cicero's *Paradoxa, De Amicitia,* and *De Officiis,* which is now in the Cambridge University Library. The copy Gunthorpe made in Italy of Seneca's Tragedies and the works he purchased in London in 1465 by Macrobius and Calcidius have been mentioned. Gunthorpe had at least two copies of the Vulgate Bible which survive.[213] Other surviving manuscripts owned by Gunthorpe at least suggest his interests. Of the Fathers of the church, he owned *Selecta ex Augustino,* Jerome's *Opera,* and John of Damascus's *De Orthodoxa Fide,* which contained some writings by Augustine of Hippo as well as Richard of St. Victor's *De Fide.*

Gunthorpe's attraction to works of literature and learning is exemplified by his surviving copies of Homer's *Odyssey* (in Latin), Suetonius, Isocrates's *Ad Nicoclem,* the *Satirae* by both Persius and Juvenal, Peter of Blois's *Epistolae,* Albertus Magnus's *De Animalibus libri xxvi,* Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* and *Biblia Pauperum,* and *Tito Livio Frulovisi's Comoediae.* Gunthorpe's library also contained works of history, such as the British Library manuscript with Eutropius's *Historiae Romanae,* the *Additionum Pauli Diaconi ad Eutropium libri vi,* the *Series Imperatorum Romanorum ab Augusto usque ad Justinianum,* and Orosius's *De Historiarum adversus paganos libri vii.* He also owned Bede's *Historia Anglorum* in the same manuscript with various historical items, including the *Vitae abbatum S. Augustini Cantuariae* and Thomas Wyke's *Annales de Gestis Britonum.*

Gunthorpe is also said to have owned a copy of *Synesius's Laus Calvitii,*[214] but that is uncertain. Of Gunthorpe's own writings, only the set-piece orations he prepared during the "first" reign of Edward IV are known to survive. He is said to have written Latin poems and Latin letters, which were at Wells in the sixteenth century, but they are no longer to be found.[215] Gunthorpe has been put forward as a possible author of the second continuation

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[209] Ibid. 271. The book is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[210] I wish to thank the archivist of Wells Cathedral at the time, Mrs Frances Neale, for the moments of sheer academic delight when she took me into the cathedral library to view Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* and other treasures. Gunthorpe may have owned an abridgement of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* written by Robert Crichlade, prior of the Augustinian canons of St. Frideswide; Oxford. Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 677.

[211] Robert Birley, "The Cathedral Library," *Wells Cathedral: A History,* ed. L. S. Colchester (West Compton House 1982) 208.

[212] Armstrong (n. 207 above) 283 n. 3.

[213] These copies of the *Biblia Vulgata* and the books subsequently mentioned are referenced in Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 276,677. See also Woodforde (n. 11 above) 134.

[214] Weiss (n. 24 above) 109 n. 10.

[215] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 276; C. L. Kingsford, "John Gunthorpe," *Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, 22 vols. (London 1885-1908) 8.794-795; Weiss (n. 24 above) 6, 125.

of the Crowland Chronicle.[216] Suggesting possible authors for the Crowland Chronicle continuations has drawn various researchers to nominate assorted candidates.[217] For various reasons, Gunthorpe must be rejected as a Crowland continuator, if for no other reason than no student of Guarino da Verona would have written such commonplace Latin prose.[218] It is unfortunate that Gunthorpe is not survived by substantial literary remains, and that it was unthinkable for a member of the Yorkist royal household to write of his experiences. There is no tradition of his having been a research scholar, but even among the highly educated clergy who staffed England's cathedral churches there was no orientation towards original, creative scholarship.[219] Nonetheless, one would hope that while resident dean of Wells Gunthorpe had time for the sort of leisured scholarship the Romans of old called *otium.*

The final episode of the public life of the kingdom into which Gunthorpe was drawn grew out of a threat to Henry VIl's throne in the person of Perkin Warbeck.[220] Warbeck was born in Tournai in the early 1470s; he matured into a clever impostor who posed as the younger son of King Edward IV, Duke Richard of York, who by the 1490s had long been missing. It was the international scene which provided a stage upon which Warbeck could act. First the Irish of Yorkist sympathy supported Warbeck, and then the France of Charles VIII supported him when there was tension between France and England over Brittany. In the context of international tension in 1491, Gunthorpe granted Henry VII a benevolence of 200 marks as the king prepared for his military expedition of 1492 to France,[221] which resulted in the Treaty of Etaples. When Anglo-French tension was relieved in 1492, Warbeck, fearing that Charles VIII would turn him over to Henry VII, fled to Malines (nowadays called Mechelen) where the dowager duchess of Burgundy, Margaret of York, took up sponsorship and presented Warbeck as her nephew and the true king of England. Margaret had last seen the true Richard of York during a visit to England in 1480. While Margaret's protege, Warbeck was supported by Maximilian of Austria and his son Philip, duke of Burgundy; Warbeck had already been acknowledged by James IV of Scotland. With Margaret's support Warbeck attempted a landing in England in 1495; it failed, and Warbeck made his way to Ireland and then to Scotland where he found refuge at the court of James IV. An invasion from Scotland, which was in fact a raid lasting a few days, in September 1496 failed to shake the English king. Henry had endured enough, and war was declared on Scotland with plans for a full-scale invasion put in motion. In the spring of 1497, as an English army was beginning to make its way north, a tax revolt broke out in

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[216] David Baldwin, "The Author of the "Second Continuation" of the Croyland Chronicle: A FifteenthCentury Mystery Solved?" *East Midland Historian* 4 (1994) 16-19; idem, *Elizabeth Woodville* (Stroud 2002) 176-181. For the text, see Nicholas Pronay and John Cox, eds., *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations 1459-1486* (London 1986).

[217] An analysis of the chronicle is provided by M. A. Hicks, "Crowland's World: A Westminster View of the Yorkist Age," *History* 90 (2005) 172-190. Professor Hicks provides a good bibliography of the search for the continuator's identity, 173 n. 6.

[218] Baldwin (n. 216 above) notes that the author was a doctor of canon law, was sent on a mission to the duke of Burgundy in 1471, had a period of residence at the Benedictine abbey of Crowland or Croyland in Lincolnshire, and was less in favor with Richard III than with Edward IV. None of these criteria can be made to fit Gunthorpe. Gunthorpe as author is also rejected by M.A. Hicks, "The Second Anonymous Continuation of the Crowland Abbey Chronicle 1459-86 Revisited," *English Historical Review* 122 (2007) 349-370. Hicks puts forward as his candidate Master Richard Langport, clerk of the king's council from 1458 to 1483.

[219] A. C. Reeves, "Creative Scholarship in the Cathedrals, 1300-1500," *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson,* ed. C. Barron and J. Stratford (Donington 2002) 163-172. The careers and credentials of the cathedral deans of Gunthorpe's era are examined in idem, "Cathedral Deans of the Yorkist Age," *The Ricardian* 18 (2008) forthcoming.

[220] For a full account, see Ian Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy, 1491-99* (Stroud 1994). For a tidy summary, see A. J. Pollard, *Late Medieval England. l 399-1509* (Harlow 2000) 360-364.

[221] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.204.

Cornwall, and rebels moved through Wells on their way to London while declaring their loyalty to the duke of York (i.e., Warbeck) in Scotland. The invasion of Scotland was terminated, and the West Country rebels were routed by royal forces. At this juncture, Warbeck saw an opportunity, and with a tiny naval force, made his way to Ireland and then to England, where he landed at Land's End in Cornwall on 7 September to rally and lead the defeated English rebels. An attempt to capture Exeter was repulsed, and Warbeck's forces moved on to Taunton, Somerset. By this time royal troops were prepared to crush the rebels, and Warbeck fled to the Cistercians of Beaulieu Abbey for sanctuary, but he was captured and returned to Henry VII at Taunton. Warbeck confessed to being an impostor on *5* October and was incarcerated.

Warbeck was ultimately executed in 1499, but meanwhile Henry VII had been in Wells, where in the last year of his life Gunthorpe found himself playing host to the king.[222] Henry entered Somerset at the end of September 1497 accompanied by the bishop of Bath and Wells, Oliver King. King Henry, of course, was engaged in the business of putting down rebellion and hunting for Perkin Warbeck. Henry reached Wells from Bath on 29 September, and the news soon arrived that Warbeck had been captured. Tradition holds that during the day he rested at Wells the king resided in the Deanery to which Gunthorpe had added a wing. The king soon moved on to Taunton where he received Warbeck's confession. Gunthorpe was doing business in the chapter house at Wells Cathedral on 6 October,[223] and there is no reason to think he was not in Wells to offer hospitality while the king was present. Should the king and Gunthorpe have engaged in conversation, one topic would likely have been the naval adventure of the Italian-born resident of Bristol, John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto). Cabot had returned to Bristol on 6 August 1497 in his ship *The Matthew,* having made land fall in North America, which he thought was north-east Asia, and who was giving glowing reports of his finds with a view towards another expedition in search of Japan.[224] Did Gunthorpe influence the king in the issuing in February 1498 of letters patent for a further expedition? That is likely to remain as unknown as the fate of Cabot's voyage of 1498. The king must certainly have been bringing greetings from his queen, Elizabeth. Elizabeth of York was the daughter of Edward IV and niece of Richard III and was born the year after Gunthorpe returned to England from his period of study in Italy. Queen Elizabeth would have remembered Gunthorpe as one of the senior officials of the royal household in which she was brought up. While in Wells, Henry must have sounded out Gunthorpe on any knowledge he had, as a man who had made his career in service to Yorkist kings, of the Yorkist pretender, Warbeck, or of the recent unrest in Cornwall. To speculate in yet another vein, it may be that Henry, who had an appreciation for men educated in ltaly,[225] was assessing Gunthorpe's vitality for a project of writing a history of England in the current humanistic Italian style. Henry later encouraged the work of Polydore Vergil of Urbino, who began collecting historical information soon after his arrival in England in 1502, and would produce the first version of his *Anglica Historia* by 1513.[226]

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[222] E. C. Batten, "Henry VII in Somersetshire," *Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings* 24 (1878) 64-65; Plumptre, *Wells and its Deans* (n. 80 above) 17-18.

[223] *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.148.

[224] J. D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors, J 485-1558* (Oxford 1962) 225-226.

[225] Denys Hay, *Polydore Vergil: Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters* (Oxford 1952) 4.

[226] Ibid. 4, 9, 79. A decade after Gunthorpe's death, in 1508, Vergil became archdeacon of Wells, and held the post until 1546: Le Neve, *Fasti. VIII. Bath and Wells* (n. 80 above) 14. Vergil died in Urbino in 1555.

Gunthorpe lived to observe the feast day of the birth of St. John the Baptist, and the next day, Monday, 25 June 1498, he died. His will is a brief and orderly document.[227] He requested that he be buried beneath the image of the Blessed Mary in Gesine in St. Katherine's Chapel, which is in the south transept of the choir. His chest tomb remains in place, but the image of Our Lady is long gone. The front of Gunthorpe's tomb, undoubtedly in accordance with his instructions, is divided into five panels, four of which contain heraldic shields, while the last (on the right) has a shield with a monogram: I. G.[228] In his will Gunthorpe made several bequests. To the parish church of Ditcheat he left £20 to buy ornaments for the high altar. He also provided money for the ornamenting of the high altars of other churches: the parish church of Wedmore (£30), the prebendal church of Bitton (£20), the prebendal church of Banbury (£30), and the prebendal church of Laughton-en-le-Morthen (£40). He wanted his obit to be celebrated perpetually at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, and he left 100 marks for that purpose, saying that if the obit could not be arranged then his executors were to provide £20 for ornaments to be used at the high altar. Gunthorpe bequeathed £40 to John and Joan Ustewaite of Wells, who were presumably relatives of the Thomas Ustewaite who went with Gunthorpe to France in 1475,[229] and whose son Robert Ustewaite received all of Gunthorpe's lands in Kent. To his sister, Helen, and her husband John Welles, he left 100 marks, together with all his lands in Lincolnshire for the life time of Helen, after which the lands were to go to Robert Ustewaite and his heirs, and then to any other heirs Gunthorpe might have. The residue of his estate he left to his five executors: the John Ustewaite already mentioned; Dr. Richard Hatton (d. 1509),[230] a Cambridge man, canon of Wells, and a former clerk of parliament; Dr. William Boket (d. 1500), [231] sub-dean of Wells Cathedral; a second layman who was the chief baron of the Exchequer and an attorney from Somerset, Sir William Hody (d. 1524);[232] and a priest named Robert Pemberton.

The chancery writ of *diem clausit extremum* to inquire into Gunthorpe's estate was issued on 2 July 1498. [233] The will was proved in the court of Canterbury on 26 August 1498. Gunthorpe had previously granted to the dean and chapter of Wells, as a corporate entity, the manor of Alverton, income from which was to endow the daily celebration of a cursal mass in the cathedral for the benefit of Gunthorpe's soul.[234] The mass was celebrated, as

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[227] Weaver, ed., *Somerset Medieval Wills* (n. 13 above) 361-362.

[228] The descriptions of the heraldic shields are provided by Woodforde (n. 11 above) 135: “I. A. saltire between on the dexter side two keys erect and addorsed the bows interlaced, and on the sinister side a sword erect." "2. Quarterly, I and 4, within a bordure engrailed sable a chevron between three guns [i.e., breech chambers], 2 and 3, a chevron between three leopards' heads." "3. Gules, a chevron ermine between three crosses botonny or." "4. Gules, on a bend compony argent and azure between two lions' heads erased of the second three leopards' faces, a bordure like the bend." See also W. E. Hampton, *Memorials of the Wars of the Roses* (Upminster 1979) 162.

[229] Thomas Ustewaite was still alive and engaged in land transactions with Gunthorpe in 1490, 1492, and 1496: *CCR (1485-1500)* 136, 170; *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.696.

[230] Emden, *Register of Cambridge* (n. 10 above) 293; Pollard, "Clerks of Parliament" (n. 91 above) 158- 161.

[231] See n. 183 above.

[232] Wedgwood (n. 2 above) 461.

[233] *Calendar of Fine Rolls (1485-1509)* 259.

[234] *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter* (n. 84 above) 2.154-155, 194.

was his obit, at least until 1560.[235] The executors Ustewaite and Hatton (who became a chaplain to Henry VII) found themselves perplexed a few years later when they had disposed of Gunthorpe's estate according to the directions of the late dean, and were faced with a demand from the king for a gift of 200 marks from the estate, an indication that Gunthorpe never produced the benevolence promised in 1491. Ustewaite appealed for help to the cathedral chapter, and in 1506 the chapter began negotiating for a payment scheme to satisfy the king with revenues generated by Gunthorpe's endowment gifts to the cathedral.[236] And thus like most men of significance in their time, Gunthorpe's life was concluded with assorted clerical and financial routine. He left architectural remains to be seen at Wells and Ditcheat, as well as books and manuscripts now deposited in various places. He was a learned priest, who mastered books as well as the order and form of Christian worship. He answered the call of three kings to a wide variety of royal service and, as a man who moved smoothly in the highest circles of ecclesiastical and secular authority, John Gunthorpe fully deserves a niche among the worthies of fifteenth-century England.

History Department
Ohio University
Athens, OH 45701-2979

[235] Ibid. 2.183, 191,221,224,249,280,285.
[236] Ibid. 2.194-195.

Great Seal of Richard III

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Ricardian Reading

Dear members, If you have read a book or play related to Richard III, 15th century England and English culture that you wish to review, please submit your review to Ricardian Reading Editor for inclusion in the next review column. New reviews are published twice yearly in the March and September *Ricardian Register*s and June and December *Ricardian Chronicle*s.

Gutenberg Bible

Review staff: Myrna Smith | Pauline Calkin | Kathleen Jones

Reviews first published in Dec. 2022 Ricardian Chronicle.

Cecily—Anne Garthwaite, Viking, 2021

It is not pleasant to watch the burning of a woman, but sixteen-year-old Cecily believes it is her duty to stand beside her husband during the execution of Joan of Arc, in order to show English strength and resolve. What is Cecily's take-away from this experience? If a woman takes up arms, she must be very sure of winning. So begins this biographical novel of Cecily Neville, which follows her and the fortunes of the House of York for 30 years.

This Cecily Neville is a political animal first and foremost. She and her husband, Richard, third Duke of York, are a well-matched pair, equal partners in love, politics and war. Their pillow talk is dominated by their political plans. They will establish two administrative centers: Ludlow in the west and Fotheringhay in the east, to manage their English Holdings. Cecily's duty is to bear children—the coins of her purse—to build the House.

Because Richard is a traitor's son, they must first establish his loyalty and competence before the crown will formally grant him the estates. This task is not an easy one when the king is weak and listens to the last voice he hears. These voices belong to a tight circle of favorites who jealously guard access to the king, and who are hostile to the Yorks. The book is very effective in portraying the escalation of tensions between the king's favorites and York.

Where Cecily is fierce and combative, Richard is conciliatory and calm, reluctant to show open defiance. He accepts the lieutenancy of Ireland philosophically telling Cecily: "Let's live as your brother does [in the north]. As your father did. Doing good work for the king, far from court, in our own lands."

Richard returns from Ireland in the wake of the Jack Cade rebellion, and attempts to show his continued loyalty, but is met with a charge of treason engineered by Edmund Beaufort and Queen Marguerite. Although he manages to persuade the king otherwise, Cecily knows this is only a temporary respite. She is the one who presses Richard to rule in the place of an unfit king. Afterwards, when Richard is held as a prisoner, Cecily's first instinct is to lead an army, along with her 10-year-old son, Edward, to gain his freedom, and "show the barren queen of bitches that I have a son." Her children's nurse, Annette, (who seems to serve as Cecily's maternal conscience) persuades her that she must not risk the lives of her children, for if Richard dies all they have built together—titles, estates, and children—will be divided among grasping men of ambition, men like Edmund Beaufort. In the end, she decides to go to the king to plead for her husband's life, and if it is too late for that, for her children's and her own. She realizes that she may be forced to denounce him. "She had never betrayed him. His cause has been hers, always. But the thought of her children, the rich coin of them, in other men's purses, is unbearable. She will save him if she can, denounce him if she must."

After Richard is released without Cecily's intervention, the next few years sees open warfare break out between Lancaster and York. As the royal army is about to descend on York's stronghold at Ludlow, it is Cecily who tells a reluctant husband and sons that they must flee. Again, it is Cecily who points out the obvious that both York's heirs must not stay with Richard. The choice of which one must be hers. "She thinks of her brother outwitting the queen's army not a month ago at Blore Heath, first to enter the streets at St. Albans, holding the North and always winning. She looks from him to Richard, and knows. She clenches her fists against her sons' leather gambesons and pushes them both away. 'Edward, go with your uncle.'" (Really—is Richard so completely witless? The obvious move is that Richard and his immediate heir, Edward, split up.)

When Richard returns from his second exile in Ireland, he seems a spent force, and in a not-too-subtle bit of symbolism, he is impotent when they make love for the first time after his return. Cecily senses the power has passed from her brother Salisbury to his swaggering son, Warwick. So too, their son Edward has become the dominant force of the House of York, and Cecily is his "Captain Mother." After the deaths of Richard, Edmund, and Salisbury at Wakefield, Cecily knows London must close its gates to Queen Marguerite's army until Edward's Army can arrive. Day after day, she cajoles and wheedles its mayor and aldermen, and they delay long enough that Marguerite is forced to return north. Edward enters London, saluting his Captain Mother, and she gives her "sun in splendor" over to the cheers of the crowd.

Solid research underlies the story, and the prominent role the couple played in the history of the period is deftly conveyed. Talk predominates in the first part of the book, but as York mounts direct challenges to Marguerite and the king's favorites, the action increases and the story is told with some wonderful scenes. Cecily's role in these events may be overplayed, but perhaps not by much. Marguerite is often portrayed as Lancaster's warrior queen; why couldn't Cecily have played a similar role for York.

Cecily is cerebral and calculating rather than emotional. She appears to face the deaths of her husband and son with stoicism. Only when her daughter Anne tells her that she doubts that she misses her father at all does Cecily reveal the bitterness of her loss: "…the missing of Richard that will never be done." Romance is very definitely downplayed. At age 13, Cecily decides she is content with her husband. She had studied him and seen her own nature mirrored in his. She trusted "his careful watchfulness, admired his certain actions." Cecily despises unequal marriages and feels nothing but scorn when Jacquetta, the widow of the duke of Bedford, marries the pretty golden boy Woodville; a marriage to which the groom can only bring his good looks. At least, we are spared any mention of a certain archer. No way would this Cecily lower herself. (Well, maybe, but only if said archer agrees to killing off the entire House of Lancaster in one fell swoop.)

Despite Cecily's unsentimental attitude, the book is filled with many scenes of tender and sometimes playful family interactions: Richard bringing Cecily the Virgin's girdle, borrowed from Westminster Abbey, for her first confinement; Dickon falling asleep leaning against his father as he rides toward Ludlow.

Altogether, this is a satisfying novel, told with fidelity to history, presenting the reader with a believable and insightful portrait of a remarkable woman. Is there a Part Two in the offing; I hope so. I want to see Cecily having to deal with her golden son of York when he stoops to marry the daughter of the vacuous Jacquetta and her golden Woodville.—P.C.

And from Downton Abbey we have this view of royalty: *Lady Violet: The monarchy has thrived on magic and mystery. Strip that away and people may think the royal family is just like us.*

The Queen's Rival- Anne O'Brien, Harper Collins Publishing, London, Dublin, 2020

The story of the same person from a slightly different angle, and a remarkably successful attempt to revive a genre not much found over the last two centuries—the epistolary novel. Not that it is told entirely in the form of letters. Some is straight narrative, some is filtered through the viewpoint of the anonymous and usually pessimistic author of the 'London Chronicle,' some is prayers offered or lists jotted down by the main character (such as the names of her 13 children, living and dead, born over a 16-year span—egad!) But the most interesting parts are the ones committed to the mail, such as it was in the fifteenth century. There is the protagonist herself, indulging in some sisterly snark with her sisters Katherine and Anne. There is My Lady the King's Mother writing tersely to her royal son, and him replying even more tersely, which leads to her blowing off steam with a heated response: "I swear you are not your father's son." (Of course, that is temper speaking; she didn't mean it literally.) These are the Duchesses' younger sons, writing dutiful but revealing thank-you notes for their Christmas presents, and rather less dutiful notes in other situations as they grow older.

The characters are well-etched, a word chosen advisedly, as etching is done with acid, isn't it? But the three sisters can close ranks and commiserate with each other in times of tragedy and widowhood. Blood is, after all, thicker. Cecily's relationship with her rival, Marguerite of Anjou, is acid on both sides, particularly that of Marguerite when she has the upper hand. As you can see, the story emphasizes Cecily's own intra-family relationships, more than her interactions with her husband and children, but these are not ignored.

The writing is not at all old-fashioned, but standard modern English. The only possibly jarring note is when one of the sisters refers to 'a horse of a different colour.' This may or may not be an anachronism. The flip side, 'a horse of the same colour,' was used by Shakespeare, and may well have been in common speech before the Bard picked it up.

The author, though obviously feeling that Cecily's youngest son was less than filial toward his aged mother, takes no side on the question that Cecily herself must have had questions about (at least), the disappearance of her grandsons. That is, well, a horse of a different color. But she does justice to a woman who must have been formidable. Even Henry VII seems to have been afraid of her. He does not appear in this story, though Cecily lived several years into his reign.—M.S.

Comments by P. C.—These two novels paint a very different picture of Cicely Neville. In Garthwaite's book, Cecily is an active participant in events; in O'Brien's, she is a more passive observer who has little influence over her husband's decisions. Indeed, with little historical background given of events prior to October 1459, she is blindsided by her husband's decision to seek the crown. After her son Edward takes the throne, she tries —mostly ineffectively—to control her sons.

For me the jarring modern note was struck when sister Anne signs a letter to Cecily as "your *judgmental* sister." The combination of the letters, straight narrative, and particularly the tabloid-style, bombastic England's Chronicle did not work for me, but made for a clumsy and simplistic telling of history of the period. For example, we have to wade through pages of letters discussing whether Elizabeth Woodville is pregnant followed by a royal proclamation of the birth of Elizabeth of York, and then England's Chronicle discussing her baptism. At times, the book was a real page turner, but not in a good sense as I flipped through the pages to skip this pedestrian recitation of history. As for Cecily's failure to question Richard about the disappearance of her nephews, the novel ends as he is about to assume the throne—before the nephews had disappeared. When questioned, Richard does assure Cecily that all three of his nephews (Warwick included) will be gently raised.

Lady Violet: I haven't been in the kitchens here for at least, oh, 20 years.
Isobel: Did you bring your passport?

The Cheshire Cheese Cat: A Dickens of a Tale—Carmen Agra Deedy & Randall Wright, illus. by Barry Moser, Peachtree Publishing, Atlanta, Ga, 2011

Being a cat person (non-practicing at the moment), I was intrigued by the title, and when I opened the book and read the first line, "He was the best of toms, he was the worst of toms," I was hooked, and plunked down my dollar bill at the library book sale. Worth it for the charming illustrations and the typographic jokes, never mind the literary gamesmanship.

The tale is basically a pastiche, which, as you know, is (n) "an artistic work that imitates that of another work, artist, or period, or (adj) in the style of someone or some period." It is very much as Dickens himself might have written it, with a little help from his friends and fellow diners at the Olde Cheshire Cheese Inn, Thackeray, Collins and Bulwer-Lytton, not to mention Lewis Carrol and even a bit of Poe.

The heroes of the tale are a cat with a deep, dark secret, and a mouse who also has a secret life. They intersect at the pub of the title when Skilly (the cat) takes up residence there. The pub itself has a secret hidden away in a garret, which is a sort of attic's attic. There is, of course, a black-hearted villain, a feline Bill Sykes, and an evil plot that could bring down the Monarchy.

The only Ricardian connection, a tenuous one, is in the premises of the Tower, and of the Olde Cheshire Cheese itself. The inn was rebuilt after the Great Fire on the site of the previous inn, which was established in 1538. This, in turn, was built over the vaulted cellar of a 13th-century Carmelite monastery. So there has been imbibing going on there for a very long time. None of this matters, much to Mr. Dickens, who is undergoing a full-blown case of writer's block. Our heroes, in the course of saving the Empire, will also take care of that.

If you ever get to London again, or for the first time, do look in on this famous pub, now owned by the Samuel Smith Brewery. (No relation that I know of.) It is in a secluded spot down a narrow alleyway, but will repay the search

"*Writers are a miserly sort, and to leave something as dear as a penny red (stamp) lying about was looked on by these artists with nothing short of horror*." C.D. (You will note that one of the co-authors has the same first and last initials as Mr. Dickens. Coincidence?)—M.S.

Dickon's Diaries 3: A Yeare (and a Bitte) in the Lyff of King Richard the Third, Joanne Larner and Susan Lamb, Amazon, UK, 2021

I don't think this is a pastiche; more like a take-off, or send-up, or burlesque. Not the Gypsy Rose Lee type of burlesque, but the farcical one. Which is not to say that the inhabitants of Muddleham do not find themselves at times *en dishable*. Muddleham is the Brigadoon-like village where our Dreade Lord lives with his 'wyff Anne,' his 'goodly friend, Francis Lovell,' Lovell's questionable offspring, Lenny, boon companion to the Prince of Wales, Billy Bott the blacksmith's son, various other villagers; and visitors from outside, such as Sir Nicolas von Poppyglow.

The villagers go about their lives as normal—well depending on your definition of normal. Ivan Norse fulfills his duties as Master of Horse. Mr. Getchergrub works as a grocery delivery manne, even during Lock-ye-downe. Love blossoms between Tilda Tittsup, the baker, and the archer, Sir Oliver Quiver. They marry and join their fortunes and business premises under the combined name of Titts-a-Quiver. Aside from the wordplay, there is

plenty of old-fashioned farce, much of it at the expense of the aforesaid Dreade Lord. For instance, he goes 'over the bridge,' disguised in a flat cap and tweed jacket, to shop in modern-day Muddleham. There he encounters a garment which he takes for a slingshot, but is actually....ahem! His 'deare dames' who were escorting him (Dame Joanne, Dame Kokomo, et al) no doubt would heave a sigh of relief when he returned to base, what time they weren't swooning.

Also during the 'yeare and a bitte' a publick convenience is opened in Muddleham, with much fanfare, at the Royal command. A number of Jaffa cakes are consumed. What is a Jaffa cake, anyway? Never mind. To sum up (or summe uppe), low humour in high places, interspersed with Advice to the Lovelorn, writ down by the King himself, and many risible illustrations. There is even a Mappe of Muddleham on the endpapers. To be read and enjoyed, but not to be taken seriously for a moment.—M.S.

Enough silliness—back to more serious subjects.

He Who Plays the King—Mary Hocking, Chatto & Windus, 1980

The lives of Henry Tudor and Richard from 1459 to Bosworth are interwoven in this tale told in episodic fashion, with alternating scenes: Richard's exile into Flanders with his brother George parallels Henry's flight into Wales after the battle of Mortimer's Cross, and so forth. Along the way, the reader is introduced to other characters. A wanderer, Robin Prithie, joins Henry in his exile and becomes a personal servant whose loyalty the latter has cause to suspect. Christopher Ormand plays a significant part in the story when he is recruited by Bishop Morton as an informer and is installed in the household of Anthony Woodville, becoming a tutor to the Prince of Wales.

The book approaches Henry and Richard in an even-handed manner: the characterization of each man is sophisticated and nuanced. Henry is patient, astute, careful, focused on his goal to return to England and become king. Richard has a volatile temper and is not an adaptable person who can quickly turn enemies into friends.

The inner workings of the characters are skillfully told. While riding among his men following the battle of Barnet, Richard overhears one old soldier say, "'*I'll follow him; he has the look of his father*,' and realized that men would follow him as a mark of personal esteem unrelated with loyalty to the king.

Richard does have a vision for the welfare of the common people—as the Bishop of Durham sourly commented when Richard invited him to follow his example when he removed the fishgarths from rivers on his estates. Even this cynic had to concede in June 1482 that Richard had become very impressive.

> As he walked up the aisle [of York Minster], he looked over the heads of the people to some authority which lay beyond of whose judgment he appeared to have no fear. He was now balanced at the supreme moment of his life, utterly sure of himself and his purpose, equal to the tasks set for him which demanded sufficient of him to still ambition and discipline his restless energy."

The writing is understated and at times poetic. There is the wonderful scene where Richard falls in love with Anne when he and Francis Lovell visit her, George, and Isabelle. Anne studiously avoids being drawn into conversation with Richard, but at last entices him by describing her Book of Hours. Anne is quiet but certainly not submissive. When the Princess Elizabeth arrives at her uncle's court, it comes as a surprise to her that the frail vessel that is her Aunt Anne contains so tough a spirit.

> The mind, too was sharp as a pair of shears and even Richard was not safe from its snips. Once, when he talked passionately of a king needing the love of

the people because he could only rule with their consent, [Anne] interrupted him to ask, "Is it marriage you are contemplating, or a love affair?" He was reduced to silence."

Despite its virtues, this novel does sometimes fall short in a couple of respects. The flow of the story slowed to a snail's pace in the last half of the book, and the Prithie and Ormond scenes became unwelcome interruptions to the main plot. I also read far more than necessary about the inner thoughts of some characters, in particular the Duke of Buckingham. Because of the fine, insightful writing overall, however, I recommend this book.

Isabel: Servants are human beings, too.

Lady Violet: Yes, but preferably only on their days off.

The Gods Were Sleeping—C.E. Lawrence, John Murray, 1937

Meet Bart, a youth of uncertain parentage, beer-boy, turnspit, ostler and general drudge at the Boar's Head Tavern, near the Tower of London. His friends and fellow servants at the tavern are Nance—who to his horror proclaims her intention to marry him; and, the tapster, Legg, an old soldier and a veteran of Towton. Bart's everyday life may be dreary, but he is a dreamer and he dreams of riding as a knight in the service of King Edward IV. As the story opens, however, King Edward has just died and all London awaits the arrival of the new boy-king and his uncle, the Lord Protector. Bart's life changes forever when a soft-spoken knight stops at the tavern and takes an interest in him. The knight is Robert Brackenbury, and he takes Bart into service at the Tower, where he becomes a companion to the princes. Bart's life becomes intertwined with their fate, and his dreams and loyalties now belong to the noble Brackenbury and the Lord Protector, who will become King. During his service, Bart will also learn the secret of his own paternity.

As the author writes in the preface, the novel is based on the "conviction that neither in thought or deed was King Richard III guilty of the deaths of the young princes, his brother Edward's sons," and the suggested solution to the mystery—one involving Bart—is as likely as any.

The writing is sentimental, and for the lack of a better term, 'old-fashioned.' e.g. "For—downfall of vision!—Bart (of surname unknown) was a beer-boy…etc." But this added to the charm of Bart's story, which I found very appealing.—P.C.

Confession of Richard Plantagenet—Dora Greenwell McChesney, Smith Elder, 1913

This book seems to be one of the earliest novels that favorably portrays Richard III, and for that reason is noteworthy. The somber tone is set in the prologue in which Richard, fresh from the battle of Barnet, meets an anchoress who has visions of many souls who need her prayers as they seek their eternal homes. Feeling too weak to cope with so many, she prays to have just one soul that she "may know and travail thereof." Her wish is granted when she is given Richard's soul to pray for. Although "[i]n living flesh flesh yet doth it dwell," no soul was in sorer strait and more in need of her prayers. She tells him that he is "assigned grievous dolour and strange grace, for thou shalt bear the sins of thy House and pay ransom for guilt not thine." Richard refuses her offer of sanctuary, believing he has a knight's duty to make justice and right prevail on earth. "Priests shall pray for the souls of my kin, while I fight their battles."

Richard faces his first crisis of conscience after Tewksbury, when he hears his brother Edward swear to the abbot that he will pardon the Lancastrians who have sought sanctuary inside the abbey. When Edward finds out Somerset and other high-ranking lords are inside, he wants to renege on his promise. Richard will not let him break his vow, offering himself

instead as the one to send these lords to their death, after trial. (By the way, Richard does kill the Prince of Wales, but it is in battle.) Later, he poisons his brother George because he thinks it would look bad for Edward to have his brother publicly executed.

Richard does a lot of soul searching throughout the novel, but especially before breaking his oath of fealty to his nephew. Eventually, he decides that he owes no loyalty to his brother Edward— not because the latter concealed his bigamy but because he once tried to ravish Anne. The novel ends rather abruptly before Bosworth, but this was apparently due to the author's death.

This is an important and interesting novel because of its age, but it is not light reading due to the flowery writing style and somber tone.

BEWARE the recent 2015 editions available as an e-book or in paperback. The digitalization from the original resulted in many errors. "March" becomes "imarch," "he" is "lie", and so forth. And that's not the worst problem, as whole pages of text are omitted. Apparently on occasion someone turned one too many pages. For example, we skip in mid-sentence from a scene where Richard is in the Tower with Henry VI, to his arriving at Warwick Castle to see Anne. You wouldn't know it from reading the modern editions, but Richard did not kill Henry VI. This is not the only such occurrence. The book is hard enough to follow as it is.

If a member wants to borrow the original 1913 edition, it is available from the fiction library.

Enough seriousness—back to the silly for a while. Or maybe not?

Mrs. Pat more: Sympathy butters no parsnips.

The Astounding Broccoli Boy—James Cotrell Boyce, HarperCollins, NY, 2015

The UK is in the midst of a pandemic, the Cat Flu (aka Killer Kittens). Three middle-school children, British but of mixed heritage, come down with an unusual variant. They turn a lovely dark green, as indicated by the title, and are confined to hospital for testing. Written in 2015, this sounds oddly prescient, no? The Runt, who is the narrator, compares their adventures to those of comic book superheroes and they begin to think they may have a similar mission and related powers. Indeed they do save Christmas and, arguably, the Empire, and are instrumental in finding a cure for the dread disease.

The kids are Types—the Bully, the Eternal Victim, the Mouthy One—but they are also real. They grow and change, and the reader, even an adult, can find himself/herself rooting for each one by turns. The adults are seen through the slightly skewed viewpoint of the children, but at least some of them, such as the Prime Minister, are sympathetic. There is a chorus line of penguins, along with a crowd of zoo escapees, and a cameo appearance by a Royal, plus a lot of fun along the way.

In his Afterword, the author points out a link to the past, as well as to what was, in '15, the future. In the reign of King Stephen, back in the 12th century, according to legend, two green children turned up in Woolpit. One of them survived to grow up and marry. Could it be that the green gene is still present, but recessive, in the British population? Anyway, that is also a Medieval connection that justifies reviewing the book here. There will be more kid-lit later. M.S.

I seem to have been reading a lot of children's books lately. Maybe an aftereffect of Covid? Or is it just that that is a way to be sure of good, straightforward writing, without too much 'kirtle-crushing,' as Larner and Lamb would term it.

The Road Less Travelled: Alternative Tales of the Wars of the Roses—Joanne Larner, ed., foreword by Matthew Lewis, Las Vegas, NV, 2021

On the cover of this trade paperback, the authors are credited as 'various,' and their approaches are also varied.

"The Unwritten Story" by Maria Grazia Liotta has a set-up similar to that of this volume, a contest or symposium organized by a Ricardian to depict how things could have been, or would have been, if history had taken a slightly different turn. There is a surprise entrant....

"York Ascendant" by Jennifer Bradley, opens in 1459 with a victorious Richard III, Richard Duke of York, ascending the throne after the Battle of Sandal. Richard, and even more his wife, Cecily, come to emphasize with the first Plantagenet, Henry II, for all-too-obvious reasons.

"If Only...", by Alex Marchant, is a reprint of a short story previously published in the anthology "Right Trusty and Well-Beloved" and as such has been reviewed and recommended in this column previously.

CJ Lock's "The Desmond Papers" are the papers Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond might have written "if on 15 February 1468 his lips were not sealed for eternity.' And if he had not fallen afoul of the Woodville family.

In "The Rose of Ireland " Toni Mount abandons London and the Foxleys to write of Plantagenet Ireland, with a different outcome to Bosworth and a different Queen.

"How George of Clarence Became King," by Brian Wainwright, is recounted in the voice of George himself. He apparently does not enjoy his reign for too long, due to natural causes (?) At the end, he looks forward to joining his beloved Isabelle, but just how is left undisclosed.

"April is the Cruelest Month," by J.P. Reedman, has its setting at the deathbed of Edward IV. In this story, as in Real Life, Richard has managed to capture Anthony Woodville. Only then does Elizabeh Woodville mention the name Eleanor Butler. Richard wonders who that could be. Could this be the teaser for another of Ms. Reedman's Ricardian novels?

'Of Cousins and Kings,' by Roslyn Ramona Brown, has the princes shipped off to the Duchess of Burgundy, together with their sisters. This is what many Ricardians think is what actually happened to them. But there is a twist here. The king crowned in 1483 is King Edmund.

"God's Anointed," Joanne Larner's first contribution, has Edward V dying of his illness, and the Duke of Gloucester taking the oath of allegiance to young Richard of York. Although he learns that his nephews are technically bastards, he elects to remain as Protector of the Realm, for reasons that appear good and sufficient to him.

Sandra Heath Wilson's "Row, Row, Row Your Boat," is about Buckingham, Morton, a falling-out among thieves, and a flood, as one might expect. "Most Untrue Creature Living," by Bernadette Lyons, also features the Duke of Buckingham. Richard offers to spare him after his aborted rebellion if he leads Henry Tudor into a trap. He does this, only to discover that 'life' meant 'life in the Tower.'

Another story by Joanne Larner, "King Henry VII," opens with the coronation of that monarch, and ends four pages and thirteen years later when he is deposed by Richard IV ('Perkin Warbeck') He reflects "...even if I fail to regain my throne, I can say I was once King Henry VII of England." But don't jump to conclusions here.

Bernadette Lyons' second contribution, "A Conspiracy Unmasked," concerns a conspiracy among Elizabeth Woodville, Margaret Beaufort, and Dr. Lewis Caerlon, the latter being an (almost) innocent catspaw. It is his arrest that leads to the conspiracy being

thwarted. Larner & Lamb's "Just Desserts," is about another conspiracy, to poison Richard's son Edward, masterminded by someone the astute Ricardian can easily guess, and likewise thwarted.

"The Love Match" of Terri Beckett's story is about Richard making such a match after the death of Queen Anne, "…whatever love means." The woman in question is—well, that's for you to find out.

"The Butterfly of Bosworth," by Kit Mareska, illustrates the dangers of time travel, and of putting too much faith in modern technology.

The stories centered around the Battle of Bosworth fall into three categories: (1) Richard survives and continues to reign; (2) Henry survives, for a while at least; (3) both survive. "The Apothecaries' Secret," by Claire Anderson, is in Category #1. Forewarned of the invasion, Richard wins the battle because he took the necessary step of locking up Margaret Beaufort for life.

In category #2 is "The Real Story of the Battle of Stoke Field," another one by Sandra Heath Wilson. This recounts how Henry is defeated by Richard of York (Richard IV) and how the narrating Sturdys, yeoman farmers, become land-owning gentry. There is an additional plot twist here, in that John of Lincoln has a look-alike double, not really necessary to the plot, in my opinion.

"By the Grace of God," by the late Richard Teale, is in category #3, but with a touch of #1 as well. Henry Tudor is defeated, so badly injured that he retreats to France, unlikely to be able to mount another invasion. Richard, surviving to rule, finds the stress of being king finally wears him down. On his deathbed in 1490, he sends Francis Lovell to Portugal, to the court of Manuel de Beja and Elizabeth of York. There he picks up her two brothers with the news that Titulus Regis has been repealed.

Jennifer Wilson, the author of "The Thistle and the Rose," has written ghost stories in her Kindred Spirits series, in which Richard III and Henry VII become frenemies in the afterlife. In this AU (alternate universe) story, the mortal Henry Tudor dies in 1509, as he did in the AU (actual universe). However, here both his sons predecease him, Arther of illness and Henry in a jousting accident. His daughter Margaret and her husband, King James of Scotland, prepare to come to England. This may be a stand-alone, or the first chapter of a novel, but it leaves us with the prospect of a different Stuart dynasty, certainly a different James I, but perhaps not a King James Bible. This story is unique in this collection, in showing some sympathy for Henry.

In "The Birth of the Renaissance," Joanne Larner uses an assignment at a fictional school to determine the exact date the Renaissance came to England, August 22, 1485. But why not 1483? Because the later date marks his decisive victory over Henry Tudor.

In Kathy Kingsbury's "Richard Liveth Yet," he does survive, but is seriously injured and in a coma. Henry visits his bedside and has the opportunity to smother him with a pillow. He does not, because he has a reluctant admiration for his rival. Later he changes his mind, sending word to the monks who are taking care of the former king, to 'take care of' the former king' not suspecting that men of the cloth would disobey him or tell a lie. This is in Cat #3. Also in that category is Kingsbury's sequel, "Baby Brother." Richard Rutland, nee Richard Plantagenet, is dying in Yorkshire, surrounded by loving family and devoted friends. He is greeted from beyond the grave by his brothers Edward and George, who address him thus, though he complains: "I'm 72 years old. I don't feel much like anyone's baby brother. ' This is the ghost story that Jennifer Wilson should, perhaps, have written.

"A Castle Summer," by Joanna Kingswood Iddison, pictures the heirs of the house of York (Elizabeth Woodville's sons and daughters, George's son and daughter, Richard's three children) spending the summer of 1485 in just such a safe house. All is sweetness and light, until they get word that Richard has been defeated. The older ones and their servants rush around trying to effect an escape—too late.

"Revenge" by Michelle Schlinder is also in that category. She has written both fact and fiction about Francis Lovell. Lovell, the hero of this story, survives Bosworth, along with Thomas Howard, Lord Surrey. Surrey slips Francis a dagger, which he uses to assassinate Henry Tudor, but at least Lovell dies heroically. If the reader knows that, after a few years cooling his heels in prison, Surrey became a loyal supporter of the House of Tudor, this story will require more than the usual suspension of disbelief.

Under the heading of Miscellaneous are the two final stories, Claire Anderson's "Lady in Waiting," about hypothetical modern-day descendants of Richard III, and Lisl Madieleinne's "'Episodes in the LIfe of King Richard III," concerning the discovery of a new Shakespearan manuscript.

These are just brief glimpses of the variations on this theme. There should be something here for everyone.—M.S.

The Word Snoop—Ursula Dubosarsky, illustrated by Toby Riddle, Dial Books, N.Y., 2009

This is also a book for children, from about the level of advanced fourth-graders through middle school, although it can certainly be enjoyed by adolescents and adults. What does it say about me that I am reading so many kid's books? Am I in my second or third childhood? Don't answer that!

Be that as it may, if one is going to snoop around in language, any language, one first needs an alphabet. Our resident snoop devotes a chapter to the history of the alphabet, going back to Egypt and coming forward to modern attempts to 'reform' our alphabet. After inviting her readers to experiment with inventing their own alphabet, she gets down to her particular hobby-horse. Chapter Two is titled "Why is English so Strange?" Having explained this clearly and concisely, or at least as clearly and concisely as anything in our crazy language can be, she goes on to show how it can be made even stranger, with a little effort. In short, this is a safari with gun and camera (particularly camera) through our language, and all the weird and funny things that can be done with it. There are anagrams, lipograms, pangrams and palindromes, puns, rebuses, Spoonerisms and euphemisms, malapropisms and Pig Latin. She indulges in some gamesmanship of her own, setting coded messages for her readers to solve.

There is even some consideration given to what might only tangentially be considered 'language,' such as punctuation and emoticons ('Smileys'). On the theory of "If you can't fight 'em, co-opt 'em," the author refers her young readers to sources like YouTube to look up things such as Victor Borge on oral punctuation, and Danny Kaye on Russian composers/authors. I intend to visit/revisit these soon. Borge's routine on 'verbal inflation' also invites its share of a-eleven-tion. As he would often say, "It's your language; I'm just doing the best I can with it."

There are a few areas that Ms. Dubosarsky has left unsnooped. Lingua francas, or so-called 'pidgin' languages, for example. These may not be considered politically correct these days, but it is fitting that English has given birth to a number of them, since it is basically a pidgin language in origin, Anglo-Saxon + French + Celtic + whatever else might have been lying around unguarded.

But 246 pages can't cover everything, and there is enough mental gymnastics here to be getting on with.—M.S.

Lady Violet: War makes early risers of us all.

Meeting the Past—Maryann Benbow, Bookvisuals, Las Vegas, NV, 2021

This is Part 2 of the Soldier series, with one more to go. At the end of the first book, the eponymous character, having regained some of his memories of his previous life as King Richarad III of England, sets out to meet his destiny. In the England ruled by Henry Tudor, he must adopt a disguise, in this case as a priest. The disguise is almost blown when he meets his older sister, Elizabeth, along the way.

This novel is unique in giving Elizabeth, Duchess of Suffolk, a good deal of face time, and even here she plays a supporting role to her sister Margaret (Meg). There are too many Megs in this story. Not surprising, as Margaret was a very common name for girls in the period, but couldn't at least one of them be called by a different nickname?

In spite of opposition from her husband, the Duke of Suffolk, (or let's say he would have opposed it if he had known) Elizabeth helps her brother make his way to Burgundy, where he will presumably mount an invasion against the Usurper. Along the way, Richard discovers his illegitimate daughter Katherine is being kept a prisoner by her Tudor-supporting husband, and rescues her. He is not able to do anything about his son, John of Gloucester. It appears these children are something of a surprise to our protagonist as well, and he also has to be told what happened to his nephews, all three of them.

In Burgundy, Richard takes on a new identity and a new name. Dykk de Koning is suggested but voted down. Robbie Percy offers; "So we drop de Koning and keep the Dykk. You don't have to be a king to be a Dykk.." Eventually Ritsert de Wetgever is settled on. The Healer, Honour, will travel to the Duchy to marry him under that name. A chapter is devoted to her preparations for the trip, packing clothes, herbs, her pet, Catkin, in a basket, and many rememberances from the villagers.

Another complication is introduced here. There are still gaps in Richard's memory. He has completely forgotten that he was engaged to Princess Joanna of Portugal. He feels obliged to go to her kingdom to straighten this out, so he can marry Honour. The engagement is cancelled by mutual consent, and Joanna reveals that there is a young boy in her wardship, who Richard has much interest in. Sister Meg, in turn, will reveal that the young Earl of Warwick, now a prisoner in the Tower, is a ringer.

At the denouement, Richard and Honour are married and renting a house, and Honour has set up in an apothecary's shop. The plot will not, of course, rest there. Richard has determined 'to avenge the deaths of his loyal followers, presumably by killing Henry Tudor, but what then? Will he retake the throne? Can't think that the Healer would be very happy with the idle life of a queen, or that Richard will be content to be a lawyer with just one client, his big sister. Will he return to being Soldier, a simple villager? Will he be protector for his nephew Richard, or his nephew Edward? All seem equally unlikely. Enough 'had-I-but-knowns' are scattered around that it might be assumed the outcome the author has in mind is none of the above.

My chief criticism of this novel is that the characters are too black-and-white. In a work of fiction, the author can make anyone he or she wishes the bad guys, but there should be some reason for their badness. Here, the only criteria is that they are not 200% pro-Yorkist, and they are that way simply because they are.

One of the most interesting chapters is one that does not contribute to the plot at all. It simply describes how the Healer goes about diagnosing and treating a heart condition without the aid of modern medical technology, such as EKG's, x-rays, even stethoscopes.

I am eagerly awaiting Book 3, which I assume is the end of the trilogy. According to actuarial tables, I may have seven or so more years left, but why leave it till the last minute? Come on, hustle a bit!—M.S.

Lady Violet: Oh, good. Let's talk about money.

The History of Scotland—Plantagenet and Fiona Somerset Fry, Barnes & Noble, US, 1995

Some British names seem to require a fanfare of trumpets to announce them, e.g. Hugh Montgomery-Massingbird, Plantagenet Somerset Fry. It is something of a disappointment to discover that the latter was not christened with that name. He was born Peter George Robin Fry, later adopting the 'Somerset' from the county of his birth and the 'Plantagenet' because of his advocacy of Richard III. This volume is credited to Peter Somerset Fry, writing in collaboration with his fourth wife, Fiona.

Fry, who died in 1996, was a renowned historian and the author of several books similar to this, each taking in centuries—or eons—of history.

Kings and Queens of England and Scotland is one, also ***The Tower of London***, and ***1000 Great Lives.*** If I seem to be reviewing the author rather than his work here, my apologies, but Fry himself has set the pattern. According to the schoolboy verse, "Geography is about maps, but history is about chaps," and he prefers to write about individual chaps-and ladies—rather than the land and events that produced them. Certainly, they must have been more interesting, both to the writer and the reader. You will find the usual suspects, e.g. the Pretenders, Old and Young, Mary Queen of Scots, Cromwell, The Bruce, The Douglases, even the Queen-Consort of James IV, Margaret Tudor. Fry is careful to list the contribution made by Scots of the Diaspora to science, education, politics, the arts, etc., leading to a wry conclusion that Scotland is a good place to be from. But negative influences, such as the 19th-century Highland Clearances, get only a few paragraphs, as an eventual outcome of The '45. (Though maybe this was not an altogether negative influence, since it resulted in the Diaspora.) The Declaration of Arbroath, Scotland's equivalent of the Magna Carta and America's Declaration of Independence, and arguably a positive influence, rates only a very brief mention.

Which is as it should be, perhaps. While an historian should stick to facts, rather than writing fiction, or even special pleading on behalf of one faction or another, they are surely entitled to a unique viewpoint. With a few reservations, as given above, this is an excellent overview of Scottish history.—M.S.

How to Survive in Medieval England—Toni Mount, Pen & Sword History, 2021

Your time machine is primed and ready to send you back to England during the time of the Plantagenets. Be advised before you go to read this fun and informative guide so you will know what to expect and how to survive once you get there. It covers the following topics: social structure, beliefs and religious ideas, clothing and appearance, food and shopping, health and medicine, work and leisure, family matters, warfare, and law and order.

What you will eat and wear and how you will live will depend on what your status is: serf or lord or something in between—and in what time period you find yourself. After the Great Pestilence in the 14th century, even a poor person might have better prospects as a tenant farmer, rather than as a serf. You might even be in the up-and-coming middle class of craftsmen or merchants.

This volume is chock-full of tips and interesting factoids. Poor people rarely eat meat, and the cheeses they have are really hard, stored in the rafters above the hearth where they are smoked. These cheeses last so long that they are sometimes bequeathed to the next generation. And forget about white bread unless you are a lord. Their Lordships claim they can't eat whole grain bread because it makes you fart, and that just shouldn't be done in polite society.

You will also discover the origins of many terms still in use today. "Loose" woman? A married woman was expected to cover her hair, hence any woman wearing her hair loose and uncovered is considered to be of easy virtue. "Strait-laced?" There are two methods of front-lacing on clothes. Criss-crossing the lacing from the bottom eyelets is the quickest way to get a gown on and off and is used by prostitutes. With the other method, one end of the lacing is passed through a top eyelet and the other is passed through the bottom eyelet and spiraled back up each pair of eyelets. Respectable women used the more time-consuming method and so are called 'strait-laced."

Our tour guide has also interviewed several people, some prominent, some not. We hear from Eleanor de Montfort about living in a great castle and from Henry V about war (natch), also from a femme sole, a surgeon, and a coroner, among others. The interviewer also catches King Richard III on his way to Parliament, and asks him to discuss the various dispensations that were required for him to marry Anne Neville. (Richard says Anne was his second cousin once removed. She was the daughter of his first cousin, Warwick, so she was his first cousin once removed, and they were related in the 2nd and 3rd degrees. At least,that is what I remember from my days as a probate attorney.) Richard states that it was his brother Edward who wanted him to marry Anne, and who took care of the paperwork and money required to get the Papal dispensations. He assumes, but is not certain, that they received everything required, and warns the interviewer to secrecy—or else. Richard then rushes off, stating he has a realm to govern.

We also learn about "naughty" Dr. Hobbys, the king's surgeon, who visited the Southwark brothels so often (and not in his professional capacity) that his wife was granted a divorce. Excuse me, I probably should not have said "naughty," which in medieval times meant 'being nothing, not even human,' and describes murderers and rapists—not mere lechers. And we have no reason to believe his wife was "nice," which meant "too fussy," and describes a "wife who nags and finds fault."—P.C.

King in Waiting—Alex Marchant, 2021

It has been a year since the young friends, Matthew, Roger, and Alys, who form the Order of the White Boar, joined together to carry out King Richard III's last request—to conduct his nephews, Edward and Richard, to safety in Burgundy. Since that time, their lives have taken different paths. Edward suffered a grievous wound during the escape and Matthew has stayed in Burgundy to nurse him back to health. Both Roger and Alys returned to England, Roger becoming a page to the Earl of Lincoln while Alys is residing at Gipping under the protective wing of Lady Tyrell in order to try to avoid a distasteful marriage.

When the story opens, Matthew has returned to England with two Burgundian emissaries in an attempt to persuade the Earl of Lincoln to join with Francis Lovell and other Yorkists and lead a rebellion to place Edward V on the throne of England. Matthew carries proof of Edward's identity as the son of Edward IV, and, although Lincoln accepts the fact that Edward is the true king of England (i.e., Parliament has repealed the Titulus Regius making Edward the former king's legitimate son), he declines to take part in a scheme that might only benefit foreign interests who want to use England against their enemies.

This meeting with Lincoln takes place at Gipping where a brief reunion of the Order members takes place. Because it is suspected that they have been spotted by Tudor spies, Matthew accompanied by the Burgundian emissaries as well as Lord Lovell must make a hurried escape. Alys joins them, insisting that she cannot stay and risk being discovered by the retainers of her intended bridegroom who had arrived at Gipping.

Back in Burgundy, we meet Edward—proud, a bit haughty, but one who has been brought up to know how a king should conduct himself. It is he who must wrestle with the decision whether to fight for the throne. Even after traveling to Ireland to assert his claim, he continues to have doubts whether people will believe who he says he is and will follow him. Then he has an encounter with some old hag (or wise woman or witch, take your pick) who says she knew his grandfather and prophecizes that he will end up like him if he goes over the sea to claim a crown. But Tudor's disinformation campaign that the pretender is Edward of Warwick or some baker's son is too much for Lincoln who now backs him. Despite his doubts, Edward will bring the fight to Henry Tudor, and the novel ends with Edward's coronation in Dublin.

If I have to find some fault, I would opine that the opening section can be a little confusing. During his flight from Gipping, Matthew is remembering his meeting with his friends of the Order—but is it their first meeting or the second? And it stretches belief that Alys, a young noblewoman, is allowed to get away with what she does. However, I don't feel like finding fault, so I won't. Reading this book, I felt I was being reunited with some old, young friends and was able to accompany them on their new adventures.

The novel is premised upon a theory that has gained currency among some Ricardians—i.e., the Lambert Simnel affair was not actually a rebellion nominally to put Edward of Warwick on the throne, but Edward V. One may not give much credence to this theory, but it seems plausible and even seems unremarkable as the author tells it here. Both Lincoln's and especially Edward's thoughts and fears are well expressed. The members of the Order are gung-ho for battling Tudor, but knowing what we know, I almost wished that Edward decided to stay in Ireland. It is with some trepidation that I look forward to reading the next installment *Sons of York.* What will happen to members of the Order in the coming battle? And Edward, does he perish along with Lincoln or does he escape perhaps with Lovell?—P.C

Comments by M.S.: Well, I do have to find fault—it's my purpose in life—so I will. With the way Elizabeth of York is depicted here. She is 'unhappy' because she is still not queen? Didn't she become Queen Consort the moment she married? She might have liked to have the pageantry of a Coronation, and the people would surely have liked it, but that wasn't what made her Queen Consort. Though Elizabeth is offstage during this story, she gets word to our protagonists, through the servant girl Elen, that she is 'not unhappy' with Henry, who does not mistreat her, and she has a 'beautiful little son.' Yet she will welcome her brother back to England, and go along with anything he has planned.—including being made a dowerless widow, and the attaintanting and disinheritance of her 'darling baby boy,' and possibly being married off to someone who maybe would mistreat her. (Edward has to be reminded that Arthur is 'just a baby' and not responsible for his father's actions.) She may have been rather dim, but this passes belief.

I am going to play Devil's Advocate here. In his afterword, Marchant admits that neither Richard nor Henry may have known what happened to the boys. But Henry thought he did. Hearing rumors that an Edward had been crowned in Dublin, he knew it couldn't be the son of Edward IV, because his mother and his uncle Jasper told him that Edward Plantagenet was dead. He saw no reason to disbelieve them. He jumped to the conclusion that Edward of Warwick was intended, but he knew, and could prove, that that Edward was in the Tower. All this confusion could have been avoided if the family had been a little more original in

naming their children. It may have been 'Tudor disinformation,' but it looks like at least some of the Tudors were the ones disinformed. As far as I am aware, nobody had heard of a 'Lambert Simnel,' until after the Battle of Stoke Field.

Acting on this supposition, the Duchess of Burgundy could truthfully claim that young King Edward is resident at her court. She does not add that he is sickly, perhaps suffering from TB, endemic in the royal family. A stand-in is brought on, boy of no importance, to substitute for him on occasions when he is too ill, or just to avoid stress. He looks enough like Edward to pass if not seen close-to, and can be taught upper-class manners. Don't know who was crowned in Dublin, but Edward was certainly too sickly or too valuable, or both, to be allowed to risk himself on the battlefield, so the understudy also sits on the sidelines. Meanwhile, the real Edward V remains in Ireland, or returns to Burgundy, and eventually dies of his disease. Henry captures the impostor, who admits his imposture, and throws himself on his captor's mercy—because wouldn't Henry have executed the real Edward, if he wasn't already dead? Henry makes a show of leniency, but he has a hold over the young man ('Lambert Simnel'/John Doe) who is technically guilty of treason. Thus he retains a hold over his prisoner, and can allow him to work in the royal kitchens, and eventually to serve in other capacities. It's at least as plausible as the plot of this novel.

But I'm prepared to wait and find out how the author works out the plot-line he has chosen—in fact I am looking forward to it. Just soon, please.—M.S.

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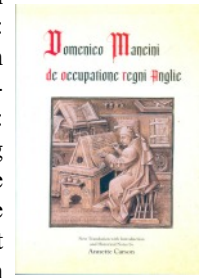
Carson's Translation of Mancini

Compton Reeves



Annette Carson has produced a translation from Latin into English of Domenico Mancini's *De occupatione Regni Anglie* (Horstead: Imprimis Imprimatur, 2021). Since 1936 the readily available English translation has been that by Charles Arthur John Armstrong (1909-1994), published under the title *The Usurpation of Richard III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936; revised 1969). It was John Armstrong who, while serving in the English diplomatic service, in 1934 found the manuscript of Mancini's work housed in the Bibliothèque municipal de Lille, and Armstrong provided a transcript of Mancini's Latin text together with an English translation. Carson has based her translation of Mancini on the Latin text Armstrong made from the Lille manuscript.

The purpose of this translation, as stated by Carson (for example, pp. 37-39), is to bring into more neutral and less judgmental language the narrative of Mancini. I agree with Matthew Lewis (*Ricardian Bulletin*, June 2021, p. 61) that Annette Carson has done excellent work in producing a fair, objective translation. Armstrong's translation was, as Carson points out in her notes, often colored by the overwhelmingly negative reputation of Richard III that prevailed in the 1930s when Armstrong carried out his work. It will be recalled that the bones of two youths that had been discovered by workmen at the Tower of London in 1674 and buried in Westminster Abbey were disinterred and examined in 1933. Speculation was rife that these were the bones of Edward IV's sons who, as Sir Thomas More had asserted (without evidence) in the sixteenth century, had been murdered by their uncle Duke Richard of Gloucester in his move to become King Richard III. Even the Latin word *occupatione* in the title, which Armstrong translated as 'usurpation', could as well be brought into English as 'taking' or 'taking possession of' or simply 'occupy'.

Domenico Mancini's *De occupatione Regni Anglie* is undeniably an important narrative source for the events in England of 1483 between the death of King Edward IV on 9 April, through the presumed succession of King Edward's older son as Edward V, to the actual accession of Edward IV' brother as King Richard III. Mancini was an Italian priest who enjoyed the patronage of Angelo Cato, archbishop of Vienne, a counselor of King Louis XI of France. It was a time of diplomatic tension between France and England when Mancini arrived in England, probably late in 1482, to gather intelligence for the French court. At the end of 1482, Louis XI renounced the Treaty of Picquigny that had followed upon Edward IV's invasion of France in 1475, and the renunciation ended the peace between France and England, unsettled European diplomacy, and terminated the substantial annual pension that Louis XI had been providing to King Edward. The French were anxious to know what the English reaction might be to the renunciation of the Picquigny treaty.

Mancini did not know the English language and was thus dependent for his information not upon his questioning of people at large, but rather upon informants such as those in England who could converse in Latin, Italian merchants, and speakers of French, presuming that Mancini was a francophone. Mancini was thus relying on hearsay evidence; he was not within the circle of English political decision-makers. Perennial questions like 'When and why did Richard decide to supplant his nephew?' find no answer in Mancini. Mancini's assumption that Richard had a long-standing plan to become king simply proves that there were conspiracy minded people in London in 1483, not that Richard had a grand scheme as opposed to his reacting to events. Carson points out that in matters like the position of Protector during a royal minority, Mancini did not understand the English legal legacy of that office and the function of its occupant, particularly as it had been defined during the unprecedented length of the minority of King Henry VI.

Dominico Mancini was telling a story that he had refined through repeated telling. He wrote at the opening of his *Occupatio* that he had repeatedly told the story of his time in England to his patron Archbishop Cato and that Cato had urged him to commit the story to writing. Mancini tells us at the end of *Occupatio* that he was recalled from England by Cato, and that he completed the writing of his account on 1 December 1483 in the city of Beaugency. It is worth considering the possibility that Mancini tailored his story to the sensibilities of his French listening audience.

How might we be best prepared to become part of Mancini's audience? Let me slip on my professor robe and suggest a study guide. The first step would be to read carefully Carson's Introduction, and giving some special thought to Carson's suggestive discussion of the influence of Mancini on the development of the Ricardian legend. The historiography of Mancini's *Occupatione* is essentially a blank page until the twentieth century. With Carson's Introduction tucked in our minds, we then progress to a reconnaissance-mission reading of Carson's translation of Mancini's text. Having gained a basic acquaintance with the text, we settle in for a truly careful reading. The extensive endnotes Carson has written are crucial to grasping the historical ramifications of Mancini's observations and his subsequent narrative of events, and to see the changes from Armstrong's translation to that of Carson. This means that at every note number in Mancini's text, turning to the back of the book to see the comments found there. The process is somewhat tedious, but very rewarding in coming to a full understanding of Mancini's story of the dramatic events of 1483.

The final chapter of Mancini's *Occupatione* is a description of London. Carson offers some suggestions for further reading on the subject. For the benefit of readers wanting to know more about fifteenth-century London, I would add three books to Carson's suggestions: Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal (eds.), *Medieval London: Collected Papers*

of Caroline M. Barron (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2017); Elizabeth A. New and Christian Steer (eds.), *Medieval Londoners: Essays to Mark the Eightieth Birthday of Caroline M. Barron* (London: University of London Press, 2019); and Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925). Kingsford's book is based on his 1923 Ford Lectures at Oxford, and one lecture is "London in the Fifteenth Century." At the back of the book is a fold-out map that allows the reader of the lecture to follow a tour around London.

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Note: members of the American Branch can still order a copy from Wayne Ingalls, membership chair at our cost of $15 each. This includes shipping. Note: we made a bulk order of 75 books of which we have about 15 unsold copies. By purchasing bulk, we were able to cut the overall cost by half per copy. If you are interested in obtaining a copy, please send an email to Wayne Ingalls at membership@r3.org.

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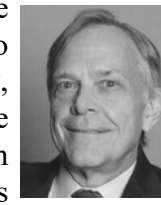
2022 Plantagenet Angel Award: W. Bowman Cutter



The Plantagenet Angel Award was created to recognize the support of our most generous donors. We are very pleased to give this award to W. Bowman "Bo" Cutter of New York City, who has been a member since 2002. Mr. Cutter became interested in Elizabeth I when he was in high school in Loudoun County, VA. He read a lot, including the Wars of the Roses and decided her father Henry VIII was a thug and her grandfather, Henry VIII, at best was a jerk and probably a very bad man. Mr. Cutter wondered more about the Yorks. Around 1962 he read *The Daughter of Time* by Josephine Tey and decided he was a Richard III guy. Once he learned about the Richard III Society he joined.

Mr. Cutter is an economist, academic, and businessman. He led the OMB transition team after the election of President Obama. Mr. Cutter was Deputy Assistant to the President for Economic Policy (National Economic Council) during the Clinton Administration and associate director for budget at the office of budget and management during the Carter administration. He is a senior fellow and former Director of the Next American Economy Project at the Roosevelt Institute. He is also Chair Emeritus of the MicroVest Fund, a board member and the immediate past chair of the executive committee of Resources for the Future (an energy and environmental research institute).

Information about Mr. Cutter's professional background was gleaned from Committee for Economic Development and MicroVest Fund.

The Missing Princes in America Project

Sally Keil

January 31, 2022

Dear Team Members,

Like the robin is the harbinger of spring, so too are team members who have completed their assignments the harbingers of the coming conclusion of our massive search effort! A number of you have reached your own personal 'finish line', while others are still out there searching, while others have asked for *MORE* assignments as they are so enjoying the hunt! Whichever camp you may fall into, you have my **most sincere thanks** for all of the time that you have given to this project as well as all of the patience that it has demanded of you. We press on, hoping to find that elusive clue in a letter, a legal document, a financial or a manorial roll. With over 400 institutions in the US and Canada already searched in the massive haystack, we're still looking for the 'needle'.

Date: January 2022
Institutions contacted this month: 10

Total # institutions contacted to date: **407** **Project Completion: 83%**

'Hits' this month with description: No new hits.

Status of previous 'hits':

Falconer Statue in the Denver Art Museum. Julie Stafford got an email from Emily Willkom of the Denver Art Museum. She apologized but wanted to confirm that our research request on the provenance of this statue is still in their 'in basket', she hasn't forgotten, but they are super busy. So, we continue to wait.

Diplomatic documents at Stanford U: Have been re-assigned to one of the Missing Princes team in England, who knows paleography. Philippa will pass the documents along to this person sometime in the new year, and will keep us advised.

Henry VII Account Book of 1500: Is also being re-assigned to one of the Missing Princes team in England.

1484 Deed of Sale in Pluckley, Personally Authored by Richard III Suzanne Sage is following this thread. No updates this month.

1486 Article of Indenture Oberlin College Jean Pivetz turned this up, but as with other documents, we need the support of someone who knows paleography and who also reads Latin, to help us with this one.

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Ex Libris

Susan Troxell, Research Library
Pauline Caulkin, Fiction Library
Andy Hart, Articles/Audio-Visual/Archives Library

2021 Non-Fiction Library Acquisitions:

Mark Lansdale, "The Psychology of Richard III" (2021)
Gordon McKelvie (ed.), Calendar of Inquisitions Post-Mortem 1483-85 (2021)
Gordon McKelvie, "Bastard Feudalism, English Society and the Law: the Statutes of Livery, 1390-1520" (2020)
Nicholas Orme, "Going to Church in Medieval England" (2021)
Thomas Penn, "The Brothers York: A Royal Tragedy" (2020)
Nicola Tallis, "Uncrowned Queen: Margaret Beaufort" (2020)
Katherine Warner, "The Despensers" (2020)

Books donated by Compton Reeves:

A. Compton Reeves, "The Marcher Lords" (1983)
A. Compton Reeves, "Purveyors and Purveyance" (1983)
A. Compton Reeves, "Lancastrian Englishmen" (1981)
A. Compton Reeves (ed.), "The Wyclyf Tradition" (1979)
A. Compton Reeves, "The Careers of William Lyndwood" (from "Documenting the Past", Boydell Press)

Materials Donated by Karen Nuckolls:

Jackdaw series, "R3 & the Princes in the Tower", J. Langdon-Davies, editor

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Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem—1483 to 1485 (Boydell Press/TNA, 2021)

Susan Troxell, Research Librarian

This primary source is a new addition to our Non-Fiction Library, and joins other government documents from Richard III's reign in the collection. Edited by Gordon McKelvie, and with an introduction by Michael Hicks, this project was funded in part by the Richard III Society (UK). It fills a gap in the overall calendaring of Inquisitions *Post Mortem*, which hitherto had been completed from the reign of Henry III up to the third decade of Henry VI's, and picking up again with the reign of Henry VII in 1485, thus skipping over all the Yorkist kings. While these Chancery Department documents are kept at The National Archives in the United Kingdom, the physical manuscripts from 1447-1485 are ephemeral and reportedly deteriorating with age and past mishandling. Thus, there was urgency in doing the work of decoding the handwriting and translating the Latin into English before they became illegible and lost to future historians.

Inquisitions *Post Mortem* (IPMs) were a type of government inquiry into the landed estates that feudal tenants held at death. Done primarily to benefit the Crown, the IPMs sought to identify any lands that had potentially fallen back into Crown hands because of the lack of heirs or anyone else legally entitled to them or their income. Medieval kings were always in need of supporting themselves financially and this was one way to meet that need. It was also a product of Anglo-Norman feudalism. Ever since William I's conquest

of England, it was generally understood that the king theoretically owned all the land, and that—in exchange for military or other services, and an oath of fealty—he would give heritable estates to "tenants in chief". Should one of those tenants die without heirs or a surviving spouse, then the king had a right to re-possess whatever the Crown had given them if they were not encumbered by duties to other feudal lords. Another way the Crown pursued its interests was to identify under-aged heirs, whose wardships and marriages would revert to the king's control, until they came "of age" and could take possession of their landed inheritance. The IPMs sought to document all this.

When credible proof of someone's death was presented, the Chancery Department would issue a Writ of *Diem Clausit Extrenum* which would begin the IPM process. A deceased woman would qualify for an IPM of her own if she was either unmarried (a "*femme sole*") or a widow who held her own heritable landed estate. The writ commanded a uniform set of tasks. It directed the king's escheators to take temporary custody of all the decedent's lands and tenements using trustworthy local men (called "jurors") to ascertain them. They were required to determine which lands were held of the Crown as chief tenant or by service, those held by service to another lord, and those held outright without any feudal obligations attached to them ("desmesne"). After taking this inventory, it had to be determined by what service the tenant possessed them, as well as the value of the land at the time of the decedent's death, usually expressed in a "per annum" figure. (Oddly enough, many of the IPMs record that the "service is unknown" which suggests that whatever feudal duties had existed, they could no longer be identified precisely.) Finally, the date of the decedent's death had to be certified and it had to be determined whether they had any heirs and at what age. A "proof of age" would satisfy the inquirers that the heir was truly of age to take possession. Once all this information was gathered and attested to by the fixation of the escheator's and jurors' seals, the results were returned to Chancery and kept permanently there.

Not surprisingly, the IPM of a high-ranking feudal tenant or noble person could involve dozens of such lands situated across the realm. For someone like William Lord Hastings, who was executed in 1483 but not attainted, a number of IPMs would be performed and filed with respect to each county where he had land. It was not always a fast process and could take several years to do a full accounting, and could span between the reigns of successive monarchs. Under the reign of Edward IV, for example, it sometimes took as long as seven years to complete the IPM for the estate of a great lord. Often, the escheators were assisted with input from the decedent's legal counsel who would provide the required information. The IPMs for Lord Hastings were assisted with input from his lawyer, Thomas Keeble. Another notable thing about Lord Hastings' IPMs is that they express a very unique regnal dating protocol and definitively put to rest a hotly debated fact: they state unequivocally that he died on 13 June 1483, in the first year of Edward V, the bastard ("anno regni regis Edwardi quinti bastardi primo").

Along with William Lord Hastings, there are a number of notable personalities whose IPMs are contained in this collection. These include Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex, uncle by marriage to Richard III, and Treasurer to Edward IV. He died on 4 April 1483, only a few days before the death of the king. The IPMs of his widow, Isabel Plantagenet, the only daughter of Richard Plantagenet, the third duke of York and aunt to Richard III, are also included in this volume, as she passed away on 2 October 1484. The book contains an Index of all names for whom an IPM was performed during the reigns of Edward V and Richard III, as well as anyone mentioned in the inquiries as having some stake in the decedent's lands, and an Index of all jurors who participated in the inquisitions. The editor is also able

to identify by name the Crown clerks and servants who participated in the process, whether as Chancery scribe or escheator.

There should, however, be some understanding of the inherent limitations of a "calendar". It is not intended to be a full word-for-word transcription of the actual Chancery Department documents held at The National Archives. The nature of medieval IPMs involved a set of tediously long, legalistic formulas that were copied by rote, what we call nowadays "legal boilerplate" language. The editor has made a wise choice not to reproduce the legal boilerplate but only to extrapolate their essential statements. Nor should anyone think that IPMs are a type of proof of someone's last will and testament: that process was completely controlled by the Prerogative Courts of the Archbishoprics of Canterbury or York, through the canonical process by which a decedent's last will and testament was certified as authentic, their executors appointed to give an accounting of the deceased's chattels and possessions, their debts paid, and their benefactions honored. The Society has produced a full translation of such wills and testaments in the *Logge Register* (1479-86), and it continues with work on the *Milles Register* (1487-91).

The value of this collection of IPMs from 1483-1485, nevertheless, is vast in its potential. Not only does one learn how this critical function of the Crown was performed in the late medieval age, and by whom, but the data collected will here provide useful information for genealogists, social historians, economists, and local historians. They provide a primary source insight into land use, agriculture, industry, landscapes, town, local government, and demographics—at all levels of society. It is a project that the Society can take pride in supporting.

Members of the American Branch of the Richard III Society are welcomed to borrow this book, by submitting your request to our librarian Susan Troxell, at researchlibrary@r3.org.

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2022 Schallek Fellowship Winner: Alexandra Atiya

My dissertation, "Economic and Spiritual Conflict in Medieval East Anglian Drama," investigates the relationship between economic conflicts and dramatic forms in late-medieval morality and miracle plays. Focusing on the depiction of trade, labor rebellion, and corruption in plays including the Croxton Play of the Sacrament, Mankind, Wisdom, and The Castle of Perseverance, I argue that contemporary economic conflicts are more than just topical villains or vices slotted into a didactic model of drama; rather, they seem to shape the plays' variegated and unusual dramatic forms. Building on recent work that re-evaluates the morality play genre, my dissertation employs close reading of play texts, analysis of manuscript evidence, and research into relevant historical contexts to examine the blurring of moral boundaries and the adaptability of allegory in late-medieval performance.

Reprinted with permission from Medieval Academy blog post here:
themedievalacademyblog.org/maa-news-schallek-fellowship-winner/

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Copy Deadlines:

January 1–March Issue
July 1–September Issue

Submission guidelines

- Word doc or docx file type or Open Office Writer odt file type, or rtf file type
- If your submission is an article about Richard III, 15th century England, etc. please submit it to the Research Officer at research_officer@r3.org, all other submission should go to the Editor at info@r3.org
- Prefer tables in spreadsheet or database format–file type examples: xls, xlxs, csv, txt, mdb, htm, html
- 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

From the Editor

Many thanks to all who contributed to this issue of the *Ricardian Register*. I especially want to thank Compton Reeves and Susan Troxell for their contributions and assistance.

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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Board, Staff, and Chapter Contacts

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Acting CHAIRPERSON: **Susan Troxell**
114 Lombard Street
Philadelphia PA 19147• chairperson@r3.org

VICE CHAIRMAN: **Open**
vice-chair@r3.org

Acting SECRETARY: **Joan Szechtman**
secretary@r3.org

TREASURER: **Deborah Kaback**
P.O Box 272
New Lebanon, NY 12125*
*Pre-COVID-19 was:
415 East 52nd St., Apt 4NC
New York City, NY 10022
treasurer@r3.org

MEMBERSHIP CHAIR: **Wayne Ingalls**
704 NW Euclid Ave.
Lawton, OK 73507
membership@r3.org

IMMEDIATE PAST CHAIRMAN:
A. Compton Reeves
1560 Southpark Circle
Prescott, AZ 86305
immediate_past_chairman@r3.org

COMMITTEES

CHAPTERS ADVISOR: **Nita Musgrave**
630-355-5578 • chapters@r3.org

LIBRARIAN: Fiction: **Pauline Calkin**
1132 Country Place
Redlands, CA 92374
fictionlibrary@r3.org

LIBRARIAN: Research, **Susan Troxell**
114 Lombard Street
Philadelphia PA 19147
researchlibrary@r3.org

LIBRARIAN: Articles/Audio-Visual/Archives Library: **Andy Hart**
267 Philadelphia Ave
Chambersburg, PA 17201
articlesavlibrary@r3.org

RESEARCH OFFICER: **A. Compton Reeves**
1560 Southpark Circle
Prescott, AZ 86305
research_officer@r3.org

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER: **Wayne Ingalls**
public_relations_officer@r3.org

SALES OFFICER**: Open**
• sales@r3.org

WEB CONTENT MANAGER: Open
webcontentmanager@r3.org

WEBMASTER: **Cheryl Greer**
webmaster@r3.org

REGISTER STAFF

EDITOR: **Joan Szechtman**
info@r3.org

ASSISTANT EDITOR: **Diana Rubino**
assistant_editor@r3.org

RICARDIAN READING EDITORS:
ricardian_reading_editor@r3.org
Myrna Smith • 361-415-1119
401 Northshore Blvd, #109, Portland, TX 78374
Pauline Calkin
1132 Country Place, Redlands, CA 92374
Note: If you are submitting a physical book for review, please email the reviewers first to determine who and where to mail it.

CHAPTER CONTACTS *

FLORIDA: William Gouveia
wgouveia@cfl.rr.com

ILLINOIS: Janice Weiner
6540 N. Richmond St. • Chicago, IL 60645
jlweiner@sbcglobal.net

MICHIGAN AREA: Larry Irwin
5715 Forman Dr • Bloomfield Hills, MI 48301
(248) 626-5339 • katycdc@yahoo.com

NORTHWEST: Jim Mitchell
ayorkist@yahoo.com

NEW YORK-METRO AREA: Maria Elena Torres
3216 Fillmore Avenue • Brooklyn, NY 11234
ejbronte@gmail.com

Tidewater (VA): Elizabeth Bateman
concordiaerb@aol.com

Arizona: Marion Low
dickon3@cox.net

Rocky Mountain (CO): Dawn Shafer
dawn_alicia_shafer@yahoo.com

*Notes:

If you do not see a chapter near you and you would like to reach out to other Ricardians in your area, please contact the Membership Chair at membership@r3.org. She will circulate your email address to members in your area. If you later decide to go ahead and form a chapter, please contact the Chapters' Advisor at chapters@r3.org.

If you do not see your chapter listed here, please contact the Chapter's Advisor at chapters@r3.org and include current contact information.

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Membership Application/Renewal Dues

Regular Membership Levels

Individual $60.00 $_____

Family membership: add $5.00 for each additional adult
at same address who wishes to join. $_____

Please list members at the same address (other than yourself) who are re-joining

For non-U.S. mailing address, to cover postage please add: $15.00 $_____

Contributing and Sponsoring Membership Levels

Honorary Fotheringhay Member $75.00 $_____

Honorary Middleham Member $180.00 $_____

Honorary Bosworth Member $300.00 $_____

Plantagenet Angel $500.00 $_____

Donations*

Judy R. Weinsoft Memorial Research Library $_____

General Fund $_____

Morris McGee Keynote Address Fund $_____

Schallek Special Projects Fund $_____

Total enclosed $_____

*The Richard III Society, Inc., is a not-for-profit corporation with 501(c)(3) designation. All contributions over the basic $60 membership are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

Circle One: Mr. - Mrs. - Miss - Ms. - Other: _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

City, State, Zip: _____

Country (if outside of U.S.): _____

Residence Phone: _____

E-mail: _____

___ New ___ Renewal ____Please check if new address

Date of birth to register with Parent Branch of the Richard III Society_____

Note: Registration is required for receipt of the UK publications including the Ricardian Journal and Bulletin. If you are renewing your membership and have registered, then you do not have to reregister.

___Please check if you wish to OPT OUT of registering.

If this is a gift membership please place the following message on the gift acknowledgement email: _____

Make checks payable to: THE RICHARD III SOCIETY, INC. (U.S. Funds only, please.)

Mail to:

Richard III Society Membership Dept.
c/o Wayne Ingalls
704 NW Euclid Ave.
Lawton, OK 73507

For instructions on how to join or renew online, go to r3.org/join/

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Inside Back Cover

Not Printed

Front cover:
King Richard III by **Jamal Mustafa**

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

Richard III Society American Branch Logo

Created by Emily Newton, Secretary

Richard III Forever

2022 General Membership Meeting

In person: October 28 – 30, 2022

Zoom: October 29, 2022

Hyatt Regency Dulles
2300 Dulles Corner Boulevard
Herndon, VA VA 20171

Register online: hyatt.com/en-US/group-booking/DULLE/G-RIRD

The cutoff date for individuals to book their rooms is on 10/7/22.

Watch your email for event, schedule, hotel, and registration details.