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King Richard III

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John Morton: Bishop, Cardinal, Archbishop, Lord Chancellor–and Patron of Building

Stuart Bradley

Whilst familiar to many Ricardians as the *eminence grise* behind Buckingham's rebellion and implacable opponent to Richard III, John Morton gains only incidental references in the majority of studies on the fifteenth century, and despite holding the two most important appointments in the realm during the reign of king Henry VII, as Lord Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury, he remains essentially an elusive figure. Examples of his signature are rare, no portrait of him survives, and the only likeness of him that exists is that on his badly defaced cenotaph in Canterbury Cathedral, although bizarrely, his skull survives, preserved at Stonyhurst College in Clitheroe, Lancashire.[1] Born in Dorset around 1420, he shone at Oxford as an outstanding jurist and a man of singular potential.[2] He became Chancellor to the infant Edward, Prince of Wales, son of King Henry VI in1456, and numerous ecclesiastical preferments followed.[3] He stood by the Lancastrians and was forced into exile after their defeat at the battle of Towton. Ten years of exile abroad followed until he was summoned to return in 1471 by Edward IV, whom he served as Master of the Rolls and by whom he was elevated to the lucrative bishopric of Ely.[4]

Following his key role in Buckingham's rebellion, a second exile followed during the reign of Richard III. There he continued to conspire in favour of the earl of Richmond, only returning to England after his victory at Bosworth, and then serving Henry VII until his death in 1500.[5] He was consecrated Archbishop of

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[1] The alabaster memorial to Morton on the south side of the crypt in Canterbury Cathedral is a cenotaph. He was buried under a marble slab with an incised brass (now missing) before the altar of the Virgin as dictated in his will. London, The National Archives PROB/11/12. A transcript of a letter bearing his signature is printed in J. B Sheppard ed., *Christ Church Letters*, Camden Society, new series, vol. xix, (London 1877), frontispiece, 57. For the saga of the skull see S. C. Bradley, *The Itineraries of John Morton, Bishop of Ely, then Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor of England, and King Henry VII, 1485 – 1500*, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Bangor University, 2015), 145-146.

[2] Morton was granted letters testimonial by the University in 1454. C. W. Boaseed., *Register of the University of Oxford*, (Oxford Historical Society, vol. I, 1885), 20; Rev. H. Anstey ed., *Epistolae Academicae Oxoniensis*,(Oxford Historical Society, vol. xxxv, 1898), 325.

[3] *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry VI, volume ii, 1454-1461*, (London 1947), 71; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry VI, volume vi,1452-1461*,(London1910), 323; *Papal Letters, vol. XI, 1451-1464* ed.(London 1921), 176; Bradley, Itineraries, appendix 14.

[4] Pardon granted 17 June 1471, J Strachey ed., *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, 6 vols,, (London 1767-1783), vol. VI, 26; CPR, 1467- 1477, 261. The patent for his appointment as Keeper of the Rolls of Chancery was issued on 16 March 1472, ibid, 334. It was renewed on 2 May 1475 because it seems there may have been some doubt as to whether the initial grant permitted him to reside anywhere other than the Domus Conversorum, ibid, 516.

[5] Bradley, *Itineraries*, 90-96. S. Cunningham, *Henry VII*, (Routledge 2007), 46. Appointed Lord Chancellor 5 March 1486, TNA E 101/217/14. The license to appoint a successor to Archbishop Bourgchier was issued on 13 June. Restitution of temporalities 13 July. CPR 1485-1494, 119. Enthroned 21 January 1487. E. Cavell ed., *The Herald's Memoir 1486 – 1490: Court Ceremony, Royal Progress and Rebellion*, (Richard III and Yorkist History Trust 2009), 108. Elected cardinal 20 September 1493. K. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, 9 vols,

Canterbury in January 1487 and elected Cardinal in 1493. Whilst his archiepiscopal register and other aspects of his episcopate have been published, his role as diocesan and metropolitan, demonstrated through acts of practical piety, have not been fully explored.[6] This article seeks, through a largely chronological approach, to identify and examine his contribution in this regard. Investment in building was a frequently used method of demonstrating religious duty in a practical form.

The late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were ages of building, and Morton invested heavily in both restoration and innovation. It was an enthusiasm he shared with Henry VII, who, as the royal household accounts and other documents reveal, spent considerable sums on repair and improvement to royal properties.[7] This was also an age where display was an integral and dramatic expression of wealth, power, and propaganda. Ruling elites demonstrated this through princely magnificence, opulent ceremony, and liberality. Sir John Fortescue, the Chief Justice of England during the reign of Henry VI, wrote:

> ‘Item, it shall need þat the kyng haue such tresour, as he mey make new bildynges whan he woll, ffor his pleasure and magnificence; and as he mey bie hym riche clothes, riche furres, oþer than be wonned to fall vndre þe yerely charges off hiswarderober, rich stones, serpes, bauderikes, and oþer juels and ornamentes conuenyent to his estate roiall. And often tymes he woll bie riche hangynges and other apparel ffor his howses; vessaill, vestmentes, and oþer ornamentes for his chapell; bie also horses off grete price,trappers, and do other suche nobell and grete costes, as bi sitith is roiall mageste, off wich it is not now possible to the writer hereof to remenbr the especialliteis. Ffor yff a kyng did not so, nor might do,he lyved then not like his estate, but rather in miserie, and in more subgeccion than doth a priuate person.’[8]

Investing in bricks and mortar (and this was an age of brick) reinforced the message of permanence and solidity, particularly relevant for the new Tudor regime. Henry VII was the fourth king during the century not to have come to the throne through direct inheritance, and two of his recent predecessors had come to bloody ends. There were no assurances that his reign would be a secure or lengthy one. Investment in building demonstrated confidence and that finances were sufficient and not being used for mere survival; that he was living ‘ffor his pleasure and magnificence.’ Key officers of state such as Morton mirrored this in similar actions, reflecting the power of the crown and demonstrating the authority and pastoral concern of the Church. Public works such as drainage projects, the rebuilding of bridges, and improvements to parish churches, demonstrated the

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(Regensburg 1898), vol. II, 71, 131, n. 1; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, vol. I*, 537; Godwin, F, *De Praesulibus Anglie Commentarius,* (London, 1616), 131.

[6] C. Harper-Bill, *The Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 3 vols, (Canterbury and York Society, 1987-2000); C. Harper-Bill, “The Familia, Administrators and Patronage of Archbishop John Morton,” *Journal of Religious History*, vol 10, Issue 3, (London, 1979).

[7] J. Cave-Browne, *Lambeth Palace and its Associations*, (Edinburgh and London 1883), 32. Examples describing royal expenditure include TNA E101/414/6fol. 27v; E101/414/16 fol. 36v; E101/415/3fol.33r; E404/81/3/ unnumbered item BL MS Add. 7099, p.16. See also H. M. Colvin ed., *The History of the King’s Works*, 6 vols, (London 1982), vol. III, 196, 203, 215; S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, (Eyre Methuen 1972), 305.

[8] Sir John Fortescue, *The Governance of England, Otherwise Called the Difference Between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy*, C. Plummer ed., (Oxford 1885), 125.

benefits of the stability brought by the new regime, and provided significant opportunities for economic patronage.

It is clear that many of the properties Morton inherited when he became archbishop had suffered neglect, but his commitment to investment in building was evident when he was bishop of Ely, where he had renewed and repaired properties across his diocese in addition to initiating new schemes. When, as archbishop, he made regular visits to Kent (as revealed in his itinerary), these visits provided him with opportunities to inspect his properties and see the progress of building projects, as well as enjoy time at those he had improved.[9] It has been said that Morton 'seems to have been as obsessed with building as Wolsey' but as this article will seek to demonstrate, this under-estimates the scale of his projects.[10]

Plan of Hatfield Palace c. 1604, reproduced in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Hertfordshire*, (HMSO1910), 59.

As stated above, Morton's first building projects had been undertaken when he was bishop of Ely.[11] These included the reconstruction of the episcopal palace at Bishop's Hatfield, which has been described as 'the foremost monument of medieval domestic architecture in the county and one of the foremost monuments of medieval brickwork in the country.'[12] Hatfield was a courtyard mansion on 'a palace-like scale' and considerable elaborateness.[13] Brick buildings on this scale were still relatively rare in England in the 1470s, but Morton would have seen the style whilst he was an exile in the Low Countries.[14] Morton created an imposing building of quadrangular form with stair towers at the corners of the central court. Each side was 230 feet in length and over forty feet broad, larger than Wolsey's base court at Hampton Court. It had its principal entrance in the centre of its eastern range, and the great hall, solar, kitchen, and butteries in the west wing. The state apartments were in the south. Its red brick construction prefigured Morton's subsequent work at Lambeth Palace and in other episcopal residences in the See of Canterbury.

Unfortunately, when Robert Cecil built Hatfield House between 1608 and 1611, all but the western ranges of Morton's palace were demolished. The great hall and its associated rooms were converted into stables in 1626 and remained in use for that purpose until the twentieth century. Now restored, even the single wing that remains of Morton's palace is a remarkable testament to the scope of his architectural vision. Information on Morton's years as bishop of Ely would have been contained in his Episcopal register but this has not survived, and its loss

[9] Bradley, *Itineraries*, appendix 1.
[10] F .Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, (Cambridge 1980), 40.
[11] W. Camden, *Britannia*, (London, 1586), trans. E. Gibson, 2nd edn., (London 1722), vol. I, 347.
[12] N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Hertfordshire*, (London 1953), 110.
[13] A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, 1300-1500, vol. ii: East Anglia, Central England and Wales*, 3 vols, (Cambridge 2000), 186; *Victoria County History, Hertfordshire*, 4 vols, (London 1908) vol. II, 94.
[14] Bradley, *Itineraries*, 77-80, 89-94.

makes it very difficult to assess how his projects came to be conceived and how they were realised. As bishop he had a staff of officials who may have proposed ideas or drawn them from other sources but the evidence provided by ongoing architectural projects throughout his episcopate and archiepiscopate indicate that it was he who was the prime mover in their realisation. Certainly, at Hatfield the lavishness of the scale of the construction indicates the importance he saw in its role both physically and symbolically and prefigures the works he commissioned when archbishop.

Morton also ordered the rebuilding of the Norman castle at Wisbech, which had fallen into ruin.[15] Sir Richard Baker, writing in 1643, recorded that 'all the Brick building was of his charge.'[16] This was also on a major scale and was intended as a residence rather than a defensive construction. It became the palace of subsequent bishops. Nothing now survives of the building because during the Interregnum it was acquired by the Secretary of the Council of State, John Thurloe, who demolished Morton's work and replaced it with a house designed by Peter Mills, a pupil of Inigo Jones.[17] A large amount of work was also undertaken at the parish church in the town towards the end of the fifteenth century: much of this is attributed to Morton, as his arms appear prominently on the walls of the tower.[18]

However, his most significant construction whilst at Ely was 'Morton's Leam.' This involved the construction of a new channel, a straightening of the river Nene to improve Wisbech's connection with the sea. Initially twelve miles in length, forty feet broad, and four deep, it was 'a work certainly of singular consequence' and the first major drainage project in the Fens. The drain steered water from Staneground via Guyhirn to Wisbech. Morton then extended it and by other cuts made a new out-fall to the sea.[19] The natural route had run via Benwick, Floods Ferry, Marsh Outwell, and Wisbech, a long meandering course. The Leam was completed in around 1480, and whilst the writer does not cite his source, the work was allegedly done by prisoners of war.[20] Morton ordered the construction of a brick viewing- tower at Ring's End near Guyhirn, reportedly so he could observe the progress of his work. Whilst no evidence of it now remains, it was still standing in 1810.[21]

The importance of Morton's work lay in the simple strategy of making straight cuts across the fenland to create an artificial river that set the pattern for all subsequent drainage work in East Anglia. The result was dramatic: the lowering of the water levels brought the Great Fen into cultivation for the first time, an area of over four thousand acres of what was to prove highly productive land. It was, as far as we know, the first time in our history that man instead of nature had changed

[15] Camden, *Britannia*, vol. I, 495; J. Bentham, *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely,* (Cambridge1771), 181.
[16] R. Baker, *A Chronicle of the Kings of England from the Times of the Romans Government unto the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord, King Charles*, (London, 1643), 158; J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments Within the United Monarchie Of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent*, (London 1747), 32.
[17] *Victoria County History, Cambridgeshire,* 10 vols, (London 1953), vol. IV, 254.
[18] N. Walker and T. Craddock, *The History of Wisbech with a Historical Sketch of the Fens*, (Wisbech & London 1834), 161.
[19] Camden, *Britannia*,495, 524; *VCH, Cambridgeshire*, vol. IV, 246, 261; W. Dugdale, *The History of Imbanking and Drayning of Divers Fenns and Marshes*, (London 1662), 364; 'Mr Atkins's Reports, 1618', in S. Wells, *The History of the Drainage of the Great Level of the Fens, called the Bedford Level*, 2 vols, (London 1830), vol. II, 75; Bentham ,*Ely*, 181.
[20] R. Sly, *From Puntto Plough: a History of the Fens*, (Stroud 2003), 30.
[21] S. Smiles, *Lives of the Engineers*, 3 vols, (London 1861), vol. I, 29. Illustrated by Edmund Prideaux, c. 1720; J. Harris, ed, 'The Prideaux Collections of Topographical Drawings' *Architectural History*, vol. 7, (1964), 19-108.

the course of a major fen river. This work laid the foundations for Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, who cut the drain a second time in 1640, during his draining of the Great Level.[22]

Leland recorded that Morton planned to repeat his drainage achievements during his time as archbishop of Canterbury to make a new haven on the Isle of Thanet in Kent.[23] In the first parliament of Henry VII, a petition had been presented to the king stating that because the course of the sea had changed over the years, the river is 'so swaredgrowene and hyghed with wose, mudde and sande that now no fery or other passage may be there…but only at high spryng flodes, and that not passing one houre at a tyde.'[24] An act was passed authorising the landowners to build a suitable bridge, or if this was not possible 'to make such direccions ways and ordinaunces as shal be thought to them convenient for restoring and amending of the said havyne.'[25] The bridge was never built, but as the land through which the river passed was archiepiscopal property, short cuts were made, under Morton's authority, similar to the one in the fens to straighten the river and thus improve its flow. Surviving vellum maps and charts show these, and one has the clear marking 'bishop mortō cut this.'[26]

Unlike the success of the Leam, the work partly failed in its objective: the enclosing of the low-lying land contributed to issues at the mouth of the river Stour because in 1548 the mayor and jurats of Sandwich petitioned the Lord Protector of Edward VI in language reflecting a protestant evangelical fervour symptomatic of the new king's reign, complaining that:

> 'by the mooste greedy and insaciable covetousness of one cardynall Moreton sometime byshop of Canterberry, who, having moost part of the lands envyroninge the said haven appropriated to his bishoprick, for his singler advantage and private commoditie stopped up, muryd and insetted in suchesorte the same havyn at a place called Sarre, as by a platt therof made and ready to be shewed more at large may appere, that by meane thereof, and also by like evil doinge from tyme to tyme hitherunto of other the land pyers next adionyng upon the same haven perpetrated, the same havyn at this present is utterly destroyed and loste.'[27]

However, despite the long-term failure of the cuts in the Chislet marshes, the work in the East Anglian fens was a highly successful project and a remarkable memorial and testament to the breadth of Morton's vision. Whilst the lack of contemporary records prevents us from identifying his itinerary at this time and assessing how directly Morton was involved in the work on the Leam, the

[22] H. C. Darby, *The Medieval Fenland*, (Cambridge 1940, reprinted 1974), 167; Sly, 30.

[23] L. T. Smith ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland in or About the Years 1535-1543*, 4 vols, (London 1964), vol. IV, 60.

[24] C. Given-Wilson, gen. ed., *The Parliamentary Rolls of Medieval England, 1275-1504*, vol. xv, Richard III, 1484-1485, Henry VII, 1485-1487, (Woodbridge, 2005), 218.

[25] Ibid, 218-219.

[26] R. A. Skelton, *Catalogue of Manuscript Maps in Hatfield House*, (Oxford, 1948-1949), CPM I.61, nos. 40 and 41, B/Saxton, fo. 22; Kent Archives S/EK P32; F. Hull, ed. *Catalogue of Estate Maps, 1590-1840 in the Kent County Archives Office*, (Kent County Council, 1973), 24. The manors of St. Nicholas at Wade and Down Barton belonged to the archdiocese and the episcopal palace of Ford was nearby. T. Tatton-Brown, 'Chislet Marshes in the 15th, 16th and 17th Centuries, the Evidence from Early Maps', in K. H. McIntosh and W. E. Gough, eds, *Hoath and Herne: the Last of the Forest*, (K. H. McIntosh, 1984), 52.

[27] W. Boys, *Collections for an History of Sandwich in Ken*t, (Canterbury, 1792), appendix F, 732-740; E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 12 vols, (London 1793-1801), vol.X, 158.

extensiveness of the necessary expenditure and its impact on the landscape reflects its significance.

'Lambeth Palace from the West,' David Turner, 1702. (Yale Center for British Art).

When Morton was translated to Canterbury in1486, a programme of building works across the diocese began almost immediately. These included major developments at Lambeth Palace, which had fallen into serious disrepair.[28] Given the large amount of time that the itinerary reveals when Morton was occupied in the capital, Lambeth was clearly his chief residence.[29] Alongside other works, the great entrance gateway was completely rebuilt. Construction was underway by1493/4, when it was recorded that Morton's Registry of the Prerogative‘ was situated in a low chamber over the gate, where a new tower was at present being built by the cardinal archbishop.'[30] Like his projects at Hatfield House and Wisbech Castle, Morton's favoured construction of red brick decorated with diagonal diaper work was used to construct two massive five-storey towers with lodging chambers on either side of the entrance arches. The earlier gateway had been a repository for the records of the archbishop's prerogative court, and one of the chambers adjacent to the porter's lodging in Morton's replacement served the same purpose. The records remained here until the passing of the Probate Act in 1857.[31] However, the new gateway also contained an audience chamber and eight lodgings for senior members of the archbishop's household.[32]

Morton also commissioned work on the palace chapel. The windows were provided with painted glass representing 'the whole story from the creation to the day of judgement: three lights in a window: the two side-lights contain[ing] the

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[28] *Leland*, vol. IV, 62 .R. S. Rait ed., *English Episcopal Palaces*, (London 1910), 60; Tatton-Brown, T., *Lambeth Palace: a History of the Archbishops of Canterbury and Their Houses*, (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 2000), 49-54.

[29] Bradley, *Itineraries*, 225-240.

[30] C. Harper-Bill ed., *The Register of John Morton*, vol. I, 81. A previous 'greete gate' is listed among the buildings in the stewards' accounts in 1321/2. E. Walford, *Old and New London*, 6 vols, (London 1829), vol. 6, 432.

[31] H. Roberts and W. H. Godfrey ed., *Survey of London*, (English Heritage 1951), vol. 23, 82; D. Gardiner, *The Story of Lambeth Palace*, (London 1930) 67; J. R. Lander, *Government and Community in England, 1450-1500*, (London 1980), 124; H. E. Malden, ed., *A History of the County of Surrey: Volume 3*,(London 1911), vol. III, 49.

[32] A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, 1300–1500, vol. iii: Southern England*, 3 vols, (Cambridge 2012), 237.

types in the Old Testament, and the middle light the antitype and verity of Christ in the New.'[33] One of the windows also contained Morton's arms.[34] This glass became damaged with time and when William Laud became archbishop, he found 'the chapel in that venerable place in a state which sufficiently evinced the notions of his predecessor. The windows broken and defaced, the stained glass patched up with ordinary glass; all things in it were in such a state as to make him declare, "that he was ashamed to see it and he could not enter it without disdain."'[35] Laud ordered the repair of Morton's glass at his own cost, but his actions were subsequently used by Prynne as evidence in support of the allegations of popery against him.[36] Both Morton's original work and Laud's repairs then fell victim to a London mob, which attacked Lambeth Palace on 1 May 1643; in their iconoclastic assault they destroyed the windows completely.[37]

On 26 July 1493, a commission was issued by the king to one John Tulle 'to take stonecutters, layers of stones called brekelayers and others for the building and repair of divers lordships, manors and other buildings in the counties of Kent, Surrey and Sussex, pertaining to the church of Canterbury, which John, the Archbishop of Canterbury is about to make afresh and build at his own great expense.'[38] These included a wide range of Episcopal properties across the archdiocese. Morton 'made a great peace of the palace at Lambehith. He made and transacted a great peace of the house at Maidestone. He buildid at Alington Parke. He made great building at Charing. He made almost the hole house at Forde. He buildid also at the palace at Cantorbyri.'[39] Much of the surviving building at Maidstone dates from the late sixteenth century when the palace belonged to Sir Jacob Astley, Master of the Jewels to Queen Elizabeth I, and only the stable block can easily be dated to the time of Morton. There are no contemporary records of late fifteenth century building at Maidstone Palace, but Morton owned lands within the park; for by a codicil to his last testament, in June 1500, having willed to Thomas Morton, his nephew, all his manors and lands in the county of Kent, he excepted certain lands within the park of the Mote, near Maidstone, and the mill, which he stated should remain to the cathedral of Christ Church 'and his successors, archbishops, for ever, on the conditions therein mentioned.'[40] It seems inevitable that the archbishop, who as his itinerary reveals, stayed nearly every

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[33] J. H. Parker, *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D., Sometime Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 vols, (London 1847-1860), vol. IV, 199.

[34] Ibid, 209.

[35] Lambeth Palace Muniments, *Diary of Archbishop Laud*, fol. 317; J. P. Lawson, *The Life and Times of William, Laud, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury*, 2 vols, (London 1829), vol. II, 113.

[36] W. Prynne, *Canterburies Doome or the first part of a compleat history, of the commitment, charge, tryall, comdemnation, execution of William Laud late Arch-Bishop of Canterbury,* (London: John Maycock for Michael Spark, 1646), 108.

[37] Parker, 21; English Episcopal Palaces, 81.

[38] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry VII, 1485-1494*, (London 1914), 488.

[39] *Leland*, vol. IV, 62. 'In domorum Archiepiscopalium reparatione, ac omatu ingentem profundity pecuniam Knollae nimirum, Maidstonae, Alingtonae, Fordae ac Cantuarae.' F. Godwin, *De Praesulibus Anglie Commentarius*, (London 1616), 188; E. Howes, *Annales or a General Chronicle of England, Begun by John Stow: Continued and Augmented with Matters Foraigne and Domestique, Ancient and Moderne, Vnto the End of this Present Yeere, 1631*, (London 1631), 482.

[40] TNA PROB/11/12/178; W. Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 3 vols, (London 1675-1676), vol. II. 233; Hasted, vol. IV, 285.

year at Maidstone, established a programme of maintenance, as he did on his other properties.[41]

The Archbishops' Palace, Charing, with the former apartments on the left and the great hall on the right. (Harold Trill)

Leland also wrote that Morton 'made great building at Charing' but as with other episcopal properties, no contemporary documentary records survive to indicate exactly what improvements and rebuilding was undertaken.[42] Hasted reported 'the great and eminent prelate archbishop Moreton, who came to the see in the beginning of king Henry VII's reign, in great partre-edified this palace, as he did most of those belonging to it; and so ample was the building of it, that both king Henry VII and VIII in their royal progress, with all their attendants, were at different times lodged under the roofof it.' The itinerary of Henry VII provides no evidence for such royal visits, but Morton stayed on a number of occasions.[43] The remaining ruins at Charing are extensive, and Victorian excavations revealed the foundations of further buildings to the east of the site.[44] Evidence from what survives above ground indicates that a three-storied range was added to the existing private apartments, together with a two- storied 'corridor' which connected them to thegreat hall. These are clearly late-fifteenth century work, and the upper storey is of brick comprising Morton's characteristic lozenge-shaped diaper work.[45] The brickwork itself compares strongly with that at Lambeth and Croydon.[46] Dendrochronological results from roof timbers have provided felling date ranges between 1496-1521.[47] There is also evidence of late-fifteenth century brickwork in the great hall but subsequent rebuilding has deprived it of almost all it original features.

The house and estate at Knole in Sevenoaks had been acquired and enlarged by Archbishop Bourgchier and then bequeathed to the See of Canterbury in 1480.[48] Lambarde, writing in 1570, recorded that Morton 'liberally builded at

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[41] Bradley, *Itineraries*, 27-240.
[42] *Leland*, vol. IV, 62.
[43] Hasted, vol. VII, 432; Bradley, *Itineraries*, 241-258, 269-279.
[44] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. CIII, 1833, part ii, 113.
[45] P. K. Phipps, 'The Palace of the Archbishops of Canterbury at Charing, Kent, now called Palace Farm', *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 90, (1933), 84.
[46] S. Pearson, 'The Archbishop's Palace at Charing in the Middle Ages,' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 121, (2001), 339.
[47] *Charing Palace, Charing Kent: Conservation Statement*, (Drury McPherson Partnership), final draft 06, 2017, 35.
[48] Canterbury Cathedral Archives Reg. S fol. 313r-313v. The conditions of this transfer included the instruction that a chantry should be established in the parish church at Sevenoaks, TNA E 41/75.

Knolle.'[49] Kilburne, writing in the seventeenth century, stated that '*Thomas Bourchier* (Archbishop of Canterbury) about 200 years since, bought *Knoll*, in this Parish of the Lord *Say and Seal*, and there built a faire House, which *John Morton* (his next successor in that Sea, much inlarged; as also did *William Warham* (another successor in that Sea) about twenty years afterwards.'[50] Hasted, who lived at nearby Ightham, said Morton 'laid out great sums in repairing and augmenting this house, among others, belonging to the archbishopric.'[51] A later author stated that Morton 'is said to have added a supplement to the building.'[52] This is the line followed by subsequent commentators, although a recent study has questioned this, proposing that Morton only introduced a programme of maintenance at Knole rather than extensive building.[53] The preponderance of evidence, however, indicates that Morton did contribute to a major overhaul of the fabric at Knole and also had a profound effect on the estate itself. 'A new vigour in economic activity is discernible from the moment John Morton became Archbishop in 1486.'[54]

Knole House, Morton's principal residence in Kent. (John Wilder).

Large amounts of money were certainly spent on the manor house itself and on shops in Sevenoaks marketplace, of which the archbishop owned thirteen.[55] A number of buildings in the town were repaired and all recently acquired properties were brought under the jurisdiction of the bailiff of Knole and made to yield higher rents from their tenants. There is also indirect evidence of an increase in the

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[49] W. Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent: Conteining the Description, Hystorie, and Customes of that Shire, Written in the Yeere 1570*, printed by W. Burrill (Chatham 1826), 462-463. Lambarde lived locally at Ightham. J. D. Alsop, 'Lambarde, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols, (Oxford 2004), vol. 32, 287-290.

[50] R. Kilburne, *A Topographie or Survey of the County of Kent With Some Chronological, Historicall, and Other Matters Touching the Same: And the Several Pariches and Places Therein*, (London 1659), 244.

[51] Hasted, vol. III, 63.

[52] J. Bridgman, *An Historical and Topographical Sketch of Knole in Kent; with a Brief Genealogy of the Sackville Family*, (London 1817), 149.

[53] *The History of the King's Works*, vol. III, 218; *Oxford Archaeology, Knole: An Archaeological Survey*, (unpublished report, June 2007); P. Dixon, *Knole: A Report on the Works of 2007-8*, (unpublished report 2008). A. Gregory, *Knole: An Architectural and Social History of the Archbishop of Canterbury's House, 1456-1538*, unpublished D. Phil thesis, (Sussex, 2010).

[54] F. R. H. Du Boulay,'The Assembling of an Estate: Knole in Sevenoaks, c.1275-c.1525,' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. lxxxix, (1974), 10.

[55] A fireplace in one of them was recorded as still bearing his coat of arms. G. F. Carnell, 'Old Sevenoaks,' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 23, (1898), 330.

number of these tenants. There was certainly new house building; more shops were let in the marketplace, there was a tendency toward higher rents and the need to make new rentals. 'By the time of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1535, Knole had not been merely turned into a stately mansion but had acquired a rent roll greater than that of its parent manor of Sevenoaks; and this had been done, not by cannibalising Sevenoaks but by the vigorous management of an increasingly well tenanted area.'[56] This centralising of the organisation of the estate at Knole, which was repeated in other archiepiscopal properties, produced an efficiency that mirrored Morton's approach in the political and ecclesiastical domains. The archbishop's itinerary clearly reveals that he stayed extremely frequently at Knole. Of the 331 surviving records of his location when he was out of the capital in the South-East, he was at Knole on 121 occasions (36.5% of the records); only Canterbury, with 141 visits (42.6%), claimed more of his time. The other places for which we have records only occur fewer than ten times, and many of them only once or twice.[57]

Leland recorded that at Ford near Reculver, Morton 'made almost the hole house.'[58] Late fifteenth century manor houses had to be capable of accommodating the owner's household and guests, and Morton's building at Ford was 'as large as any in the land and may truly be described as palatial.'[59] The new house there was on a similar scale to Knole and built of brick. The bricks used were of a very distinctive design and similar to those used on the Bell Harry Tower at Canterbury.[60] A record of the estate was completed as part of the parliamentary surveys of episcopal lands in 1647 and described the property as a 'great Mansion-house situate in Ford Park...containing one Great Hall with a screen, in length 52 feet and breadth 27 [feet] built of stone with buttresses, having an archband roof open to the top, in the midst whereof a lantern covered with lead."[61] It revealed that there were three courtyards with gateways, with the hall court dominated by a five-storey residential tower. This building, similar to ones at Croydon, Knole, and the gatehouse at Lambeth, was built of "durable brick, the length 48 feet, the breadth 60 feet and height 52 feet, comprehending five fair lodging chambers, in height one above another, with chimneys, the three uppermost having to each of them two drawing rooms and a house of office, and the two northernmost chambers to either of them a drawing room and closet. The said tower covered with lead and in reasonable repair."[62] Themanor, along with the rest of the estate, was subsequently sold by the Interregnum government and cannibalised. After the Restoration, a visiting official reported in 1661 that, 'Ford palace is so much ruonated as if the author therein did count it merit to make such destruction: the manor house is totally cast down…the Chapell is made a barne.'[63] Today, only a small fragment of the stable range remains in a farmhouse now on the site.[64] There are only three references in the itinerary to Morton staying at Ford, and it may be that the extensive building work was only completed towards the end of his life.[65]

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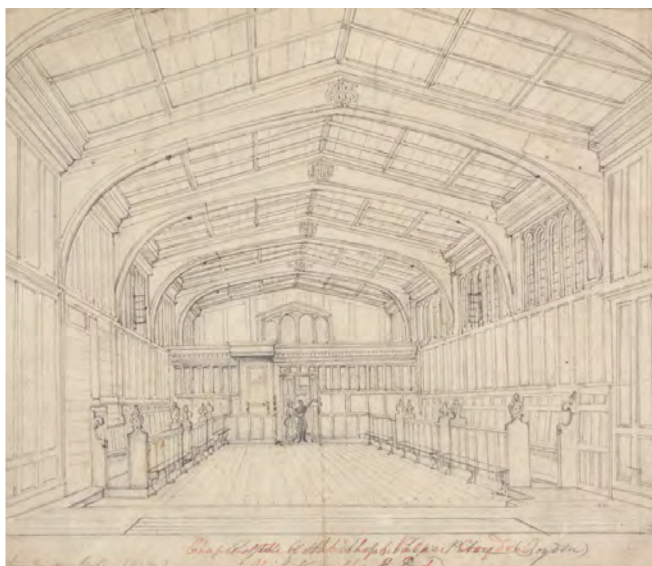
[56] Du Boulay, 10.
[57] Bradley, *Itineraries*, 227-240.
[58] *Leland*, vol. IV, 62.
[59] Emery, vol. III, 321.
[60] C. Hewett and T. Hatton-Brown, 'New Structural Evidence Regarding Bell Harry Tower and the South-East Spire at Canterbury,' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 92, (1976), 133, n. 12.
[61] A. Hussey, 'Ford Manor House and Lands in 1647,' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 26, (1904), 121.
[62] Ibid, 122.
[63] Ibid, 263; Hasted, vol.XI, 296.
[64] Hasted, vol.IX, 98; Emery, vol.II, 353.
[65] Morton stayed at Ford on 4-5 April 1498 and 23-28 March 1499. Bradley,

Du Boulay proposed in *The Lordship of Canterbury* that Aldington was Morton's favoured residence; however, this is not supported by the archbishop's itinerary, which makes it clear that when out of London it was at Knole that the archbishop chose to spend the greatest amount time, and indeed, there are no surviving records of him staying at Aldington.[66] Little remains of the archiepiscopal palace at Aldington today. Whilst it was described as 'especially esteemed', and Leland recorded that he renovated and enlarged the palace buildings and maintained the extensive park and chase which surrounded it; as has been noted above, no records survive to show that the archbishop ever stayed there.[67] However, the estate was clearly a substantial one: the royal survey of 1608 stated that there was a large hall, a chapel, no fewer than five kitchens, nine barns, seven fodder houses, and eight dovecotes, and that the demesne lands exceeded a thousand acres. The Tudor front of the house collapsed in the 1840s and was not restored, with the result that the building that survives today displays few links with its past.[68]


The chapel, the Archbishops' Palace, Croydon, Augustus Pugin, 1827. (Yale Center for British Art)

Whilst, once again, there is no surviving contemporary documentary evidence, the buildings themselves at Croydon Palace reveal that work begun there by Archbishop Bourgchier was taken far further by Morton. His itinerary certainly shows that he was there on at least twenty occasions during the period, and recent dendrochronology on roof timbers has provided felling dates between 1491 and 1511, making the work consistent with Morton's involvement.[69] A number of Morton's visits fell during the Ember Week that preceded Trinity Sunday, indicating his presence was probably for the celebration of ordinations.[70] Morton had an extended stay at Croydon in May/June 1488, and it may have been at that time that the works were commissioned. These included a new gatehouse anda range of lodgings, although these were subsequently destroyed when further remodelling took place in 1808.[71] Morton's work was extensive: the chapel was extended westwards,and the southern range added. All the buildings between the great hall and the great parlour were entirely reconstructed, with additions made

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Itineraries, 238-239.

[66] F. R. H. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, (London1966), 238.

[67] *Leland*, vol. IV, 62.

[68] A. D. Cheney, 'Richard Martin, Parson of Aldyngton', in *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, new series, vol. X, 1904, 16.

[69] *Archiepiscopal Palace: the Evolution of the Buildings*, (Drury McPherson Partnership), second edition, 2020, 36.

[70] Bradley, *Itineraries*, 228, 232, 234, 239.

[71] Emery, vol. III, 323.

to complete the long gallery range. The buildings on the east side were also rebuilt. All these are built of red brick with occasional diapering of blue brick, indicating they were constructed at the same time. There is also an exact similarity between the mouldings in the screen in the chapel and the ceilings in the rest of the work. Morton's involvement is revealed not only in the brickwork but also in the design of the running vine ornamentation of the cornices, which contains his rebus of a tun (which originally would have also born the painted first syllable of his name), as is found on a boss in the gateway at Lambeth. Indeed, there is also a marked similarity between the work in both places: the mouldings of the ceiling joists and stone window and door jambs at Croydon being identical with those at Lambeth.[72]

Morton 'buildid also at the palace at Cantorbyri.'[73] As with virtually all of the properties in Kent, no evidence survives detailing the work undertaken during Morton's episcopate but we know the chamber block originally built by Archbishop Walter was re-constructed during the late-fifteenth century.[74] It is possible that some of the five-year supply of Caen stone for the central tower 'ac aliorum edificiorum' that was placed in the summer of 1494 went toward this work.[75] The palace was regularly used by Morton, because of his practice to celebrate every Easter at the cathedral, as well as often visiting during the summer and at Christmas. As was mentioned previously, 42.6% of the recorded time the archbishop spent in the South-East was spent in Canterbury. Architectural evidence from the buildings which remain is slender, since the great hall and major buildings were demolished during the Interregnum, although ruined shells survive. Those that did remain were subsequently sold and converted into private properties.[76]

However, the evidence is far clearer for his involvement in the re-building of the central crossing tower at the cathedral, which has been described as 'one of the finest achievements of the English Middle Ages.'[77] Bell Harry Tower, or the Angel Steeple, as it was previously called, is 235 feet (over seventy metres) tall, and of that, 100 feet—thirty metres—is clear of the roofs of the church. Work had begun on the tower sixty years earlier following the demolition of the large 12th-century crossing tower, with the foundation stone for the new construction laid in 1433.[78] Initial work had stopped in the 1450s when the southwest crossing pier under the tower started showing signs of collapse, and extensive reinforcement was required to strengthen it.[79] Whilst there are records of two bequests towards the Angel Steeple between 1463 and 1471, it appears that little work took place during that period.[80]

Morton's work was undertaken in the 1490s under the hand of John Wastell, an East-Anglian master mason, who was also engaged in many royal and ecclesiastical projects.[81] Morton paid for much of the work personally, as is

[72] *Victoria County History, Surrey,* 4 vols, (London 1902-1912), vol. 4, 205-217.
[73] *Leland*, vol. IV, 62.
[74] Emery, vol. III, 321.
[75] Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Register S, fol. 389r.
[76] Ibid, 320; Hasted, vol. XI, 296.
[77] F. Woodman, The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral, (Routledge & Kegan Paul 1981), 199.
[78] W. G. Searle ed., *Christ Church Canterbury: The Chronicle of John Stone*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, no 34, 1902, 21.
[79] Lambeth Palace MS 20. Prior Goldstone's Accounts, 1452.
[80] C. Cotton, 'Church wardens' Accounts of the Parish of Saint Andrew, Canterbury, AD 1485-1625', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 32, (1917), 189.
[81] Wastell is described as 'your mason' in a letter addressed to Morton. Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Christ Church Letters, vol. I, fol. 147. He is described as 'Master of the Masons' and was admitted into fraternity by the monks of Canterbury Cathedral on 7 April 1496. London, British Library MS

revealed from the receiver's accounts and his obit, which states that 'with his help and at his expense [the] great part of the tower in the middle of the church was erected.[82] Despite his political duties and the time he had to spend in the capital, it was Morton who made the vital design decisions in consultation with Wastell.[83] Evidence from the tower's internal structure reveals that there were three successive periods of construction: the first in stone, the second in vitrified brick and the third in red brick. A lower gallery clearly formed part of the first phase with triple wall divisions and four angled vaulting shafts, whereas the upper part has double wall divisions and requires eight vault supports. It seems that the work was originally intended as a lantern tower, similar to that at York, but that when it reached its planned height an extraordinary and bold decision was made: the tower was to be extended upward by an additional fifteen metres.[84] The low chamber which remains above the vaulting is the 'buried roof' of the original lantern tower and must have been completed and 'roofed' before 1493.[85] Therefore, the upper stage of the tower we now see is effectively an afterthought constructed above what was a more modest lantern tower.

Morton had an extended stay in Kent during the spring of 1494—a stay longer than any other during his archiepiscopate. His itinerary reveals he was at Knole on 18 March and in Maidstone by the 20th. He reached Canterbury by the 29th, where he was joined by the king. He stayed until mid-April, was back at Knole by the 25th, and then returned to London.[86] This was the only occasion when Morton was not in the capital for the beginning of the Easter legal term during his years as Lord Chancellor. It seems most probable that the archbishop and king Henry had come to view the ongoing work and it was during those first weeks of April that the remarkable architectural decision to extend the tower was made. A reference to the payment of a reward of twenty shillings to 'the master mason coming from the lord Cardinal' which was made between 17 May and 7 June of that year may have been an acknowledgement of the craftsman's contribution in this, particularly as a letter Prior Sellyng wrote to the merchants of Caen requesting a further five years' supply of stone for the work was then issued on 8 June 'ad perfeccionem cuiusdem turris pergrandis ac aliorum edificiorum.'[87]

The rebuilding programme had begun in the early 1490s, and the partial accounts that survive reveal expenditure on stone from Caen in Normandy and Merstham in Surrey, sea coal, timber, planks, and lead, and for the wages of masons, bricklayers, carpenters, labourers, and sawyers.[88] The following draft letter from William Sellyng addressed to Morton refers to the need to finalise details on the tower that would see the outer work completed:

> 'Most Reverent father in Gode and my most singler gode Lorde, after all due recommendation and humble obediens, please it the same to understonde, that Master Survey or and I have communed with John

Arundel 86, fol. 8.

[82] H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra, sive Collectio Historiarum, Partim Antiquitus, Partim Recenter Scriptarum, de Archiepiscopis & Episcopis Angliae: a Prima Fidei Christianae Susceptione ad Annum MDXL. Nunc Primùm in Lucem Editarum...*, (London 1673), part i, 63. Lander, 124. Clearly, there were other contributors: a William Benet of Canterbury in his will from the mid- 1490s left ten marks 'to the making of the angel steeple.' N. H. Nicholas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 2 vols, (London 1826), vol. I, 425.

[83] Woodman, 211.

[84] T. Tatton-Brown, *The Great Cathedrals of Britain: an Archaeological History*, (BBC Books 1989), 148.

[85] Hewett & Tatton-Brown, 132-133.

[86] TNAC82/119/unnumbereditemsx2; Bradley, *Itineraries,* 234,251.

[87] Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Register S, fol. 389r.

[88] Bradley, *Itineraries*, appendix 15.

Wastell, your mason, berer hereof, to perceyve of hym what forme and shappe he will kepe in reysyng up of the pynaclys of your new towre here. He drew unto us ij patrons of [t]hem. The on[e] was with doble finneal, withowte croketts, and the other was with croketts and single finneal. Thys ij patrons please yt your gode Grace to commaunde the seyd Jo. Wastell to draw and shew [t]hem unto you, and uppon the sycht your good Grace shew hym your advise and pleasure whyche of them ij, or of any other to be divised, shall content your gode Lordshyp to be appoynted. And furthermore, if your gode Grace wolde require the said Jo. Wastell so to do, I thinke that he mygth so provide that this pynacles may be finished and acomplyshed this nex[t] somer folowing, the whiche, if it myth be so, than your toure outward shulde appere a werke perfite.'[89]

Sellyng died on 4 December 1494, and it is clear from the surviving records that work continued for the next few years. There is a reference dated 28 November 1495 for customs' duty paid on 437 'dolia' of Caen stone for the work of Cardinal Morton and prior Thomas Goldstone.[90] The account of John Colman, receiver of the archbishop's income from Kentish manors, mentions £100 sent in 1495-1496 to the prior of Canterbury for building the campanile called 'Angelsteepill.'[91] A further £80 was paid in 1497-1498, as well as £62 for 2686 'dolia' of Caen stone at 6s. 8d., with crane dues and carriage from Sandwich by water and land.[92] The two sets of expenses which survive for the period; the first from August 1492 to August 1497, and the second from 30 March 1494 to 29 September 1496, reveal significant expenditure totalling over £1300.[93] Between 1492 and 1497, over two and a half million bricks were purchased.[94] These are very distinct in size and shape, and very similar to those used in the surviving stables at Ford.

Bell Harry Tower, Canterbury. (Christopher John)

It appears that the Bell Harry was externally complete by the end of the financial year 1497-1498 because the cathedral sacrist paid 6s. 8d. in that year to Ambrose Smith,'the smith,' for 'trussing' the bells in the new tower—one of the final elements in such a construction.[95] The archbishop's itinerary shows that during the spring of 1498 he had another lengthy stay in Canterbury, perhaps for the consecration of the completed work. A further indicator that the tower was externally completed

[89] Canterbury Cathedral Archives, *Christ Church Letters*, vol. I, fol. 147.
[90] TNAE404/82.
[91] Lambeth Palace Archives, Court Roll, no. 1358.
[92] Ibid. no. 1360.
[93] Bradley, *Itineraries*, 344-347. This equates in modern terms to over one million dollars.
[94] Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Fabric, no. XX. The bricks are large and not typical for the early Tudor period and may have been imported or specially made.
[95] Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Miscellaneous Accounts, vol. 9, fol. 120v.

before Morton's death was that the pinnacles had been topped by gilt vanes engraved with the arms of Henry VII, Prince Arthur, the cathedral church, and the archbishop.[96] Arthur died in 1502. Work certainly continued after Morton's death in 1500, as the internal fan vaulting was not complete, and Archbishop Warham's arms along with Morton's appear on this; whereas Morton's devices alone—the cardinal's red hat, his rebus, his arms, and the goat's head from his arms—appear on the exterior stonework. His arms also appeared with a cardinal's hat over them in the highest windows of the tower but these were destroyed during the Civil War.[97]

The building of the Bell Harry tower was a remarkable project and one which became increasingly ambitious as it developed. The erection of a lantern tower, which was the original design, was a significant enough task on its own, but the addition of a further fifteen metres, externally ornamented in carved Caen stone, was a dramatic statement. The concept of extending the tower mid-way through its construction would be inconceivable nowadays, but it displayed a remarkable—and courageous—sense of vision by the archbishop, both in terms of the financial investment and the architectural statement being made on the building. Unlike his recent predecessors and pre-reformation successors, Morton displayed a singular devotion to his cathedral; he personally conducted ordinations at Canterbury in every year of his archiepiscopate barone, and his other visits were annual and regular. The commitment he showed to the life of his metropolitan church is unique for the period and was not shared by his immediate predecessors or successors.[98] He had now demonstrated the same commitment to its fabric.

Morton contributed to other projects in the cathedral and across the Canterbury diocese. A set of six large Biblically-themed tapestries divided into thirty panels were planned to hang in the quire. These were completed in 1511 by prior Goldstone and bear his own rebus as well as the arms of Morton, Archbishops Deane and Warham, St Thomas, England, and France, and the posthumous arms of St Ethelbert. However, they were not destined to remain, and in August 1642 Parliamentarian soldiers 'exercised their malice upon the Arras hangings of the Quire.' Evidently, some of the tapestries survived this assault and seventeen panels subsequently reappeared in France, where they were purchased in 1656 by the chapter of Aix-en-Provence for 1200 Crowns for their cathedral. They were installed in the quire where they remained until a number were stolen in 1977.[99]

Morton's arms are carved on the great gateway of Christ Church, Canterbury and his rebus appeared in the glass of the hall and chambers at the Prior's house at Chartham.[100] He is likely to have contributed to the rebuilding of parts of St Mary's, Bishopsbourne and St Mary and St Etheldreda's, Lyminge which took place at the end of the fifteenth century. Morton's arms are displayed in a chancel window of the former and were evident on the tower at Lyminge. Both of these were archiepiscopal manors.[101]

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[96] Heal, 40. The vanes were removed during the Civil War. Hasted, vol .XI, 499.
[97] W. Urry, *Cardinal Morton and the Angel Steeple*, Canterbury Cathedral Friends' Report, 1965, 24.
[98] Bradley, *Itineraries*, 120-121, 180, 195.
[99] A. Vallance, 'The Tapestries from Canterbury Cathedral,' *Cantiana*, vol. 44, (1932), 71, 74; G. Souchal, T. Hoving, R. Oxby & F. Salet, *Masterpieces of Tapestry from the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries: an Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1974), 189-191.
[100] C. E. Woodruff, 'A Seventeenth Century Survey of the Canterbury Estates,' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 38, (1926), 32; M. J. Sparks, and E. W. Parkin, 'The Deanery', Chartham,' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 89, (1974), 172.
[101] N. E. Toke, 'Ancient Stained Glass in Bishopsbourne Church.' *Archaeologia*

The archbishop also contributed to major non-ecclesiastical projects in the South-East: the most significant of these were the bridge at Rochester and Buxted ironworks.In November 1489 Morton granted forty days' indulgence to 'all those in the Province of Canterbury who are penitent, contrite and confessed' and who gave financial support for the repair of Rochester bridge, 'which at the moment is almost ruined, and unless it is soon repaired will crumble from its foundations, to the grave peril and intolerable inconvenience of those wishing to cross it. Indeed, some who recently wished to cross the dangerous passage over which it is built had their boat wrecked and were drowned; by the repair of the bridge these and similar dangers may quickly and effectively be avoided.'[102] The bridge was clearly seen as unsafe or impassable for royal travellers and their entourage, as on 9 April 1494 Henry VII paid the large sum of forty shillings 'to the ferybote of Rochester in rew[ard].'[103]

Morton seems to have acted as *de facto* if not actual warden of the bridge, as did his successor at Canterbury, Henry Deane.[104] Work on its repair had begun earlier in 1489 when Morton issued a commission to Thomas Lovebounde, John Fuller, and Henry Lauuson to purvey vessels called'crayeres,' 'litours,' 'showetes' and boats, wagons, and carts for the carriage of timber, stone, iron, lead, and other stuff, and to impress stone cutters, layers, and other workmen, for its repair and other works.[105] The bridge's importance lay in the fact that it spanned the Medway on the major route between London and Canterbury and whilst there are only two direct references to Morton's residence in Rochester (both in 1488), his regular journeys to and from Canterbury would have taken him through the town.[106] A letter of 1561 states that the bridge had previously been made of wood but that this was'removed and converted to Stone at the charge of the Cardynall and of the country by his meanes.'[107] Despite Morton's investment, the new work seems to have remained incomplete at the time of his death, although it is certain that'the archbishops of Canterbury were the major donors in this period.' The single largest contribution in the bridge receipts for 1500 was £307 0s. 6d. received by mandate from Morton and other unnamed donors.[108] Morton's contribution to the whole project was recorded on a stone slab which hung in the bridge chapel.[109] The new bridge then survived until the nineteenth century, when a larger replacement was

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Cantiana, vol. 46, (1934), 115; R. C. Jenkins, 'The Basilica of Lyminge; Roman, Saxon and Mediaeval.' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 9, (1874), 222. Morton's work on the tower at Lyminge began in 1492. *History of Lyminge*, (Canterbury 1933), 14.

[102] *The Register of John Morton,* vol. I, 15; CPR1485-1494, 283.

[103] BLMS Add. 7099, 16.

[104] N. Yates and J. M. Gibson ed., *Traffic and Politics: The Construction and Management of Rochester Bridge, A.D. 43-1993*, (Woodbridge1994), 291.

[105] *CPR 1485-1494*, 283; W. Campbell ed., *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII from Original Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 2 vols, (London 1873-1877), vol. II, 433.

[106] Bradley, *Itineraries*,228.

[107] Letter from William Paulet, Lord Treasurer to Sir Richard Sackville, 20 August 1561: 'I commend me hartely to you perceyvyng by your letter yor gret travaile and Mr Wutton About Rochester bridge where you find gret dekay but no manne you find charged with the repaire by cause the bridge whas timber when every manne whas charged and sins removed and converted to Stone at the charge of the Cardynall and of the country by his meanes sins which tyme the charge hath been generall.' A. A. Arnold, 'Rochester Bridge in 1561,' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 17, (1887), 222.

[108] *Traffic and Politics*, 74. Rochester Bridge Trust, account 1500.

[109] *Leland*, vol. IV, 62.

built and its medieval predecessor was destroyed by the Royal Engineers, who practised their demolition skills in reducing it to rubble.[110]

Morton was also responsible for the building of an iron foundry at Buxted in East Sussex. The site was at Iron Plat on the Uckfield Stream, within the archbishop's peculiar of South Malling and very close to the archiepiscopal manor of Mayfield, which his itinerary shows Morton visited on at least four occasions. On 31 December 1490, the archbishop's surveyor received a large payment of £67. 0 s. 2 d. from Roger Lewknor, the receiver-general for the archbishop's properties 'for Iernefounders at Buxtede.'[111] It is impossible to say how large the furnace was, and it seems likely that it did not remain in blast for long after his death. However, it is striking that in a record of 1509 in the court books of South Malling the steward recorded that the lands had been 'used for the manufacture of iron in the days of the lord Sir John Morton, Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury.'[112] Even nine years after the death of the prelate, his close association was still evident, suggesting, 'that during his time at Canterbury, Morton was in effect England's first ironmaster.'[113]

Morton also undertook major building works in Oxford where he was University Chancellor from 1495.[114] He ordered the repair of the Canon Law School and was a large contributor to the rebuilding of the University Church, Saint Mary's, and to the Divinity School.[115] Saint Mary's had reached such a state of dilapidation that in February 1486 John Alcock, then Chancellor, in Convocation appointed Stephen Browne as Proctor to write to the bishops and other influential persons to raise funds for the building's repair. The university informed Morton that 'where hitherto used to be celebrated the solemn Acts of the University, which your Most Reverend Paternity had made more honourable by your presence, is by length of time so decayed that everyone thinks it is near to ruin.'[116] Their appeals to the archbishop and others were clearly successful, for the church was rebuilt over the next twenty years. Morton's arms appeared in the windows.[117] They were also 'curiously engraven on stone, at the bottom of the stone pulpit in St. Mary's church; together with the rebus of his name. The pedestal or bottom of the pulpit was pulled down when the inside of that church was alter'd while Dr. Ralph Bathurst was vice-chancellor, an. 1676.'[118] Morton's arms were also engraved on the respondent's pew of stone in the Divinity School but these were lost when the building was altered in 1669.[119]

Morton was also involved in building work in his home county, notably at the parish church of Saint John in Bere Regis, close to Milborne St Andrew, the probable place of his birth. Following a possible fire in the mid fourteen hundreds, a process of rebuilding had begun, most of which occurred toward the end of the century. This involved repairs to the chancel, the refacing of the external walls, and the building of a chantry chapel where, in his will, Morton set aside funds for the

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[110] *London Standard*, Friday, 16 January 1857, 1.
[111] Lambeth Palace MSED1352; B.Awty, and C.Whittick, 'The Lordship of Canterbury, Iron-founding at Buxted, and the Continental Antecedents of Cannon-founding in the Weald,' in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 140, (2002), 72.
[112] TNASC2/206/34 fol. 121.
[113] Awty and Whittick, 73.
[114] H. Anstey ed., *Epistolae Academicae Oxoniensis,(Registrum F)*, part II, 1457-1509, (Oxford Historical Society, vol. xxxvi, 1898), 622-630.
[115] Bentham, *Ely*, 181; *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol.II, 685-686.
[116] A. Woodand J. Peshall, *The Antient and Present State of the City of Oxford*, (London 1773), 57.
[117] Ibid, 65.
[118] *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I, 685.
[119] Ibid.

maintenance of a priest to celebrate mass for twenty years for his soul and the souls of his relations and parents who were buried there.[120] The most elaborate development at Bere Regis, however, was the construction of a new nave roof. This has been described as the finest in Dorset and is unique in style for the county.[121] Divided into five bays separated by horizontal beams, each with arched braces meeting in the centre, every timber is highlighted by elaborately enriched tracery, foiled infilling, and trefoiled cusping. What appear to be hammer beams are twelve full-sized painted and gilded figures representing the apostles. Whilst no documentary evidence remains, and there is no indication from the itineraries that the archbishop visited Bere Regis during his episcopate, it is certain that this is Morton's work.[122] The whole is a statement of power and prestige. The lavishness of its design and its expert workmanship speak of the man whose family lived in the locality and of its greatest son.

The 'twelve apostles' roof, St John's church, Bere Regis, looking east. (Tony Bates).

Morton cannot be doubted as being a man of singular energy and ability. He was around the age of sixty-five when he was called to serve Henry VII, and the extensive political experience he had gained during his service to Henry VI and Edward IV, and further honed during years of exile, contributed significantly to the establishment of the new Tudor state. Yet he was more than a politician and jurist: the evidence reveals a cleric who, in addition to his service to the State and Church, used his position and financial resources for a wide range of construction projects to augment his civic and spiritual duties. The range of this practical piety across the Diocese of Ely and Archdiocese of Canterbury mark him out as the greatest ecclesiastical builder of his age.

Dr Stuart Bradley has a passion for late fifteenth century history where his main focus of research has been the itineraries of Henry VII and his Chancellor, archbishop John Morton. He has been a headteacher for over twenty years and is currently the Principal of the British School of Monaco.

[120] TNA PROB11/12; N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Dorset*, (Penguin 1985), 90.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *An inventory of Historical Monuments in the County of Dorset*, *vol. 2, South-East Dorset*, (London 1970), part 1,13-18.

A Portrait of Juana I of Castile: Part 3

Maria Elena Torres

This is a continuation of a small series of articles piecing together an alternative to the legend that's built up around Juana I of Castile. Like Richard, Juana's been saddled with a reputation that can turn her into a caricature. Like Richard, she's subject to finger pointing at certain events to prove the instability that's earned her the title of "La Loca". And, like Richard, several of these events are coming under question. One of the earliest was an infamous incident in Castile, at a castle called La Mota.

This is the legend:

After a series of deaths in the family left Juana as the heir to her parents, she and her husband, Philip "the Handsome" of Burgundy traveled to Spain to be acknowledged. Though things went well at first, Philip became bored with the routine he'd have to learn; and further deaths in the extended family, including that of Prince Arthur in England, soured him. After his close advisor, Besançon, died of plague, Philip abandoned Juana and went back home to the Netherlands. Juana, pregnant at this time, wasn't able to join him.

After giving birth, in March 1503, to a son, Fernando, Juana began to insist of returning to her husband, frustrating both parents, especially Isabel, who wanted to keep Juana in place for training. Unable to live together, Isabel quartered herself in Medina del Campo, Juana was placed at La Mota, not too far away, and Fernando went on campaign against France in the North. In November of 1503, after an extended tour, Philip wrote to Juana, inviting her back home. At once, Juana threw everything aside and made preparations. Hearing about this, Isabel sent word to keep Juana at La Mota. Refused flight to her love, Juana exploded, making a public spectacle during the time of an important annual marketing fair in the town of La Mota, and locking herself up in a small room on the perimeter of the castle, where she stayed until Isabel, risking her own health, journeyed to La Mota and had a showdown. Finally, Isabel persuaded Juana to go back within. "She used such language as a daughter should never use against a mother," Isabel reported, "And had I not seen what condition she was in, I would never have stood for it." A few months later, when the sea and French war had subsided, Juana left for Burgundy (where further scandals awaited).

And Isabel, Fernando, and their close allies, and Bishop Fonseca, who had taken the brunt of Juana's rage, and anyone attending the marketing fair, now understood that Juana's passions made her unstable and dangerous for the crowns of Castile and Aragon.

THE TRIP BACK HOME

There is no real way to find out exactly what did happen at La Mota, but there's reason to believe that if there was an outburst from Juana, it wasn't unwarranted, and what there was may have been exaggerated. We have only one account that can be described as first-hand. It's a letter from Isabel of Castile to the ambassador in the Netherlands, don Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida.[1] This letter was written in early 1504, about three months after the incident at La Mota, and in advance of Juana's return to Philip. As a person of interest and close involvement, writing to a man who knew Juana, Philip and Isabel very well, Isabel would have had her own reasons for relating this story when she does, and how she does. From this point, we will attempt to look at Juana's motivations.

As discussed in the second chapter of this series of articles, from the moment that Juana's brother, Juan, died, in 1497, her relatively successful marriage began to turn into a power struggle, with Juana at a distinct disadvantage ranged against her husband, his advisors, and Philip's father, Maximilian. Fuensalida was present

[1] Fuensalida, pages 195-197.

during this period. He clearly became frustrated with Philip and wrote to Isabel and Fernando that Juana bore her new burdens and pressures well summarizing that "Since I lack the capacity to praise such a princess as she deserves, I will say only how satisfied I feel that she is the daughter or your highnesses in all things, and for her age has no equal in the world. If she did not possess such virtues, she would not be able to suffer what she sees; but I do not think I have ever seen such wisdom in one so young."[2]

These are not the pronouncements someone makes about anyone showing mental or emotional imbalance.

Juana needed to be sworn in as heir in Castile and Aragon, and, starting in 1500, urgent summons to Spain were sent by Isabel and Fernando. Aware of Philip's own obligations, and anxious to foster trust on all sides, the Catholic Kings promised: "Do not think you are coming here never to return. Rather, you can come and go as you wish after being sworn in."[3] This reassurance will be important to remember.

Juana and Philip set out for Spain in November 1501. In their train came Philip's most treasured advisor, Besancon. Contrary to Spanish preferences, they traveled by land through France, rather than by seas. This suited Philip, who had strong Francophile policies, and who had wrangled permission to betroth baby Charles to baby Claude, daughter of Louis XII and Anne, Duchess of Brittany.

For Juana, the French sojourn was stressful as she carefully upheld her own Spanish identity in enemy territory. Several very tense encounters took place with Anne and her court; but it culminated in what may have been Juana's most shining moment, when, at one of the dinners, she appeared in full Spanish dress, and charmed the company with a graceful solo dance in the Spanish style.[4] As she and Philip traveled on toward the Pyrenees, she proved herself adaptable to circumstances: dealing with being stranded behind Philip's mud-churning train; and having fun with the Chatelaine at the castle of Cadillac.[5] In late January 1502, they arrived in Spain proper.[6] Philip contracted measles once the company arrived at Olías. Fernando traveled to meet him, and after a joyous greeting, Juana conducted her father to meet her husband, who wrote to his governors at home that Fernando treated him as a father would treat his son. After Philip recovered, they all made the journey to Toledo, where Isabel awaited them, and where Philip's attempts at formality dissolved in good-natured laughter, and things were off to a good start.

A little pause, to take stock:

It can be guessed that Juana based a great deal of value in her affections: she believed she had Philip's confidence when they were alone because "she knows he loves her."[7] She was unashamed to throw herself into Fernando's arms at Olías and show off her handsome husband. None of this is insanity, or instability. This is the essence of the young girl who loved music, loved to read and loved to write. It's a precious and valuable quality, but it can lay someone open, regardless of intelligence, education, ambition, or even common sense.

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[2] Fuensalida, pages 175-182.
[3] Fuensalida, page 178.
[4] For details about Juana and Philip in Blois with the French court, see: Fleming, page 82; Miller, pages 206-210; and website http://www.histoirepassion.eu/?1501-1502-7-Philippe-de-Habsbourg-et-Jeanne-d-Aragon-voyagent-a-travers.
[5] Fleming, page 83.
[6] Fleming, pages 83-89 and Miller, pages 210-217 for the Spanish visit up until Philip's departure.
[7] Fleming, page 80, quoting Fuensalida.

DISTRESS AND ABANDONMENT: BUILD UP TO LA MOTA

In May 1502, the Castilian cortes swore in Juana as Isabel's heir, and Philip was designated "legitimate husband." The concept of "Tanto Monta, Monta Tanto" would not be recognized in the instance of a Habsburg partner. His mood soured toward Juana's home and toward her parents; suspicion and isolation on his part increased when Besancon died, probably as a result of plague, in August.

In October 1502, with Juana in possibly her fifth month of pregnancy, they went to Zaragoza for the Aragones swearing in. Isabel, in poor health, stayed behind, in Madrid, where Fernando soon joined her. Philip was recognized as king, but only during Juana's lifetime. His native obligations came into conflict when hostility flared up between Fernando and Louis, and Philip was vocal about needing to return home. Anxious to keep both Juana and Philip in Spain as long as possible, Isabel and Fernando summoned Philip to Madrid, while Juana, on her own, presided over the Aragonese cort, and handled matters very well. By November 24, she was reunited with her family.[8] There, regardless of the political and emotional insult and rupture he would cause, Philip insisted on leaving. When informed that his pregnant wife couldn't possibly travel from Spain to the Netherlands, he left anyway, in December, 1502. In the event, instead of going straight back home, Philip made an extensive trip via France, to Savoy for a summer visit with his sister Margaret and her husband Philibert, finally arriving back home via Switzerland. In November, he had arrived, shortly before the death of Margaret of York.[9]

He left behind, with Juana, a suite of servants faithful to him, to keep guard on his wife and report to him. Isabel co-opted these servants, gaining their trust, so that they spied on her daughter and reported to Isabel. As a result, Juana's household was not her own. She had no one to trust in or confide in. The sense of prying from her nearest and dearest must have been terrible. It would, most likely, feed into the build up to La Mota.[10] All through June and into November, Isabel and Juana wore each other out, Isabel determined to keep Juana in Spain, Juana insisting that she needed to return home as soon as she could.[11]

There were, indeed, sound political reasons for Juana to want to get home: primarily, now that Besancon was gone, there might be a chance for Juana to fill the void. If she arrived home while Philip was still traveling on the Continent, she might have found herself with an opportunity to exert authority and control, especially if she had Margaret of York at her side. If Juana was aware of Margaret's state of health throughout 1503, there might have been a powerful incentive both personal and political, to reach the Netherlands.[12]

In August, Philip had received a letter from Juana to the effect that arrangements were made. Apparently, Juana had sent ahead to a sea captain in Laredo. The captain informed Fernando, who stopped preparations, and that September, Isabel was writing to Juana to the effect that "I do not think and so cannot believe that you are leaving, for although there are many necessary reasons for your departure, greater problems may follow if you leave like this."[13] This is a canny piece of persuasion: it feels like it comes from someone who knows her daughter well enough to simultaneously acknowledge Juana's perspective and lay any blame for repercussions on her. Juana clearly acquiesced to this

[8] Fleming, page 89.
[9] Fleming, page 91, Miller, pages 218-224.
[10] See Aram, pages 70-71 for a discussion of how Philip stocked Juana's household and how Isabel reacted.
[11] Aram, pages 71-75.
[12] Weightman, location 4564-6157, for discussion of the health and passing of Margaret of York.
[13] Fleming, page 91.

argument, and it seems clear that the promise of her being able to come and go after the swearing in was being brushed aside.

Spied upon by all sides, seemingly trusted by no one; her cogent arguments turned against her; lacking a friendly ear for communication; given all of this, Juana's frustrations began to build up, and why by summer, she and Isabel were living apart. It seems to be, in fact, that, if Juana was reacting badly, and apparently losing control, Isabel was scarcely on her best behavior either, manipulating Juana's household, using carrot and stick methods to keep Juana in place, perhaps utilizing her very real physical weakness to play on Juana's conscience.[14] It's at this point that the seeds of Juana's legend begin to be sown: but letters from doctors to Fernando (at this point up north at the fortress of Salsas, dealing with Louis) refer to the condition, stress and behavior of both mother and daughter. It's in light of this, and of Isabel's manipulations of Philip's manipulations of Juana's independence, that, I feel, the letter describing the La Mota incident needs to be read, and it's why, I feel, Isabel herself unwittingly gave Philip ammunition to begin the destruction of her daughter.

LA MOTA[15]

Isabel's letter begins with a summary of what this article has discussed above. Claiming that, all along she and Fernando wanted to accommodate Juana, but that war and weather interfered, she explains that, while heading north toward the port of Laredo, they decided to wait out winter inland, around Segovia and Medina del Campo, since resources and the climate were somewhat better there. A strenuous discussion at the town of Valverde concluded with an agreement that Juana should leave Spain in March. A Spanish representative for Philip, Suartre, was instructed o write about this agreement to Philip. Juana moved off to Medina del Campo and from there to La Mota, and Isabel seems to stayed in Segovia, about 55 miles to the southeast.

La Mota has a formidable, very large castle. It operated as an archive, an arsenal, and a prison. During November, it was also the site of an important trading fair.

Damage to this letter makes it hard to decipher, but it does seem to confirm that Philip sent a letter and that Juana decided to make preparations without royal approval. Isabel says that she wrote to Bishop Fonseca to refuse access to transportation, and that Juana then decided to walk by herself to the stables ("*Y la princesa cuando lo supo, quiso salir a pye de la fortaleza do posada y yr asy á pye y sola por las calles y por los lodos hasta la posada de las hacaneas.*" "And when the princess found out, she wanted to leave the fortress of the inn on foot and walk alone through the streets and through the mud to the stables."). Fonseca, in response, ordered the fortress gates closed. Juana insisted they be opened. Fonseca refused. Juana stayed at her post all night (November in Castile, which can be brutal), then, acquiescing to pleas, went into one of kitchens, where she stayed for about four or five days. During that time, Isabel wrote to Fonseca and others to convince Juana to leave, and finally made the journey to La Mota herself. Juana was informed of Isabel's arrival, but stayed put, and made no arrangements for her mother. Isabel arrived, and brought Juana inside (most retellings say this encounter took place in that kitchen, but it seems clear that it didn't). At which point, Juana used such language, that if Isabel hadn't seen her state, she would never had stood it

("*…y avnqne le enbie a dezir que y o venia aposar con ella, rogándol e que se boluiera a su aposentamiento, ni quiso voluer, ni dar lugar que me adereçase n el aposentamiento, hasta que yo vine y la mety; y estonces ella me hablo tan*

[14] Ibid.

[15] This section deals almost exclusively with Isabel's letter to Fuensalida in Fuensalida, pages 195-198.

reziamente palabras de tanto desacatamiento y tan fuera de lo que hija deve dezir a madre , que sy y o no viera !a dispusiçio n en que ella estava, vo no se las sufryera en ninguna manera." "…and I even sent her to tell her that I was coming to stay with her, begging her to return to her room, nor did she want to return, nor give room for me to be prepared in the room, until I came and took her in; and then she spoke to me so harshly, words of such disrespect and so far from what a daughter should say to her mother, that if I did not see the disposition in which she was there, she wouldn't suffer them in any way.").

A couple of details that stand out for me: First, according to this letter, there was an understanding made at Valverde that Juana would go to the Netherlands in March. Weather and political conditions decided this timeline, and Juana seemed agreeable to it. Isabel had directed Suartre to write to Philip about this agreement. And so, unless this purported November letter from Philip contained dire news, there was no reason for Juana to take drastic action. And yet, she did.

It's worth noting that Margaret of York was ill upon Philip's return and would die at the end of November. Margaret had been defended by Juana, who may have seen her as an ally against Philip's advisors. If Philip's letter included news about Margaret, this would have affected Juana, though, probably not to drastic action.

Second, and for me, significantly, she was willing to try for the stables on her own, with no guard and no escort. For the remainder of the incident, she is markedly and determinedly by herself. She knew there was no way out of Spain at this time, and so she could not have been trying to do so. It feels as though this drastic action has roots in needing to escape, to break free from the circles of spying, arguing, and tug-of-war for what was simultaneously her presence and her lack of self-determination. It isn't possible to know what specifically triggered this action at this time, but this feels like an act of desperation rather than an unreasonable dash for the coast.

Desperation is not insanity. Using harsh words to a woman who, for months, has manipulated one's world is not insanity. Utilizing what little power you have is not insanity.

Despite the supposed repercussions of this "scandal" – witnessed by Fonseca, who knew Juana well, and her uncle Enrique Fadriquez, nothing, in the end, changed: the outspoken Castilian and Aragonese advisors didn't express concern; over in Portugal, where Manuel was married to Juana's younger sister, no overtures were made; and most important, both Isabel and Fernando continued to completely champion Juana in a way that throws their doubts and fears into question.[16]

Juana would return to the Netherlands by May, once the weather allowed. It would be months too late to find a way into Philip's confidence, much too late to counter Philip's injured sense of majesty and the actions he, with his advisors, would have decided upon, much too late to find allies against the charges of instability which would be levied against her once home. La Mota signals, not incipient insanity, but the start of the losing battle she would be forced to fight until the end of her life.

[16] Fleming, page 94.

Mary Shelley's *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*

Sally Keil

"Records exist in the Tower, some well known, others with which those who have access to those interesting papers are alone acquainted, which put the question almost beyond a doubt."

In 1830 Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, the author of *Frankenstein*, published her fifth novel entitled *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*. In the Preface to this book the above sentence appears: that proof exists in records held in the Tower of London that Perkin Warbeck was Richard Duke of York. One of the members of my Missing Princes in America project, Denise Testa, brought this information to the attention of Philippa Langley in late December 2023. She asked if 'The Missing Princes Project' knew about it? "Absolutely" replied Philippa, but she added that it was deemed to be of lower importance compared to other Lines of Investigation (LOI) then ongoing and it was sitting on the shelf gathering dust. Philippa asked me if I would like to head up another research team to look into this, and a new LOI was born: the 'Shelley LOI'. My teammates are Denise Testa, Linda McLatchie and Bobbie Franks.

I drew up a plan of attack and in January 2024 we began searching for the 'interesting papers' that Shelley says existed in the Tower of London. We've 'sliced up' the question at hand by date (*when* might she have seen or have been told about these papers?), in what *format* would this information most likely appear (in a letter, a journal, anessay, a magazine article, or a book?) and by *correspondent* (*to whom* would she be writing about these 'interesting papers'?).

We believe that we're looking for a letter or journal written by Mary Shelley or her father William Godwin between 1818 and 1829. We know she wrote to Sir Walter Scott specifically asking for background information he might have on Perkin Warbeck, but we have been unable to find Scott's reply to her. We have translated a letter from Henry 7th's spy who was at the Scottish court at the same time as Richard Duke of York. We have identified a book entitled 'A Table to all Records in the Tower of London' held at the Ryland Library, U of Manchester. Philippa has reached out to one of her 'boots on the ground', Jean Ammar, who has met with the librarian there and looked at this book. While we didn't find the answer to our question in it, Jean is going to join our team and continue searching. We are undaunted!

Reviews

Myrna Smith, Pauline Calkin

The Traitor's Son—Wendy Johnson, Made Global Publishing, 2024

This story of the early life of Richard III is true to its title, for he is the son of Richard, Duke of York, who died branded as a traitor to King Henry VI. He is also like a son to his cousin and mentor, the Earl of Warwick, who becomes a traitor to the Yorkist cause that Richard holds so dear. Told from Richard's point of view, this novel begins when eight-year-old Richard refuses to believe his father has died in battle, and ends with Warwick's death at Barnet. The characters of Richard and his kin and their relationships to one another are well developed through a series of conversations. Thus, we see Richard as a serious, idealistic boy who is thoughtful toward the people who serve him. His guiding principle is, "what would father have done?" George may bully his younger brother, but as their sister Margaret remarks, he sees himself as Richard's guide and protector. The brothers' mutual affection is genuine and lasting, as is their regard for the Earl. The importance of Margaret to the family dynamics is evident, and her presence is sorely missed by both brothers after her marriage and move to Burgundy.

This is not a romance, and it lacks the touches of humor that I have enjoyed in other recent Ricardian works such as J.P. Reedman's *I, Richard Plantagene*t series and Meredith Whitford's *Treason*. The author considers Richard not in isolation but as part of a family, and so narrows her focus to his immediate family and the political events that shaped him. As a result of the concentration on the politics of the day, Richard often appears emotionally detached in his other relationships. Thus, we become aware that Richard has a mistress and has other romantic relationships but these women are off-stage characters only. If this is a deficiency, then it is more than made up for by the skill with which the relationships within the York family are developed.—P.C.

The Colour of Sin—Toni Mount, Made Global Publishing, Kindle edition, 2024

When his brother Jude was gravely injured and on the brink of death, Seb Foxley prayed, vowing that if the Lord spared Jude's life he would undertake a pilgrimage. Now, with Jude no longer in danger (but crippled and as irascible as ever), Seb plans to fulfill his oath to undertake a pilgrimage to Canterbury with his wife Rose and his two young children. A new friend, Father Christian, a local parish priest, invites himself along. These six (we mustn't forget Seb's faithful hound Gawain) begin the pilgrimage at Tabard's Inn, where Chaucer's pilgrims also met, and so Seb Foxley's Canterbury Tale begins.

Seb's fellow pilgrims are a diverse lot, with various motives for undertaking the pilgrimage. The young and flamboyant Warenne twins are there simply because their father threatened to disinherit them if they did not. And Father Christian, who wants to be called just plain "Kit," may be impressive in leading them in prayer, but doesn't seem to be particularly pious. During their journey Seb begins to question whether Kit really is what he says he is. Not long after the journey begins, one of their number suddenly dies. Everyone but Seb thinks the pilgrim's death is due to natural causes. But later, when a series of near fatal "accidents" follow, Seb is proved right—someone is seeking to murder one (or more) of the pilgrims.

The murder plot line may be fairly easy to figure out, but don't get cocky, because some political intrigue is deftly added to the mix. And as per usual in any

of Seb's adventures, there have to be some family problems. In this case, it is Rose's family—a father who disowned her, and his journeyman (and best drinking buddy) who raped and impregnated her. Seb's "dearest" Rose emerges as a self-confident and resourceful woman. We learn something about Seb as well—he is subject to an irrational belief that one of the pilgrims, an old woman, is a witch, and that her cat is her "fellow." With attractive characters (and some not so appealing) and the rich evocation of time and place (unsurprising given the author's knowledge of the period), this is an enjoyable and well written addition to the series.—PC

Comments by MS: The group of pilgrims that Seb and his family have joined are even more rakish that the original pilgrims of Chaucer. It's not just Seb's position as deputy sheriff's assistant that makes him suspicious, but he is beginning to regard his fellow travelers in that way. The old crone with the guide-cat—is she a witch? The fact that the cat is named Lucifer doesn't help. Note: If the cat truly performed the duties of a guide-dog, I might agree, but it simply wears a bell for its 'partially sighted' owner to follow. (BTW, I am 'partially sighted,' as I wear glasses; Dame Thoroughgood is partly blind, instead.)

And how about Kit, the less than perfectly pious priest? And the minstrel who is tone deaf? And the man who carries a perfectly useful arm in a sling? And the twins who seem more than usually accident-prone, even for redheads? How do we tell the victims from the perps from the innocent bystanders? Pauline did not find it difficult, but I am afraid I missed an important clue because I do not speak French. Seb Foxley doesn't have that excuse though.

Cleave to the Crown—Bridget Beauchamp, Arcanum Press Ltd., 2023

This is the sequel to *Maid (or Maiden) of Middleham* (apparently there was a change in publishers) which told the story of Eleanor, Richard III's teenage lover and mother of his illegitimate child—not one of the known ones. I had criticized that novel as being too wordy and much of it reading like a boring history lesson. Nonetheless, I found it a step-up from most Ricardian romances because Eleanor is a well-rounded heroine who doesn't spend her life pining for Richard. She gets on with her life, feeling lust and love for other men. We first see Eleanor here in the aftermath of Bosworth as she copes with her own grief and tries to find a way to make a living for herself and her children. She is a witness to the rebellions that resulted in the debacle of the battle of Stoke and later to the Perkin Warbeck affair. Again, the writing style is perhaps a little too wordy and in the first part of the book the author falls into a history report style. For example, her brothers were supposedly at Bosworth under the Duke of Northumberland's command and were disgusted by his inaction. Wouldn't it have been more effective to have them tell her directly what happened than the somewhat dry third-person account of their experience? Just saying.

However, after Stoke, the narrative becomes more engaging, with scenes such as a meeting between Eleanor and a certain John Evans of Coldridge and one between the latter and his younger brother Dickon. The plot does seem a bit "cluttered" at times, for example, when it tries to cover all the bases concerning the Lambert Simnel affair: Edward V led the rebellion, AND there was a Lambert Simnel, AND Edward of Warwick was "sprung" from the Tower by John de la Pole. In addition, the author seems determined to include all of her pet theories remotely

related to Richard III, e.g., Edward IV was the Duke of York's son by his mistress, whoever she was.

It is a mildly entertaining read, but what elevates this book is Eleanor's portrayal. She experiences loneliness that leads her into a third, less than idyllic marriage. She also finds true lust with a German mercenary captain which may in the end involve a deeper connection. In short, she is a believable woman, subject to the love, hate, jealousy, passion, strength, and failings like the rest of us.—PC

The Tudor Deception—Scott Mariani, Harper North, Kindle Edition, 2023

Ex-SAS man Ben Hope now has a business finding kidnap victims, but when a dotty retired history professor asks him to help in a search for two princes who disappeared in 1483, he dismisses the man as a lunatic. That is until Ben's prized V8 Jensen Interceptor is blown up, maiming a woman acquaintance—and the history professor is drowned under suspicious circumstances.

Ben starts by learning about Ricardians, such as the professor, and the Richard III Society, which the professor's brother describes, thusly: "The fan club. They're not even real historians, most of them. Nothing but a gang of amateur misfits who for some bizarre reason have a bee in their bonnet about wanting to exonerate some psychopathic hunchback from five centuries ago. Freud would have a field day." (Well, I found it amusing; you have to have a sense of humor.)

Ben is soon set straight about Richard and the princes when he talks with a member of a local branch of the Society. With a few quibbles and some flights of fancy about Perkin Warbeck, the member's summary is pretty on point. The plot does not involve Ben solving the mystery of the princes; the aforementioned dotty professor already has solved it. So why did he try to recruit Ben? Ben thinks it was for protection, because the solution jeopardizes the inheritance of a powerful man (no one in the present royal family) who will resort to any means to protect his interests. The novel is, then, a modern crime drama/thriller in which more than one group of thugs is after our hero. I have read my share of Dick Francis novels (horse racing being the lure) so I'm used to the hero being beaten up at least one or two times in a book, but the number of savage beatings Ben sustains, as well as the small armies of baddies he overcomes, is truly mind-boggling. Not my favorite genre of novel, but it was mildly entertaining. Give me a good medieval dust-up anytime. —PC

The Shadow Prince—Terence Morgan, Pan Macmillan, 2014

The second son of Edward IV, Richard, Duke of York, begins his life story in 1487 in Tournai with an account of his escape from the agents of the new king of England, Henry Tudor. Sir Edward Brampton helped him escape from England after Bosworth, but now doesn't want anything to do with him—because such political entanglements would jeopardize his standing as a prosperous merchant. From this point Richard embarks on a series of derring-do adventures—voyaging first to Africa with Columbus and then to what became known as Newfoundland with Basque fisherman. These accounts explain what Richard was doing before Richard publicly staked his claim to the throne of England. As the author explains in his notes, these accounts are unlikely but not impossible—and they make fun reading.

When Richard learned of his elder brother Edward's death and the repeal of the Titulus Regulus, which, in effect, legitimized him and his sisters, he decided it was his duty to assert his claim against the usurper Tudor. He seems rather passionless about this decision, but I realize that this was consistent with the picture the author intended to paint of a naive, rather heedless young man who evidently thought his goal would be easily achieved with little effort and no cost. When he saw that innocent people would lose their lives, he gave up his quest. Henry Tudor is seen as a competent king even though not entitled by right of blood—it is Bishop Morton who is the bad guy in this piece. Richard becomes compliant when in Tudor's custody and signs a confession after being persuaded by a legalistic argument made by Bishop Morton's 18-year-old clerk, named Thomas. (Hmm. I wonder who that can be??) I won't discuss the ending, other than to say there are multiple surprises that kept me shaking my head in disbelief.. Let's just say that Matt Lewis (obsessed with the Jack Leslau theory) would love one of the twists. Altogether an entertaining read, even if unbelievable.—PC

Comments by M.S.—Pauline has already given away the main spoiler of this novel: the thesis that Richard of Shrewsbury and Perkin Warbeck were the same person. What one chooses to believe in this debate depends on how one chooses to look at the matter. If you regard history as tragedy, with Wrong always triumphing and keeping our world from becoming a Utopia, you may take the positive. If, on the other hand, you have the somewhat cynical view that history is more melodrama, you may prefer to regard 'Perkin' as an anatomy, the pretender who is almost successful. Morgan wants it both ways. Although I generally favor the cynic's POV, I would like to have it both ways, too. Is this possible?

Why does Henry VII believe that Perkin (I'm tired of typing quotation marks) is actually Richard IV, the true king of England? Because his wife so vehemently protests that he is not. This rouses Henry's suspicions, never difficult to do. He must have had other reasons for this belief, but we are not told what they are. Henry's advisors tell him that "[A] prince may impress another prince or lord because he fears he will cause insurrection or that insurrection may come through him," but a line must be drawn forbidding executions. Yes, Henry does execute the Earl of Warwick, and makes it clear to Perkin/Richard that this is what he plans to do. One correlative bit of evidence is the fact—if it is a fact—that our protagonist was beaten up, but only around the fact. This was in order to prevent anyone recognizing him as Prince Richard. Since he had been wearing the same face all over England and the Continent for years, that seems both belated and futile. That he might have been disfigured to prevent his lack of resemblance to a substitute prisoner is perhaps not quite so unlikely. In the final chapter, we meet Perkin/Richard's last persona, and he meets a mysterious stranger. Could Richard of Eastwell be the same person as the other two? There are three possibilities. He could be what he seemed to me, an educated man down on his luck, perhaps ex-religious. But he doesn't know what side his patron takes in the religious wars of the 16th century. He could be the son of Edward IV, an even more dangerous identity. Or he could claim to be the illegitimate son of a disgraced, but still a very royal, royal. Judging Sir Thomas Moyle to be 'one that loves a Lord,' he chooses door #3. Mr. Morgan has created an unforgettable picaresque hero, maybe more interesting than the real person. For this we can certainly thank him.

Richard III and the Murder in the Tower—Peter A. Hancock, The History Place, UK, 2018

In this, the latest edition of Hancock's work, he cites P.G. Wodehouse on the difficulties of tailoring your study to the knowledge of your readers. I think it would be interesting to quote the passage in full. From *Jeeves and the Tie that Binds*, Wodehouse, in the persona of Bertie Wooster, muses on this very problem:

> ….I don't see how I can avoid delving into the past a good deal, touching on events which took place in previous installments…….(T)his will make it heavy going for those who have been with me from the start. "Old hat," they will cry or if French, "Deja vu."
>
> On the other hand, I must consider the new customers. I can't just leave the poor perishers to try to puzzle things out by themselves. If I did, the exchange in the present cast would run somewhat as follows:
> SELF: The relief I felt at having escaped Totleigh Towers was stupendous.
> NEW C: What's Totleigh Towers?
> SELF: For one thing, it had looked odds on that I should have to marry Madeline.
> NEW C: Who's Madeline?
> SELF: Gussie Fink-Nottle, you see, had eloped with the cook.
> NEW C: Who's Gussie Fink-Nottle?….
>
> You see. Hopeless…The only way out that I can think of is to ask the old gang to let their attention wander for a bit. There are all sorts of things they could be doing, washing the car, solving the crossword puzzle, taking the dogs for a walk—while I place the facts before the newcomers.

These are not the only parallels with PGW. Imagine, if you can, two closely related Madeline Bassets (Margaret Beauforts), with entirely different personalities. Imagine successive Augustus Fink-Nottles, who must be referred to by the full name on every occasion. But middle names were not common, so cannot be used, and the hyphen had not yet been invented.

However, there is an alternative to the Wodehouse method: the Smith System. This places the burden on the reader and not the author. Simply divide the book into sections. In this case, the first chapter, setting the scene, and the following six, introducing the case of characters, could be read as one chunk. The two remaining chapters in that section could be read back to front. The next section, referred to as "Appendices," could be read either front to back, back to front, or on the bias, from front to back, alternating with back to front. It is in this section that the main argument of Hancock's thesis is examined, and it depends much on communications between Richard, Duke of Gloucester and William Catesby. Briefly, it is a discussion of, as the title indicates, the (singular) judicial murder or kangaroo court trial, if you prefer, of Lord Hastings. Mr. Hancock tries to settle the matter of when this occurred. He aims for a balanced view, and mostly succeeds.

I am not going to attempt such a thing there. I am instead going off on a diversion, about Eleanor Talbot. Hancock, citing John Ashdown-Hill's research, calls her 'The Uncrowned Queen?', but he does put a question mark after the statement. She made no such claim in her lifetime, nor did any of her family on her behalf. Had she done so, would she have been able to claim that title? I think the answer has to be a resounding "Perhaps." And if Edward IV had the opportunity to respond, could he have proved the opposite? Same answer. My personal opinion is that both parties were in varying degrees disappointed, disillusioned, and embarrassed by their brief affair, and just wanted to forget about it. And Edward's complaint and selective memory did cause such amnesia. Could Elizabeth Woodville have put forward a counter-suit in defense of her marriage? Again, 'Maybe.' She, however, was in Sanctuary, and her male relatives were in exile, deceased, or otherwise incapacitated. It is of no use to claim that the soon-to-be Richard III was entirely selfless in this matter, either.

By the way, the Smith System is not copyrighted. Feel free to use it. It won't work for fiction, of course, but does no harm to non-fiction, and might even be a plus, keeping the reader's mind fresh to absorb new information.—MS

WEIRD MEDIEVAL GUYS: How to live, laugh, love, (and die) in dark times—Olivia M. Swarthout, Square Peg Press, Dublin, Ireland, 2023

I picked this up in Edinburgh, in a bookshop a few doors from where my granddaughter and her intended live. I was in hog heaven during the few days I spent with them. I discovered that just about everything you buy in the UK will cost about 8-10 pounds. I decided to think of it as $10US and not worry about it. Well, at that price, this book was a bargain, with full-color illustrations on every page.

The book is the outcome of a Twitter account of the author's. It will instruct you on how to live medievally, how to choose a name and identity from a list of names, male, female, and undecided, (or unisex). For example, Azorp(U) the Od(odd). You become fluent in medieval slang, read your horoscope, find a patron saint. You must pick a place to live, and several cities are offered as suggestions: London, Paris, Constantinople. Venice. Finally, pick a career path. Now, you are ready to choose a romantic interest. And then you go on with your life. In this book, unlike in life, you can even choose your death. Aren't you lucky?

The second part of the book is a lovely and colorful bestiary, to include mammals (lions, cats, unicorns), birds (owls, swans), fish (eels, whales, mermaids and even insects (bees). It would seem that most of the illustrations come from prayer books or other religious texts. If the original artists only knew how their efforts would be used, they would no doubt have cat-fits—which is somehow overlooked as a particularly medieval way to die. Oh well, never mind them. Enjoy the gags, or just look at the pictures and enjoy them. Or both. — MS

Sun Ascendant—C.F. Dunn, Resolute Books, 2024

This second novel in the Tarnished Crown series picks up where the first, *Wheel of Fortune*, ended—with Isobel Fenton as the involuntary mistress of the Earl. It ends where the first began, at Isobel's Beaumancote estate, with echoes of the earlier book's dramatic opening scene. In between, Isobel's attitude toward the Earl evolves from hate to—not love exactly, but perhaps to something like affection, and certainly to respect and appreciation. At the same time, she and the

Earl’s younger brother, Robert, grapple with the love they feel for the one another. And there seems to be no end to the scheming by the Earl’s vengeful countess to eliminate Isobel as a rival. If this all sounds like a soap opera, it is a bit, but there is nothing wrong with that, especially when it’s as delicious as this one. Anyway, there is so much more to the book than that.

While *Wheel of Fortune* followed Isobel almost exclusively, the scope expands here to follow the Earl and Robert through the events of Warwick’s rebellion leading to their exile and then to the battlefield of Barnet. The battle is described in gritty detail, with the Earl trying to track down a longtime nemesis and Robert (as the Duke of Gloucester’s sworn man) in the vanguard with Richard. So besides romance, there is adventure, and strong characterizations. The Earl’s character is slowly revealed over the course of the story—and many questions raised in the first novel are answered here. (Spoiler alert—we do learn his given name.) In contrast, a striking portrait of Clarence is sketched in only his two brief appearances. Loyalty and love, duty and betrayal inform the actions of the characters on both political and personal levels. Good lordship is a pervading theme and Isobel aspires to be a good lord—protecting the people on her estates. Although she is told she needs a man to be that good lord, Isobel is resolute in her defense of Beaumancote and becomes its good lord.—P.C.

The King’s Mother—Annie Garthwaite, Viking, 2024

This superb sequel to Cecily follows the mother of Edward IV from his ascension to the throne to the battlefield death of her youngest son, Richard III. Annie Garthwaite tells Cecily’s story with artistry and precision —not one word seems wasted in creating a bold and memorable portrait of a king’s mother. At first she uses an etching tool to draw a sharp outline of a woman of keen intelligence, one who wields a rapier wit and barbed words in the service of her best-loved son. This is a woman who is at the center of power in Edward’s court—the king’s “Captain Mother”— and she revels in that position. She is Edward’s “fixer” who deals with nasty little problems such as the one named Eleanor Talbot. Cecily is also a masterful chess player who, during the course of Edward’s reign, has to match wits against other women, each equally determined to promote their son. In the end she is checkmated by Margaret Beaufort, whom she had befriended.

The portrait that initially emerges is of a severe woman who suppresses her emotions. A woman who finds it necessary to stop herself from rushing to embrace her two young sons who have just returned from exile. A woman who scolds Edward to stop his horseplay with eight-year-old Richard because the latter is no longer a child. It’s not all power politics and chess, however. Even Cecily has her moments of reflection. Such moments are painted with a soft brush, such as when Richard caresses Anne Neville’s cheek after they are wed— a scene that reminds Cecily of her own marriage to her Richard. For me, the moving passages in the book occur when Cecily gets to know more about this son, the one she never thought much of—the short one, the dark one, the one who feels it necessary to tell her, “I am sorry I am not Edward.”

A magnificently realized vision of Cecily Neville, mother of two kings. It justifies all the hype. P.C.

Additional comments from M.S.: In one of our first meetings with Cecily, when Edward is giving his youngest brother a piggy-back ride, she says, “[P]ut him down

and be sensible for a moment. He's not a child." Richard is all of seven at the time! It is going to be difficult to make someone that hard-nosed into a sympathetic character, but Ms. Garthwaite manages.

Of course, she is equally harsh with others. When it is pointed out to her that the Earl of Warwick is her nephew, she retorts that "That hardly signifies."

She does soften a little towards Richard when he is the only son left to her. When he asks if he resembles his father, Cecily replies: ""Yes' And then, because you shouldn't puff a man up too much, 'Though he was taller.'"

While Cecily has a thinly disguised contempt for the two Woodvilles, Jaquetta and Elizabeth, she has a certain respect for the much younger Margaret Beaufort, perhaps recognizing a kindred spirit. And vice-versa. This may explain why the new Tudor regime treated her with some respect, which our protagonist was sensible enough to return.

A good read, although long. Be advised: 59 chapters, but they are short ones and go fairly quickly.

Medieval Woman: Village Life in the Middle Ages—Ann Baer, Michael O'Mara Books Limited, 2018

This book describes a year in the life of Marion, an ordinary woman who lived in an ordinary English village during the Middle Ages. Each chapter covers a single day in each successive month. (This book was also [originally?] published with the title *Down the Common* in 1997.)

Her family's life is one of constant struggle to keep warm and fed. And they have enemies, as Marion's husband explains to their son—the mice, rats, and rooks who eat their corn and the fox who eats their chickens and eggs, but the owls who eat the mice are their friends.

The village where she lives had little contact with the outside world and it had to be almost self-sufficient. But this isolation helps foster a sense of community. Each family is obligated to turn over a certain amount of their produce, such as eggs, to the feudal lord, Sir Hugh, who lives in the Hall in the village. Even though the steward (in this case the lord's brother) keeps strict accounts, Marion manages on occasion to hold back a few eggs for her family's own use. In return, Sir Hugh doles out portions of the harvest to each family, and hosts celebrations such as for the sheep shearing and for Christmas. He is also the one to decide on punishment for any misbehavior. The villagers are lucky in that Sir Hugh is not a harsh taskmaster, although somewhat indecisive.

Marion is also lucky in her husband, Peter, for he is a kind man who works hard as the village carpenter and loves their two remaining children. As with most families, several children died in infancy or childhood, but it was especially poignant that Marion continues to reflect on the loss of one child, Nolly. She is also concerned that their remaining son will be unable to work in the fields or take up his father's trade because he was maimed in an accident when an infant. Some in the village are better off than others, such as Marion's brother, the miller, and his industrious wife. Others are worse off due to bad luck as a result of illness, death, or just plain laziness and/or inability to manage their meager resources. The overall standard of living is not high; even the Hall is just one room with the beds situated in the back of the dais.

Although Marion and the other residents are preoccupied with the mundane matters of life—trying to keep warm and fed, childbirth, hygiene (or the lack thereof), clothing, child-rearing, and ultimately death, there are happy times, as well as loving relationships and friendships. Marion often pauses to reflect on a sunset or her feelings towards the people who inhabit her world. It is somewhat surprising to me that religion does not play a bigger part in her life or thoughts. Yes, she and the other villagers attend mass on Sundays and observe some of the feast days, but the church services they sit through are just mumbo jumbo. This book gives the reader a good idea of what the daily life of a medieval woman must have been like. In her thoughts and aspirations, she was not that different to ourselves. This novel was exceptional in evoking the daily life of a medieval woman—a book that will leave a lasting impression on me.—P.C.

The Last Winter Rose—Caitlin Sumner, Prometheus Press, 2024

The cover of this novel proclaims itself to be a novel of Richard III. So did Penman's *The Sunne in Splendour*, but otherwise the reader can forget about trying to compare the two. What is this author's take on Richard's story? He loves Anne Neville from the time he was in her father's household, and he definitely does not want to be a king. No, never, perish the thought; he simply wants to marry his Anne and live a simple life in the north of England. And he does mean simple. When they finally settle down at Middleham, Richard and Anne milk the cows, groom the horses, clean the stables and hang out at the village pub with the locals. After little Edward's birth, a local boy teaches Richard how to diaper him. Doesn't Anne have any ladies in waiting? Do they have any other servants? Very odd, indeed.

To be kind, I would say that the writing is simple, not necessarily a bad thing, but to be honest it is more often banal. The beginning was promising with Anne chastising Richard for being clumsy and never cutting his hair, but almost all scenes between them end with proclamations of undying love. The characters are pretty much one-dimensional. Richard is too good to be true. Anne Neville is the strongest person Richard has ever known—at least that is what we are constantly being told. Cecily Neville is the doting mother whose favorite son is, of course, Richard. Edward does not really want to be king either, and is in his cups throughout their exile in Burgundy (well, he is depressed about his wife and kiddies), so it is Richard who has to organize everything to retake the crown.

The history is slimmed down. When Edward goes off and is eventually taken prisoner at Olney, he leaves Richard in charge of the government in London. We don't see Richard leading forces to gain Edward's release or in his Welsh campaign. He and Edward flee to Burgundy directly from London—so the question is why didn't they take some money with them? There are puzzling inaccuracies. Thus, we see Richard visit William Herbert in Burgundy to ask for his support in Edward's attempt to retake the crown. (Remember that Edward is in his cups and it is only Richard who has sufficient gravitas to impress men.) Wasn't this Herbert beheaded the year before? Buckingham is given only two brief mentions.

There are some interesting takes on history: Buckingham set up Hastings who was completely innocent; and the little twist on the fate of the princes. But then there are even more odd takes such as the illegitimate children John and Margaret (for some reason, not identified as Katherine) were actually Edward IV's, but

Richard agreed to acknowledge them so they couldn't be used to foment rebellion. (Heaven forbid that the saintly Richard ever had lustful thoughts outside of marriage.). And, of course, there's no mention of the illegitimate children, Arthur and Grace, that Edward did acknowledge. Perhaps even odder is Richard's desire to name Elizabeth of York as his heir—an idea that everyone including Bess thinks makes no sense. There is some humor—actually, only one scene where Richard gets absolutely wasted during the 1484 Christmas festivities. It was an effort to finish this novel, although the final 30 pages improved. If the author used the word "chuckle" one more time (at one point, someone "chuckles darkly'), I was going to throw the book at the wall.—P.C.

2024 General Membership Meeting

2024 Richard III GMM in Santa Fe, New Mexico, November 1-3, 2024
If you have not pre-registered, you can register at the event.

GMM details as of September 2024:

Our special guest speakers:

Dominic Smee
Renowned for proving that Richard III could have ridden a horse into battle since he has the same spinal curvature as Richard (see https://www.pbs.org/video/secrets-dead-richards-body-double/). Dom has had a complete Richard III costume created for him and will show us that and talk about his activities since the 2016 GMM.

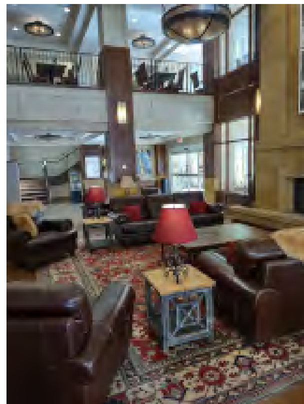
Christina Smee
The author of *The Rose of Middleham* talks about her new book.

Philippa Langley
Phillippa will discuss her books, television shows, and projects. At the time of this publishing, Philippa will attend via Zoom.

Michael Boyd
Michael will talk about medieval combat, battle, and the introduction and use of the Medieval handgonne. This will include displaying the handgonne and discussing its use in the Wars of the Roses and its relevance to Richard III.

GMM Schedule:

- Friday evening registration and “meet and greet” in the Lamy meeting room.
- Saturday morning breakfast provided by the Drury for hotel guests on the hotel 2nd floor.
- Saturday morning speakers in the Lamy meeting room.
- Lunch will be provided in the Lamy meeting room.
- Saturday afternoon business meeting.
- Saturday afternoon free time.
- Saturday evening banquet with entertainment in the Lamy meeting room.
- Sunday morning breakfast provided by the Drury for hotel guests on the hotel 2nd floor.
- Sunday morning speaker in the Lamy meeting room.



We will also make available an historic walking tour of downtown Santa Fe by a local historian who has deep roots in the area and was once the city historian.

Drury Plaza Hotel in downtown Santa Fe
828 Paseo de Peralta
Santa Fe, NM 87501
(505) 424-2175

Hotel Details:

The Drury Plaza Hotel is an historic property located just two short blocks from the Santa Fe Plaza, which is the heart of downtown.

Our group room rate will be $199 per night, which includes a hot buffet breakfast and their trademark KICKBACK®, which is a happy hour buffet from 5:30 p.m. to 7 p.m. (it includes hot food, salads, etc., plus soft drinks and tw alcoholic beverages per person per evening). This is the best hotel deal in downtown Santa Fe since it includes two meals per day! Valet parking at the hotel is $18 per night discounted from $28 per night.

Travel and Transportation:
There are several options for getting to Santa Fe:

Santa Fe airport (SAF) is a small facility with limited airlines and flights. To get to the hotel from SAF:
-Usually there are taxis awaiting flights
-Book an Uber
-Make a reservation with a car service:

- Peak car service (505) 316-2114
- New Era car service (505) 913-0080

Albuquerque airport (ABQ) is a larger airport—only 1 hour drive to Santa Fe.
Shuttle Services from ABQ to downtown Santa Fe hotels:

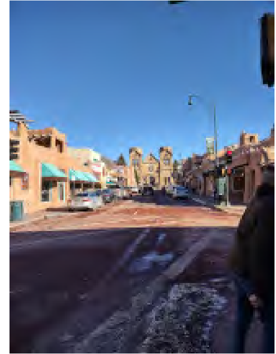
- Groome Transportation: 505-474-5696 https://groometransportation.com/santa-fe/

Denver airport(DEN) is a large international airport—5 ½ hour drive to Santa Fe

About Santa Fe and New Mexico:

Santa Fe is the capital of New Mexico, and is the oldest capital city in the U.S. (established in 1609). Santa Fe also has the oldest church in the U.S. Our hotel is only two short blocks to the Santa Fe Plaza, which is the heart of the city and marks the end of the historic Santa Fe Trail. The Santa Fe Plaza is also the location of the Native American Market, which is where local Native Americans sell their artwork and handmade jewelry. No need to shop in the local jewelry stores, since buying directly from the artists provides the best deals.

Santa Fe's Cathedral Basilica of Saint Francis of Assisi was built between 1869 and 1886 by Archbishop Jean Baptist Lamy. Archbishop Lamy was the first Archbishop of Santa Fe, and Willa Cather's novel, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, is based on his life.

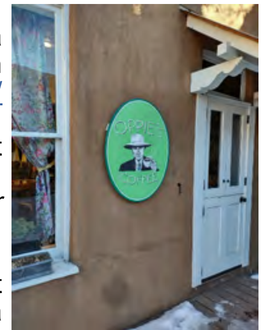


Santa Fe is world-renowned for its art galleries—even the state capitol building has an art gallery. After New York and Los Angeles, Santa Fe has the next highest number of art galleries in the United States. If you're interested in art, this is the place to be. Some examples:

- The Georgia O'Keefe Museum, dedicated to the iconic artist who lived and worked near Santa Fe.
- Canyon Road art galleries include more than 100 galleries, restaurants, and boutiques in a half-mile area.
- IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts is a museum and educational center dedicated to Native American art, history, and culture.
- Meow Wolf, an immersive art experience sponsored in part by longtime local resident George R.R. Martin.

Other Site-Seeing Opportunities:

- Los Alamos (a 30-minute drive away). Did you see the movie *Oppenheimer*? This is where it all happened. Tours are available. And while you're in Santa Fe, visit the bar in the La Fonda Hotel and Oppie's Coffee, both of which Oppie is said to have frequented. https://visitlosalamos.org



- Taos. This famous ski town also home to the Taos Art Colony and Kit Carson's house.
- Albuquerque. Did you love *Breaking Bad* and *Better Call Saul*? You can find tours that visit filming sites. Hot air balloon rides are also very popular.
- Sandia Peak Tram. Once the world's longest tramway, it provides a 15-minute ride to Sandia Peak. The restaurant at the top provides panoramic views. This is located near Albuquerque. https://sandiapeak.com/
- Bandelier National Monument. Known for its cliff dwellings, rock paintings,

and petroglyphs, the monument preserves the homes and archeological sites of the local native inhabitants dating from between 1150 and 1600 AD. https://www.nps.gov/band/index.htm

- Pueblos. There are several Native American pueblos near Santa Fe. Some have tours and/or museums.
- Roswell, N.M. The location of the supposed crash of a UFO in 1947. Home to the International UFO Museum and Research Center, and several UFO-related shops.

Submission Guidelines

- Word doc or docx file type or Open Office Writer odt file type, or rtf file type Please submit articles for publication to the Assistant Editor at assistant_editor@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. Times New Roman is used 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 footnotes and/or Bibliography. Papers that do not require references are travel notes (e.g. report on a Ricardian tour), review of a lecture, and essays.
- Copy deadlines (submissions may be accepted for each issue after stated deadline, but not guaranteed):
    - March issue is January 1
    - September issue is July 1

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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. He will circulate your email address to members in your area.
If you do not see your chapter listed here, please contact the Membership Chair at membership@r3.org and provide the current contact information.

Membership Application + Renewal Dues

Regular Membership Levels
$60 for Individual $_______
$65 for family (2 or more, same household) $_______

Contributing and Sponsoring Membership Levels
$75 for Fotheringhay sponsorship*
$180 for Middleham sponsorship*
$300 for Bosworth sponsorship*
$500 for Plantagenet sponsorship*

*Sponsorships include family memberships, along with letter saying that anything over $60 for individual or $65 for family is a charitable contribution for income tax purposes.
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 $________

Donations**
Unless otherwise specified, all donations will be unrestricted:
General Fund $________
Should you wish to donate for a specific use, please contact the Membership chair to determine if we can accept it.

Total enclosed $________

**The Richard III Society, Inc., is a not-for-profit corporation with 501c3 designation. All contributions over the basic $60 membership or $65 for family 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 acknowledgment 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/.

Mail to:
Richard III Society, American Branch
C/O Wayne Ingalls
704 NW Euclid Ave.
Lawton, OK 73507

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Late registrations and walk-in registrations welcome:

RIII Society American Branch

2024 GMM

Santa Fe, NM
Nov. 1-3, 2024

See pages 35 - 38 for details.